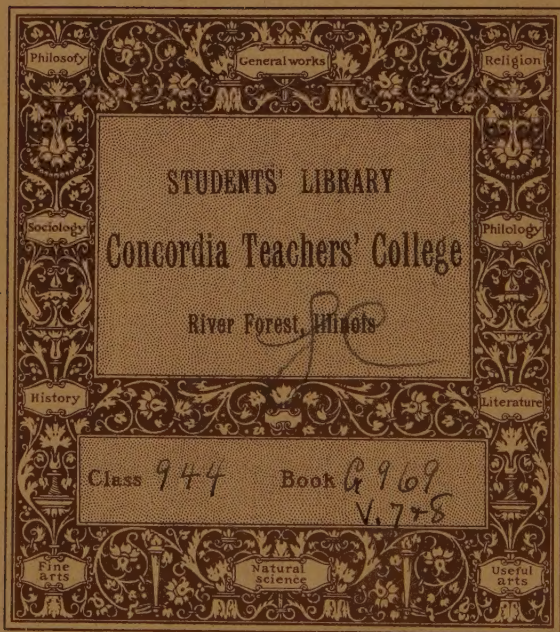


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PASSAGE OF ST. BERNARD.



SULEIMAN STRUCK HIM SEVERAL TIMES WITH HIS DAGGER.

THE HISTORY
OF
FRANCE

FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1848

BY M. GUIZOT
AND
MADAME GUIZOT DE WITT
TRANSLATED BY ROBERT BLACK

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME 7

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THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

BY A. H. HAYES

MADISON: J. M. HAYES

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONSULATE (1799—1804).

FOR more than ten years, amid unheard of shocks and sufferings, France had been seeking for a free and regular government, that might assure to her the new rights which had only been gained through tribulation. She had overthrown the Monarchy and attempted a Republic; she had accepted and rejected three constitutions, all the while struggling single-handed with Europe, leagued against her. She had undergone the violence of the Reign of Terror, the contradictory passions of the Assemblies, and the incoherent feebleness of the Directory. For the first time since the death of King Louis XIV., her history finds once more a centre, and henceforth revolves round a single man. For fifteen years, victorious or vanquished, at the summit of glory, or in the depths of abasement, France and Europe, overmastered by an indomitable will and unbridled passion for power, were compelled to squander their blood and their treasure upon that page of universal history which General Bonaparte claims for his own, and which he has succeeded in covering with glory and crime.

On the day following the 18th Brumaire, in the uncertainty of parties, in face of a constitution audaciously violated, and a government mainly provisional, the nation was more excited than apprehensive or disquieted. It had caught a glimpse of that natural power and that free ascendancy of genius to which men willingly abandon themselves, with a confidence which the most bitter deceptions have never been able to extinguish. Ardent and sincere republicans, less and less numerous, felt themselves conquered beforehand, by a sure instinct that was not misled by the protest of their adversaries. They bent

before a new power, to which their old hatreds did not attach, which they believed to be in some sort created by their own hands, and of which they had not yet measured the audacity. The mass of the population, the true France, hailed with joy the hope of order and of a regular and strong administration. They were not prejudiced in favor of the philosophic constitution so long propounded by Sieyès. In the eyes of the nation, the government was already concentrated in the hands of General Bonaparte; it was in him that all were trusting, for repose at home and glory and peace abroad.

In fact, he was governing already, disregarding the prolonged discussions of the two legislative commissions, and the profound developments of the projects of Sieyès, expounded by M. Boulay. Before the Constitution of the year VIII. received the sanction of his dominant will, he had repealed the Law of Hostages, recalled the proscribed priests from the Isle of Oléron, and from Sinnamari most of those transported on 18th Fructidor. He had reformed the ministry, and distributed according to his pleasure the chief commands in the army. As Moreau had been of service to Bonaparte in his *coup d'état*, he was placed at the head of the army of the Rhine joined to the army of Helvetia, taken from Masséna on the morrow of his most brilliant victories. Distrust and ill-will struggled with his admiration of Bonaparte in the mind of the conqueror of Zurich; he was sent to the army of Italy, always devoted to Bonaparte. Berthier remained at Paris in the capacity of minister of war. Fouché was placed at the police, and Talleyrand undertook foreign affairs. By a bent of theoretical fancy, which was not borne out by experience in government, the illustrious mathematician Laplace was called to the ministry of the interior. Gaudin became minister of finances; he replaced immediately the forced loans with an increase of direct taxes, and introduced into the collection of the public revenues some important improvements, which paved the way for our great financial organization.

At the same time, without provocation and without necessity, as if simply in compliance with the mournful traditions of past violence, a list of proscriptions, published on the 23rd Brumaire, exiled to Guiana or the Île de Ré nine persons—a mixture of honest republicans opposed to the new state of things, and of wretches still charged with the crimes of the Reign of Terror. Only the name of General Jourdan excited universal reprobation, and it was immediately struck out.

The measure itself was soon mitigated, and the decree was never executed.

Through the revolutionary storms and the murderous epochs which had successively seen all the great actors in the political struggles disappear from the scene, the Abbe Sieyès emerged as a veteran associated with the first free impulses of the nation. In 1789, his pamphlet, "What is the Third Estate?" had arrested the attention of all serious minds. He had several times, and in decisive circumstances, played an important part in the Constituent Assembly. Since his vote of the 20th January, and until the 9th Thermidor, he remained in voluntary obscurity; mingling since then in all great theoretical discussions, he had exercised a preponderating influence in recent events. From revolution to revolution, popular or military, he came out in the part of legislator, his spirit escaping from the influence of pure democracy. He had formerly proposed the banishment *en masse* of all the nobility, and he still nursed in the depths of his soul a horror for all traditional superiority. He had said, "Whoever is not of my species is not my fellow-creature; the nobles are not of my species; they are wolves, and I fire upon them." He had, however, been brought, by his reflections and the course of events, to construct eccentric theories, of a factitious aristocracy, the wielders of power to the exclusion of the nation, recruited from a limited circle—a disfigured survival of the Italian republics of the middle ages, without the free and salutary action of representative government.

"Confidence ought to proceed from below, and power to act from above," declared the appointed legislator of the 18th Brumaire. He himself compared his political system to a pyramid, resting on the entire mass of the nation, terminating at the top in a single man, whom he called the Great Elector. He had not the courage to pronounce the word king.

Five millions of electors, constituted into primary assemblies, were to prepare a *municipal* list of 500,000 elected who in their turn were entrusted with the formation of a *departmental* list of 50,000 names. To these twice sifted delegates was confided the care of electing 5000 as a *national* list, alone capable of becoming the agents of executive power in the whole of France. The municipal and departmental administrations were to be chosen by authority from their respective lists.

The *Conservative Senate*, composed of eighty members, self-elective, had the right of appointing the members of the Corps

Législatif, the Tribuneship, and the Court of Cassation. It was besides destined to the honor of choosing the Great Elector. The senators, richly endowed, might exercise no other function. The Corps Législatif was dumb, and limited to voting the laws prepared by the Council of State, and discussed by the Tribunate. The Great Elector, without actively interfering in the government, furnished with a civil list of six millions, and magnificently housed by the state, appointed the two councils of peace and war, upon whom depended the ministers and all the administrative *personnel* of prefects and sub-prefects entrusted with the government of the departments. In case the magistrate, so highly placed in his sumptuous indolence, should seem to menace the safety of the State, the Senate was authorized to *absorb* him by admitting him into its ranks. The same action might be exercised with respect to any of the civil or military functionaries.

So many complicated wheels calculated to hinder rather than to sustain each other, so much pomp in words and so little efficacy in action, could never suit the intentions or the character of General Bonaparte. He claimed at once the position of Great Elector, which Sieyès had perhaps secretly thought to reserve for himself.

"What!" said he, "would you want to make me a pig in a dunghill?" Then demolishing the edifice laboriously constructed by the legislator, "Your Great Elector is a slothful king," said he to Sieyès; "the time for that sort of thing is past. What! appoint people to act, and not act himself! It won't do. If I were this Great Elector I should certainly do everything which you would desire me not to do. I should say to the two consuls of peace and war: 'If you don't choose such and such a man, or take such and such a measure, I shall send you about your business.' And I would compel them to proceed according to my will. And these two consuls—How do you think they could agree? Unity of action is indispensable in government. Do you think that serious men would be able to lend themselves to such shams?"

Sieyès was not fond of discussion, for which indeed he was not suited; with the prudent sagacity which always characterized his conduct, he recognized the inferiority of his will and his influence in comparison with General Bonaparte. Three consuls were substituted for the Great Elector and his two chosen subordinates—equal in appearance, but already classed according to the origin of their power. As first consul,

Bonaparte was not to be subjected to any election; he held himself as appointed by the people. "What colleagues will they give me?" said he bluntly to Rœderer and Talleyrand who served him constantly as his agents of communication. "Whom do you wish?" He named Cambacérès, then minister of justice, clever and clear-sighted, of an independent spirit joined to a docile character; and Lebrun, the former secretary of the Chancellor Maupeou, minister for foreign affairs under the Convention, and respected by moderate republicans. Some had spoken of M. Daunou, honestly courageous in the worst days of the Revolution; the clever author of the Constitution of the year III., and whom Bonaparte had taken a malicious pleasure in entrusting with the drawing up of the new Constitution. A certain number of voices in the two legislative commissions had supported his name. The resolution of M. Daunou was known; Bonaparte did not complete the counting of the votes. "We shall do better," said he, "to keep to those whom M. Sieyès has named." Cambacérès and Lebrun were appointed consuls. Sieyès received from the nation a rich grant and the estate of Crosne. In concert with Roger-Ducos and the new consuls, he formed the list of the Senate, who immediately completed its numbers, as well as the lists of the 300 members of the Corps Législatif, and the 100 members of the Tribunate. Moderation presided over the composition of the lists; Bonaparte attached no importance to them, and took no part in their preparation. He had formed with care the Council of State, many capable men finding a place in it. It was the instrument which the First Consul destined for the execution of his ideas. Once only, on the 19th Brumaire, he came for a moment into contact with the assemblies. Henceforth he left them in the shade; all power rested in his hands. Under the name of Republic, the accent of an absolute master resounded already in the proclamation everywhere circulated on the day following the formation of the new government:—

"Frenchmen,

"To render the Republic dear to citizens, respected by foreigners, formidable to our enemies, are the obligations which we have contracted in accepting the chief magistracy.

"It will be dear to citizens if the laws and the acts of authority bear the impress of the spirit of order, justice and moderation.

"The Republic will be imposing to foreigners if it knows how to respect in their independence the title of its own indepen-

dence, if its engagements, prepared with wisdom and entered upon with sincerity, are faithfully kept.

"Lastly, it will be formidable to its enemies, if the army and navy are made strong, and if each of its defenders finds a home in the regiment to which he belongs, and in that home a heritage of virtue and glory; if the officer, trained by long study, obtains by regular promotion the recompense due to his talents and work.

"Upon these principles depend the stability of government, the success of commerce and agriculture, the greatness and prosperity of nations.

"We have pointed out the rule, Frenchmen, by which we ought to be judged, we have stated our duties. It will be for you to tell us whether we have fulfilled them."

"What would you have?" said the First Consul to La Fayette. "Sieyès has put nothing but shadows everywhere; the shadow of legislative power, the shadow of judicial power, the shadow of government; some part of the substance was necessary. Faith! I have put it there." The very preamble of the Constitution affirmed the radical change brought about in the direction of affairs. "The powers instituted to-day will be strong and lasting, such as they ought to be in order to guarantee the rights of citizens and the interests of the State. Citizens, the Revolution is fixed upon the same principles which began it. It is finished!"

It was not the apotheosis, but the end of the Revolution that the authors of the Constitution of the year VIII. arrogantly announced. In the first impulse of a great spirit brought face to face with a difficult task, Bonaparte conceived the thought of terminating the war like the Revolution, and of re-establishing, at least for some time, the peace he needed in order to govern France. Disdainful of the ordinary forms of diplomacy, he wrote directly to George III., as he had formerly written to the Archduke Charles (18th December, 1799).

"Called by the will of the French nation to be first magistrate, I deem it expedient on entering upon my charge to communicate directly with your Majesty.

"Must the war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the globe, be eternal? Is there no other means of arriving at a mutual understanding?

"How can the most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their security and independence require, sacrifice the interest of commerce, the prosperity of

their people, and the happiness of families, to ideas of vain-glory?

"These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who governs a free nation with the sole aim of rendering it happy.

"Your Majesty will see in these overtures only my sincere desire to contribute effectively, for the second time, to a general pacification by a prompt procedure, full of confidence and divested of those forms which, necessary perhaps, in order to disguise the dependence of feeble States, only reveal between strong States a mutual desire to deceive each other.

"France and England, by the abuse of their power, may for a long time yet retard its termination; but I dare to say that every civilized nation is interested in the close of a war which embraces the whole world."

At the same time, and in nearly the same terms, Bonaparte wrote to the Emperor Francis. He had treated formerly with this sovereign, and would not perhaps have found him inflexible; but Pitt did not believe the Revolution finished, and had no confidence in a man who had just seized with a victorious hand the direction of the destinies of France. A frigidly polite letter, addressed by Lord Granville to Talleyrand, the minister of foreign affairs, repelled the advances of the First Consul. The English then prepared a new armament intended to second the attempts which the royalists were at that time renewing in the west. In enumerating the causes of European mistrust with regard to France, Lord Granville added, "The best guarantee, the most natural guarantee, for the reality and the permanence of the pacific intentions of the French government, would be the restoration of that royal dynasty which has maintained for so many ages the internal prosperity of France, and which has made it regarded with respect and consideration abroad. Such an event would clear away all the obstacles which hinder negotiations for peace, it would ensure to France the tranquil possession of her ancient territory, and it would give to all the nations of Europe that security which they are compelled to seek at present by other means."

During the violent debate raised in Parliament by the pacific propositions of the First Consul, Pitt based all his arguments upon the instability and insecurity of a treaty of peace with the French Revolution, whatever might be the name of its chief rulers. "When was it discovered that the dangers of Jacobinism cease to exist?" he cried. "When was it discovered

that the Jacobinism of Robespierre, of Barère, of the five directors, of the triumvirate, has all of a sudden disappeared because it is concentrated in a single man, raised and nurtured in its bosom, covered with glory under its auspices, and who has been at once the offspring and the champion of all its atrocities? . . . It is because I love peace sincerely that I cannot content myself with a vain word; it is because I love peace sincerely that I cannot sacrifice it by seizing the shadow when the reality is not within my reach. *Cur igitur pacem nolo? Quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest!*"

More moderate in form, Austria had in reality replied like England. War was inevitable, and in the internal disorder in which the Directory had left affairs, in the financial embarrassment and in the deplorable state of the armies, the First Consul felt the weight of a government that had been so long disorganized and weak, pressing heavily on his shoulders. His first care was to achieve the pacification of the west, always agitated by royalist passions. For a moment the chiefs of the party thought it possible to engage General Bonaparte in the service of the monarchical restoration: they were speedily undeceived. But the First Consul knew how to make use in Vendée of the influence of the former curé of St. Laud, the Abbé Bernier; he made an appeal to the priests, who returned from all parts to their provinces, "The ministers of a God of Peace," said the proclamation of the 28th December, 1799, "will be the first promoters of reconciliation and concord; let them speak to all hearts the language which they learn in the temple of their Master! Let them enter temples which will be reopened to them, and offer for their fellow-citizens the sacrifice which shall expiate the crime of war and the blood which has been made to flow!" Always in intimate unison with the religious sentiment of the populace who fought under their orders, the Vendean chiefs responded to this appeal, laying down their arms. In Brittany and in Normandy, Georges Cadoudal and Frotté continued hostilities; severe instructions were sent, first to General Hédouville, and then to General Brune. "The Consuls think that the generals ought to shoot on the spot the principal rebels taken with arms in hand. However cunning the Chouans may be, they are not so much so as Arabs of the desert. The First Consul believes that a salutary example would be given by burning two or three large communes, chosen from among those who have behaved themselves most

badly." Six weeks later the insurrection was everywhere subdued; Frotté, and his young aide-de-camp Toustain, had been shot; Bourmont had accepted the offers of the First Consul, and enrolled himself in his service; Georges Cadoudal resisted all the advances of him whom he was soon to pursue with his hatred even to attempting a crime. "What a mistake I have made in not stifling him in my arms!" repeated the hardy chief of the Chouans on quitting General Bonaparte. He retired into England. The civil war was terminated; the troops which had occupied the provinces of the west could now rejoin the armies which were preparing on the frontiers. Carnot, who had just re-entered France, replaced at the ministry of war General Berthier, called upon active service. It was the grand association connected with his name, rather than the hope of an active and effective co-operation, which decided the First Consul to entrust this post to Carnot; possibly he wished to remove it from the little group of obstinate liberals justly disquieted at the dangers with which they saw freedom menaced. Already the journals had been suppressed, with the exception of thirteen; the laws were voted without dispute; and, "in a veritable whirlwind of urgency," the government claimed to regulate the duration of the discussions of the Tribunal. Benjamin Constant, still young, and known for a short time previously as a publicist, raised his voice eloquently against the wrong done to freedom of discussion. "Without doubt," said he "harmony is desirable amongst the authorities of the Republic; but the independence of the Tribunal is no less necessary to that harmony than the constitutional authority of the government; without the independence of the Tribunal, there will be no longer either harmony or constitution, there will be no longer anything but servitude and silence, a silence that all Europe will understand."

The past violence of the assemblies, and their frequent inconsistencies, had wearied feeble minds, and blinded short-sighted spirits. The speech of Benjamin Constant secured for his friend Madame de Staël a forced retirement from Paris. The law was voted by a large majority, and the adulations of flatterers were heaped up around the feet of the First Consul. He himself took a wiser view of his position, which he still considered precarious. On taking up his residence at the Tuileries, in great state, on February 19, 1800, he said to his secretary, "Well, Bourienne, we have reached the Tuileries; the thing is now to stop here."

Already, and by the sole effort of a sovereign will, which appeared to improve by exercise, the power formerly distributed among obscure hands was concentrated at Paris, under the direction of a central administration suddenly organized; exactions borne with difficulty resulted in abundant resources from the conquered or annexed countries, at Genoa, in Holland, at Hamburg. The young King of Prussia, sensible and prudent, had refused to transform his neutrality into alliance; but he had used his influence over the smaller states of the empire, to induce them to maintain the same attitude. The Emperor Paul I., tossed to and fro by the impetuous movements of his ardent and unhealthy spirit, was piqued by the defeats of Suwarrow, and offended by the insufficiency of the help of Austria; he was discontented with the English government, and ill-humoredly kept himself apart from the coalition. The resumption of hostilities was imminent, and the grand projects of the First Consul began to unroll themselves. Active preparations had been till then confined to the army of the Rhine under Moreau. The army of Liguria, placed under the command of Masséna, with Genoa as a centre of operations, had received neither reinforcements nor munitions; its duty was to protect the passage of the Appenines against Mélas, whilst Moreau attacked upon the Rhine the army of Suabia, commanded by Marshal Kray. The occupation of Switzerland by the French army impeded the movements of the allies, by compelling them to withdraw their two armies from each other; the First Consul meditated a movement which should give him all the advantages of this separation. Moreau in Germany, Masséna in Italy, were ordered at any cost to keep the enemy in check. Bonaparte silently formed a third army, the corps of which he cleverly dispersed, distracting the attention of Europe by the camp of the army of reserve at Dijon. Already he was preparing the grand campaign which should raise his glory to its pinnacle, and establish his power upon victory. In his idea everything was to be sacrificed to the personal glory of his successes. He conceived a project of attack by crossing the Rhine. Moreau, modest and disinterested, accepted the general plan of the war, and subordinated his operations to those of the First Consul; in his military capacity independent and resolute, he persisted in passing the Rhine at his pleasure. Bonaparte was enraged. "Moreau would not seek to understand me," cried he. He yielded, however, to the observations of General

Dessoles, and always clever in subjugating those of whom he had need, he wrote to Moreau to restore him liberty of action. "Dessoles will tell you that no one is more interested than myself in your personal glory and your good fortune. The English embark in force; what do they want? I am to-day a sort of manikin, who has lost his liberty and his good fortune. Greatness is fine but in prospective and in imagination. I envy you your luck; you go with the heroes to do fine deeds. I would willingly barter my consular purple against one of your bridadier's epaulettes" (16th March, 1800).

The army of Italy had been suffering for a long time with heroic courage; the well-known chief who took the command was more than any other suited to obtain from it the last efforts of devotion; it was the first to undergo the attack of the allied forces. The troops of Masséna were still scattered when he was assailed by Mélas. The fear of prematurely exhausting the insufficient resources of Genoa had prevented him from following the wise councils of Bonaparte, by massing his troops round that town. After a series of furious combats upon the upper Bormida, the French line found itself cut in two by the Austrians; General Suchet was obliged to fall back upon Nice, Masséna re-entered Genoa. A new effort forced back General Mélas beyond the Appenines. The attempt to rejoin the corps of General Suchet having failed, Masséna saw himself constrained to shut himself up in Genoa, in the midst of a population divided in opinion, but whose confidence he had already known how to win. Resolved to occupy by resistance and by sorties all the forces of the allies, the general made preparations for sustaining the siege to the last extremity. All the provisions of the place were brought into the military magazines; the most severe order reigned in the distribution, but already scarcity was felt. The forces of Masséna, exhausted by frequent fights, diminished every day; bread failed; and the heroic obstinacy of the general alone compelled the Austrians to keep a considerable corps d'armée before a famished town (5th May, 1800). Mélas had in vain attempted to force the lines of Var, behind which General Suchet, too feeble to defend Nice, had cleverly entrenched himself.

Moreau delayed to commence the campaign; his material was insufficient; Alsace and Switzerland, exhausted of resources, could not furnish the means of transport required by his movement. The First Consul urged him. "Obtain a success

as soon as possible, that you may be able by a diversion in some degree to expedite the operations in Italy," he wrote to him on April 24; "every day's delay is extremely disastrous to us." On April 26, Moreau passed the Rhine at Strasburg, at Brisach, and at Basle, thus deceiving General Kray, who defended the defiles of the Black Forest, whilst the different divisions of the French army reascended and repassed the Rhine, in order to cross it afresh without difficulty at Schaffhausen. The Austrians had not yet collected their forces, dispersed by the unlooked-for movement they found themselves obliged to execute; the French corps were themselves dispersed when the battle commenced, on May 3, at Engen. After a furious struggle at several points, General Moreau achieved a splendid victory; two days later the same fortune crowned the battle of Moesskirch; the loss on both sides was great. The action was not well combined; Marshal Kray at first fell back behind the Danube; by the advice of his council of war he decided to defend the magazines at Biberach. He repassed the river, and offered battle to the corps of Gouvion St. Cyr, then hampered with Moreau, bearing his direction with difficulty. The positions occupied by the Austrians were everywhere attacked at once; their troops, already demoralized by several defeats, retired in disorder. Kray fell back on Ulm, where an entrenched camp was ready for him. General Moreau was compelled to weaken his army by detaching a corps of 1800 men, necessary for the operations of the First Consul. He attempted without success a movement intended to turn the flank of General Kray, and resolved to blockade him in his positions, and wait for the result of the manœuvres of Bonaparte. On the 27th May he wrote to Bonaparte, "We await with impatience the announcement of your success. M. de Kray and I are groping about here—he to keep his army round Ulm, I to make him quit the post. It would have been dangerous, especially for you, if I had carried the war to the left bank of the Danube. Our present position has forced the Prince of Reuss to remove himself to the passes of the Tyrol, to the sources of the Lech and the Iller; thus he is no longer dangerous for you. If M. de Kray comes towards me, I shall still retreat as far as Meiningen; there I shall join General Lecourbe, and we shall fight. If M. de Kray marches upon Augsburg, I shall do the same; he will quit his support at Ulm, and then we shall see what will have to be done to cover your movements. We should find more advantages in carrying on the war upon the left

bank of the Danube, and making Wurtemberg and Franconia contribute to it; but that would not suit you, as the enemy would be able to send detachments down into Italy whilst leaving us to ravage the provinces of the Empire.

"Give me, I pray you, some news of yourself, and command me in every possible service I can render you."

All was thus prepared in Germany and Italy for the success of that campaign of the First Consul of which the enemy were still ignorant. Always deceived by the fictitious concentrations carried on at Dijon, the Austrians saw without disquietude the departure of Bonaparte, who left Paris, as it was said, for a few days, in order to pass in review the army of reserve. The French public shared the same illusion; the preparations eagerly pushed forward by the First Consul, remained secret. He set out at the last moment, leaving with regret, and not without uneasiness, his government scarcely established, and new institutions not yet in working order. "Keep firmly together," said he to Cambacérès and Lebrun; "if an emergency occurs, don't be alarmed at it. I will return like a thunderbolt, to crush those who are audacious enough to raise a hand against the government." He had in advance, by the powerful conceptions of his genius arranged the whole plan of operations, and divined the movements of his enemies. Bending over his maps, and designating with his finger the positions of the different corps, he muttered in a low voice, "This poor M. de Mélas will pass by Turin, he will fall back upon Alessandria. I shall pass the Po, and come up with him again on the road of Placenza, in the plains of the Scrivia; and I shall beat him there, and then there." The Tribunate expressed their desire that the First Consul might return soon, "conqueror and pacificator." An article of the Constitution forbade him to take the command of the armies; Berthier received the title of general-in-chief. The First Consul passed in review the army of conscripts and invalids assembled at Dijon. On May 13, he combined the active forces at Geneva; the troops coming from Germany under the command of General Moncey had not yet arrived; they were to pass by the St. Gothard. General Marescot had been ordered to reconnoitre the Alps; the pass of the St. Bernard, more difficult than that of the Simplon or Mont Cenis, was much shorter, and the passage from it could be much more easily defended. "Difficult it may be," replied the First Consul to the report of Marescot, "but is it possible?" "I think so," said the general, "with

extraordinary efforts." "Ah, well! let us set out," said Bonaparte.

From Geneva to Villeneuve the journey was easy, and vessels carried provisions to that point. The First Consul had carefully arranged places for revictualling all along the road. At Montigny half the mules, requisitioned at great cost in the neighborhood, were loaded with victuals and munitions of war; the other half were attached to the gun carriages relieved of the cannon, which were to be again put in working order at San Remi, on the other side of the pass. The cannon themselves were enveloped in the hollowed trunks of trees; they could then be dragged over the ice and snow. The number of mules proving insufficient, and the peasants refusing to undertake this rough work, the soldiers yoked themselves to the cannon, and dragged them across the mountain without wishing to accept the rewards promised by the First Consul. He rode on a mule at the head of the rear-guard, wrapped in a gray great-coat, chatting familiarly with his guide, and sustaining the courage of his soldiers by his unalterable coolness. After a few hours' rest at the hospice of St. Bernard commenced the descent, more difficult still than the ascent. From the 15th to the 20th of May the divisions followed each other. Lannes and Berthier, who commanded the vanguard, had already advanced to Aosta, when they found themselves stopped by the little fort of Bard, built upon a precipitous rock, and with artillery commanding the defile. It was now night; a layer of straw and refuse was spread over the frozen foot-path; the wheels of the gun-carriages were encased in tow; at the break of day the passage had been safely cleared. The French army, descending like a torrent into the valley, seized upon Ivry, and repulsed the Austrians at the Chiusella on May 26th. All the divisions of Bonaparte's army assembled by degrees; the corps of Moncey debouched by the St. Gothard, 4000 men under the orders of General Thureau crossed by Mont Cenis. General Mélas still refused to believe in the danger which menaced him, and already an imposing army was advancing against his scattered and divided forces. Already Lannes had beaten General Ott at Montebello, after a hotly disputed engagement. "I heard the bones crackle like a hailstorm on the roofs," said the conqueror.

Bonaparte threw himself upon Milan, neglecting Genoa, which he might have delivered without risk; thereby condemning Masséna and his army to the sufferings of a prolonged

siege, terminated by a sad defeat. He had conceived vaster projects, and the design of annihilating the Austrian army by a single blow. Everything had to give way to the consideration of personal success and his egotistical thirst for glory. The Lombard populace received the First Consul with transport, happy to see themselves delivered from the Austrian yoke, and beguiled in advance with the hope of liberty. General Mélas was at Alessandria, summoning to his aid the forces that were attacking Suchet on the Var, and the troops of General Ott, detained by the siege of Genoa. He was assured of the impossibility of any succor being sent by Marshal Kray. It was necessary to conquer or die. In the prison in which the Austrian army detained him, Masséna had divined the situation of the enemy. He was still hoping for the assistance that had been promised him; already General Ott had sent him a flag of truce. "Give me only provisions for two days, or one day," said he to the Genoese, "and I will save you from the Austrian yoke, and spare my army the sorrow of surrender."

All resources were exhausted; the horrors of famine had worn out the courage of the inhabitants; even the soldiers were yielding to discouragement. "Before he will surrender," said they, "the general will make us eat his boots." For a long time the garrison had lived on unwholesome bread made with starch, upon linseed and cocoa, which scarcely sufficed to keep the soldiers alive; the population, reduced to live on soup made of herbs gathered on the ramparts, died by hundreds; the prisoners cantoned in the port in old dismasted vessels, uttered cries that reached the ears of their old generals. The latter had refused to send in provisions for the prisoners, in spite of the promise of Masséna to reserve it for them. The last food was used up; on the 3rd of June the general consented to receive the flag of truce. He asked for, and obtained, the honors of war; the army was authorized to depart from Genoa with arms and baggage, flags displayed, and free to direct its course towards the corps of General Suchet. "Without that I should issue arms in hand, and it should be seen what eight thousand famished men could do." War and famine had reduced to this number the soldiers in condition to carry arms. After their cure, the sick, who filled the hospitals, were to be sent to the quarters of General Suchet. Masséna defended the interests of the Genoese, and asked in their favor for a free government. The Austrian generals refused to make any engagement. "In less than a fortnight I shall be back again in

Genoa," declared the French general. "You will find there the men whom you have taught how to defend it," replied St. Julien, one of the plenipotentiaries. General Soult remained in the place, seriously wounded. Masséna brought his exhausted troops to the Var. In the depths of their souls, generals and soldiers cherished a bitter resentment for the manner in which they had been abandoned. When the Austrian troops, beaten by Suchet, had retired towards Alessandria, Masséna did not allow him to pursue them; he contented himself with guarding the gates of France.

Bonaparte had just quitted Stradella, which he had occupied after leaving Milan. He had been obliged to disperse his forces, in order to cut off all the passages open to the enemy. When he entered, on June 13th, the plain that extends between the Scrivia and the Bormida, near the little village of Marengo, he was badly instructed as regards the movements of the enemy, as well as the resources of the country. On the morning of the 14th, General Mélas, constrained by necessity, evacuated Alessandria, and, passing the Bormida upon three bridges, attacked General Victor before Marengo. Lannes was at the same time surrounded on every side, and obliged to retreat in spite of prodigies of courage. Marengo had been destroyed by the artillery of the enemy, when Bonaparte arrived upon the field of battle with his guard and his staff officers, at once drawing upon himself the brunt of the fight. Meanwhile the retreat continued; the army seemed about to be cut in two; the Austrian general, old and fatigued, believing himself assured of victory, re-entered Alessandria. It was now three o'clock, and Bonaparte still hoped and kept on fighting. He despatched an aide-de-camp to Desaix, returned from Egypt two days before, and whom he had detached in the direction of Novi; upon his return depended the fortune of the day. Desaix had divined this, and forestalled the message of Bonaparte; before he could be expected he was beside the general, who questioned him as to the aspect of affairs. "Well," said Desaix, after having rapidly examined the situation of the different corps, "it is a lost battle; but it is not late; we have time to gain another." His regiments were forming whilst he spoke, stopping the march of the Austrians. "My friends," said the First Consul to the reanimated soldiers, "remember that it is my custom to sleep upon the field of battle."

At the same moment Desaix advanced at the heads of his troops. "Go and tell the First Consul that I am about to

charge," said he to his aide-de-camp, Savary; "I need to be supported by cavalry." He was crossing an undulation in the ground when a ball struck him in the breast; from daybreak he had been oppressed by gloomy presentiments. "I have been too long making war in Africa," said he; "the bullets of Europe know me no longer." On falling he said to General Boudet, "Conceal my death; it might unsettle the troops." The soldiers had perceived it and rushed forward to avenge him. Kellermann arrived at the same instant, urged forward by one of those sudden inspirations which mark great generals; hurling his dragoons upon the Austrian cavalry, which he broke through, he attacked the column of grenadiers which arduously sustained the assault of the division of Desaix. Their ranks fell into disorder; one entire corps threw down its arms. General Zach, entrusted with the command in the absence of Mélas, was forced to give up his sword. When the old general hurried up in agitation, the battle was lost. The Austrian troops, repulsed and routed, and crowded against the banks of the Bormida, blocked up all the bridges, or cast themselves into the river, everywhere pursued by the victorious French. The cannon, which stuck fast in the Bormida, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The staff was decimated.

The First Consul regretted the loss of Desaix, the only one among the companions of his youth who had seemed able to inspire in him any particular regard. He was, however, triumphant, and this great day made him in fact the master of Italy. He had the wisdom to perceive it. The needs of government recalled him to France; the conditions he proposed to Mélas, although hard, were such as could be accepted. The Austrian army was authorized to retire with the honors of war; but it was to surrender to the French troops all its positions in Liguria, Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations, whilst evacuating the Italian territory as far as the Mincio. To the protests of Mélas, Bonaparte replied by a formal refusal to listen. "Sir," said he, "my conditions are irrevocable. I did not begin to made war yesterday. Your position is as well known to me as to yourself. You are in Alessandria, encumbered with the dead, the wounded, and the sick, and destitute of provisions; you have lost the *élite* of your army; you are surrounded on all sides. I could exact everything, but I only demand of you that which the situation of affairs imperatively requires. Return to Alessandria; you will have no other conditions."

Mélas signed, pledging his word until he should receive a reply from Vienna. On the same evening, before quitting the field of battle, the First Consul wrote for the second time to the Emperor Francis Joseph. He was moved to the very depths of his impassable and haughty soul by the spectacle of the carnage and fury of the battle. In subsequent calmer moments he perhaps regretted his letter. "It is upon the battlefield of Marengo," said he, "in the midst of agonies, and surrounded by 15,000 corpses, that I conjure your Majesty to listen to the cry of humanity, and not permit the children of two brave and powerful nations to massacre each other for interests which are foreign to them. It is for me to press this upon your Majesty, since I am the nearest to the theatre of war. Your heart cannot be so keenly alive to it as mine. The arms of your Majesty have achieved sufficient glory. You govern a large number of States. What then can those in the cabinet of your Majesty allege in favor of the continuation of hostilities? Is it the interests of religion and of the Church? Why do they not counsel your Majesty to make war on the English, the Muscovites, and the Prussians? They are further from the Church than we. Is it the form of the French Government, which is not hereditary but simply elective? But the government of the Empire is also elective; and besides, your Majesty is thoroughly convinced of the powerlessness of the entire world to change the desire which the French people have received from nature to govern themselves as they please. Is it the destruction of revolutionary principles? If your Majesty will take account of the effects of war you will see that it tends to revolutionize Europe, by increasing everywhere the public debt and the discontent of the people. In compelling the French people to make war, you compel them only to think of war, only to live in war; and the French legions are numerous and brave. If your Majesty wishes for peace it is done; let us give repose and tranquillity to the present generation. If future generations are foolish enough to fight—well, they will learn after a few years of war to become wise and live in peace. I might take captive the entire army of your Majesty. I am satisfied by a suspension of hostilities, having hopes that it may be the first step towards the repose of the world; an object for which I can plead all the more forcibly because, nurtured and schooled by war, I might be suspected of being more accustomed to the evils it drags after it. If your Majesty refuses these proposals, the hostilities will

recommence; and let me be permitted to tell you frankly, in the eyes of the world you alone will be responsible for the war."

Peace was still to be delayed, but the Convention of Alessandria was concluded at once; and the success of General Moreau sustained in Germany the victorious arguments of the First Consul. The former passed the Danube near Hochstedt; after a very brilliant action, which lasted eighteen hours (June 19), he took 5000 prisoners, and captured twenty pieces of cannon and considerable magazines. Kray, menaced with the probability of having his line of retreat cut off, had abandoned his position at Ulm, forcing his march so precipitately that General Moreau had not been informed of it. Meanwhile he attacked the Grisons and the Tyrol, repulsed the Prince of Reuss, and established himself upon the Isar. On the 15th of July a suspension of arms was signed at Parsdorf, near Munich. Like the soldiers of the army of Italy, the soldiers of the army of the Rhine were about to take some repose.

Masséna had re-entered Genoa on the 24th of June, justifying to the letter his glorious bravado; his ill-humor was dissipated, and he remained entrusted with the chief command of the army of Italy. The First Consul had received at Milan the eager homage of the Lombards, but the Cisalpine Republic was not reconstituted; a Grand Council governed it under the Presidency of Pétiet, the French minister. At Turin, General Jourdan directed the provisional government; at Genoa, General Dejean filled the same functions; everywhere the paraded power of France was substituted for the semblance of liberty; the Roman States were still in the hands of the Neapolitans. The new Pope, Barnabus Chiaramonti, formerly Bishop of Imola, who had shown himself well disposed towards the French, had just arrived unexpectedly at Ancona, whence he negotiated his re-entry into the eternal city. The First Consul assured him of his good intentions as regards the Catholic Church, and the Holy See. The far-seeing *finesse* of the Court of Rome did not permit it to be deceived. The Secretary of the Sacred College, Monsignor Consalvi, had said during the conclave, "It is from France that we have received persecutions for ten years past; well, it is from France that will perhaps come in the future our succors and our consolations. A very extraordinary young man, and even more difficult to be judged, rules there to-day. There is no doubt he will soon have reconquered Italy. Remember that he protected the

priests in 1797, and that he has recently rendered funeral honors to Pius VI. Let us not neglect the resources which offer themselves to us on this side." On the day after the battle of Marengo preliminary negotiations already commenced. The First Consul was officially present at the grand *Te Deum* chanted in the cathedral of Milan. "Our atheists at Paris may say of it what they will," wrote Bonaparte to Cambacérès.

During the night of the 2nd and 3rd July, 1800, Bonaparte re-entered Paris, overwhelmed on the way by evidences of public joy, which were most brilliantly manifested at Lyons. He had forbidden all preparations for his return: "My intention is to have neither arches of triumph nor any species of ceremony," he wrote to his brother Lucien, who had replaced Laplace at the ministry of the interior. "I have too good an opinion of myself to hold such baubles in much estimation. I know no other triumph than the public satisfaction."

The day would come when public satisfaction, of a truth much mitigated by long sufferings, would no longer suffice for the triumph of the absolute master who dragged exhausted France across fields of battle; the remembrance of his return to Paris after the victory of Marengo was to recur to his sorrowful mind when he dictated at St. Helena the memoirs explanatory of his life: "It was a great day," said he.

Already the adulations and mean worship of courtiers were encompassing him; already, also, was revealed the provisional character of that power which depended so completely upon the life of a single man. Sinister reports were circulated during the campaign in Italy; the names of Carnot, Moreau, and La Fayette had been put forward. The triumphant arrival of the First Consul promptly baffled the intrigues in which the principals interested had never taken part; nevertheless, he nursed against Carnot an unjust feeling, which soon betrayed itself in his dismissal. Lucien Bonaparte had forestalled, or badly comprehended, the wishes of his brother; he had got Fontanes to write a pamphlet entitled "*Cæsar, Cromwell, and Bonaparte*," which revealed projects and hopes in favor of the First Consul for which the public was not prepared. "Happy for the Republic," it was said, "if Bonaparte were immortal? But where are his successors? Who is the successor of Pericles? Frenchmen, you slumber over an abyss, and your sleep is madly tranquil."

It was too soon to allow these premature pretensions to be thus made public. The *finesse* of La Fayette enabled him to

penetrate the secret hope of the First Consul, who was already occupied, and for most serious reasons, with the re-establishment of religion in France. He was able to say to him, with an irony that was a little scornful, "Come, general, confess that this has no other aim than to get the little phial broken on your head." Public opinion was not yet calling for the re-establishment of the monarchy; it did not connect the idea of hereditary power with a victorious general, still young, and who had scarcely seized the reins of the government of the interior. The pamphlet, and the insinuations it contained, had no success; Fouché was openly reprimanded for allowing the publication. Lucien Bonaparte was sent as ambassador to Madrid, bearing, he has declared, the manuscript of the pamphlet, with four corrections in the handwriting of the First Consul. The latter began to surround himself with a court. Madame Bonaparte had already her ladies and chevaliers of honor.

St. Julien had just arrived at Paris with the ratification of the treaty of Alessandria, and for the purpose of sounding the First Consul as to his intentions on the subject of a definitive peace. Major-general of the imperial armies, and little versed in diplomatic usages, he, in all simplicity, avowed his ignorance to Talleyrand. The latter profited by this to prevail upon the Austrian ambassador to sign the preliminary articles. "So be it," said St. Julien, "but they will have no authority until after their ratification by my sovereign." The major-general was not authorized to treat; and the conventions he had accepted being vague as to the most important point, the settlement of the frontiers of Italy, were disavowed at Vienna. Thugut proposed the opening of a congress, in which England was disposed to take part. General Duroc, aide-de-camp of the First Consul, who had accompanied St. Julien on his return to Vienna, was not admitted to negotiate, and found himself compelled to return to Paris.

Bonaparte's temper was quick; his irritation against England was old and inveterate. For more than two years that power had hindered the success of his favorite enterprises; and he struggled against her in her commercial interests, as well as in her military efforts, with a perseverance worthy of Pitt. He had already won over the United States to the doctrine of the greater part of European States as to the rights of neutrals, and concluded with their diplomatists the treaty of Morfontaine; he then worked to raise up against England a formidable coalition, at the head of which the Emperor Paul

I. had just placed himself. Strongly influenced in favor of France by the offer the First Consul had made to cede to him Malta, then besieged by the English, the Czar also received with satisfaction the 6000 Russian prisoners whom Bonaparte sent to him without ransom, after having vainly solicited exchanges with England and Russia. The maritime powers of the north of Europe had to complain of vexatious interference with merchant-vessels on the part of England. The law of the seas, said they, authorized them to carry on commerce between one power and another, goods contraband of war alone excepted; as the flag covered the merchandise, English vessels could not legitimately stop and visit ships of neutral countries, in order to seize French or Spanish commodities. The theory of England was different, serving her own commercial and military interests. In 1800 the Emperor Paul embraced the cause of the maritime powers, and formed against England the League of Neutrals, whilst he entered into amicable relations, and a sort of alliance, with the First Consul. At the same time Bonaparte negotiated with the King of Spain, offering him Tuscany, with the title of King of Etruria, for his son-in-law the Duke of Parma, on condition that France should receive back Louisiana, formerly ceded to Spain by Louis XV. for an indemnity claim. Charles IV. also engaged himself to use his influence to have the ports of Portugal closed against England. Before admitting England to the congress, the First Consul demanded that the continental armistice should be extended to naval forces, as the suspension of maritime hostilities would permit him to revictual Malta and Egypt; he accepted on these terms the common negotiations.

England rejected, and could not but reject, these proposals. She already held the conquest of Malta as certain; and since Bonaparte himself had quitted Egypt, the English soldiers and marines no longer doubted the ultimate success of their efforts against us, everywhere united with those of the Porte. Egypt was henceforth a point so important for England that she had resolved never to yield to the passionate caprices which had led General Bonaparte to establish the French dominion there. In the month of August, 1800, she could not accept an armistice which would of necessity have prolonged the war in the East. In the month of November, 1799, letters of General Kléber, sincere and discouraged, had fallen into the hands of the English Government. Entrusted since the departure of General Bonaparte with the chief command, Kléber displayed

to the Directory the sad state of his army and his finances. Five months had passed, and nothing new had taken place; no succor had arrived from France. Kléber had lent his ear to the proposals of the vizier and Sir Sidney Smith. Bonaparte himself had foreseen the circumstances under which the evacuation of Egypt would become necessary; he had left upon this subject peremptory and haughty instructions. Kléber forestalled the term marked out by the general who had let his mantle fall upon his shoulders, and he concluded the treaty of El Arish, a monument of his sorrow and desolation. The signature of Desaix, who negotiated it, was mournfully wrung from him, after he had required from the general-in-chief a formal order to put his name to it. Negotiated between military men, it was not countersigned with the signature of the plenipotentiary, who himself had not better authority to negotiate. The Government of Great Britain, informed of the distress of General Kléber, sent to Admiral Keith a formal injunction forbidding him to treat with the French army, unless they surrendered as prisoners of war. Sir Sidney Smith immediately made known to Kléber the orders he had received; the honorable conditions which the French general had previously accepted were already in process of execution; several places had been given up to the Turks; the vizier had advanced. Kléber, however, did not hesitate. He published to the army the letter of the English commodore, with these words: "Soldiers! such insolence as this is only answered by victories: prepare to give battle."

It is a noble spectacle, that of resolute men reduced to extremities without fleeing from danger. On March 20 the French army went out from Cairo; diminished by death and sickness it numbered no more than 12,000 men, who formed themselves into squares, according to the old tactics of the troops of Egypt, in front of the ancient ruins of Heliopolis. Kléber estimated at 70,000 or 80,000 men the Turkish army which was to assail him. "My friends," said he in passing along the ranks, "you possess in Egypt only the ground which you have beneath your feet! If you retreat a step, you are lost!" Having thus spoken, he gave the order to carry the entrenched village of El Matarieh. The little redoubts were already in our possession when the Janissaries made their first rush upon the Friant division. The squares remained immovable, keeping up a continuous fire, enveloped in smoke, and scarcely distinguishing the mass of the enemies who were

falling at their feet. When the clouds began to disperse, a rampart of corpses surrounded all the French corps; in the distance were seen the enemy in flight. Kléber ordered a pursuit, which was continued during three days. When the general-in-chief at length reached the camp of the vizier at Salahieh he only found a few detachments of the enemy. The chiefs had disappeared in the desert, with their best troops. The French soldiers pillaged the tents; they were loaded with rich spoils when they retook the road to Cairo.

The capital of Egypt, never in complete submission, and disturbed by frequent insurrections, had revolted at the announcement of the evacuation and the departure of the French army; crimes had been committed, and the Christians had been massacred in several quarters. Kléber laid seige to it; the resistance was long and furious, and it was as conquerors that the French re-entered the city which formerly cost them such slight efforts. All the rebel cities of Lower Egypt were again brought back into obedience to France. The war indemnities and the prizes taken from the enemy restored the finances. Kléber labored for the completion of the forts scattered over the hills; he enrolled Copts, Syrians, and some blacks from Darfour; he treated with Murad Bey, who had driven from Upper Egypt the Turkish corps of Dervish Pacha; Ibrahim Bey and Nassif Pacha, who had sustained the revolt of Cairo, obtained an authorization to retire. Egypt appeared to be once more submissive; but the illusions which the Mohammedans had conceived were promptly dissipated; they recognized their traditional enemies, and the old fanaticism was reawakened. An assassin had already arrived in Cairo from Palestine, and shut up in the great mosque he had confided to the sheiks his project of killing General Kléber. They sought to dissuade him from it, but without informing the French. On the 14th of June, as the general was walking in his garden with the architect of the army, Suleiman presented himself before him, pretending to ask alms, and struck him several times with his dagger. The architect was wounded in striving to defend Kléber. When the soldiers came hurrying up the general had already breathed his last. The assassin made no attempt to flee; he expired under torture. At Cairo, and on the battlefield of Marengo, Kléber and Desaix succumbed on the same day, and almost at the same hour, both young, and serving to their last day the designs of the chief to whom they were very unequally attached. The First Consul

wished to unite them in the same patriotic honors; he had never had much liking for Kléber, but he did not the less keenly feel the greatness of his loss. General Menou, who took by seniority the command of the army of Egypt was incapable, and of a chimerical spirit. Bonaparte comprehended the danger which threatened that one of his conquests to which he attached the most importance; he increased the reinforcements of men and munitions, but he was in want of generals, and the war was recommencing in Europe. The English had just succeeded at last in taking Malta.

The armistice had been prolonged for eighty-five days, and the Emperor of Austria had paid for this moment of peace by the surrender of the cities of Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingoldstadt; the preliminaries, which Cobentzel had drawn out to great length, had brought about no result. Austria refused to negotiate without England, to whom she was allied by a treaty of subsidies. In contempt of the convention of Alessandria, the French troops occupied Tuscany; Masséna no longer commanded the army of Italy. Quarrels had arisen with the Italian administrations, who said they were victims of heavy exactions. Masséna was accused; in the depth of his soul he was discontented, and was always little favorable to the First Consul. Brune had replaced him. At the expiration of the armistice, and in spite of the new attempts at negotiations, the troops entered on the campaign. General Bonaparte still remained at Paris, ready to proceed at need to the threatened points. All eyes were fixed on Germany; by a common instinct great military events upon this theatre were looked forward to.

The Archduke John was young and daring; he conceived the hope of cutting off the army of General Moreau, and imprudently crossing the Inn, the difficult passage of which the French dreaded, he advanced immediately towards the Isar, intending to reascend the river in our rear. But already the difficulties of the enterprise became apparent; the young general resolved to give battle immediately. An advantage gained on the 1st of December, over the left wing of the French army, emboldened him to the point of pushing forward across the forest of Hohenlinden, in the vain hope of encountering no resistance. General Moreau waited for him in the plain between Hohenlinden and Harthofen; Generals Richepanse and Decaen had been directed to take the Austrians in the rear. Moreau had exactly calculated the time necessary for this operation.

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The battle commenced at the exit from the forest; as fast as they debouched upon the plain the Austrian corps encountered the attack of our troops. Across the snow, which fell in great flakes, the general-in-chief discerned a little confusion in the ranks of the enemy. "The moment has come to charge," he cried; "Richepanse has taken them in the rear." General Ney rushed forward at the head of his division; he rejoined his companions at the centre of the defile mingled with the confused crowd of the enemy, which they drove before them. The centre of the Austrian army was completely hemmed in; the left wing had been thrown back upon the Inn by Decaen. The French divisions who were engaged on the right, repulsed for a moment, had in their turn forced the Austrians to redescend into the valley. The plain of Hohenlinden remained in the hands of the French army. The enemy lost 8000 men killed or wounded, 12,000 prisoners, and eighty-seven pieces of cannon. General Lecourbe passed the Inn close behind the Archduke John, the division of Decaen crossed the Salza and seconded the movement of Lecourbe; General Moreau crossed the Traun, and advanced towards the Ens. The Archduke Charles, drawn from his disgrace by the danger of his country, resumed the command of the Austrian troops. It was too late to snatch back victory; he accepted the sorrowful duty of arresting the conqueror's progress by negotiations. Moreau had arrived at Steyer, a few leagues from Vienna; the ardor of his lieutenants urged him to march forward. "It would, without doubt, be a fine thing to enter Vienna," he replied; "but it is a much finer thing to dictate peace." The armistice was signed on the 25th of December, 1800, delivering to the French all the valley of the Danube, with the Tyrol, various fortresses, and immense magazines. The army of Augereau, which had had adventure enough on the Rednitz, was included in the armistice; the generals commanding in Italy and in the Grisons, Macdonald and Brune, were to be engaged to accept a suspension of arms. The modest prudence and consummate cleverness of General Moreau had assured to our arms advantages which at length promised peace. Bonaparte perceived this; not without secret heart-burning; but for a time he felt himself compelled to dissemble. "I cannot tell you all the interest I have taken in your admirable and wise manœuvres," he wrote to Moreau; "in this campaign you have surpassed yourself."

The orders of the First Consul caused the war in Italy to be ardently pushed forward. "Wherever a couple of men can

plant their feet, an army can find the means of passing," said General Bonaparte; and Macdonald had led his 15,000 men across the passes of the Splügen, among rocks and glaciers, obliged to open a path by the oxen, who trod down the snow in order to permit the soldiers to advance; he left behind him numerous victims of cold and fatigue. The army of the Grisons had arrived at Trent, the efforts of General Wukassovich having failed to arrest its progress. Brune had conducted his operations more gently; when he marched towards the Mincio, in order to cross it at two points, the imprudence of the attack and the division of the forces led to a great shedding of blood; it was only on the 31st December that the passage of the Adige was at last effected. The corps of General Moncey rejoined the forces of Macdonald at Trent; the Count of Laudon, close pressed, could only save his troops by a subterfuge, by forestalling the armistice, which did not yet extend to the armies of Italy. He had rejoined the Count of Bellegarde, when all military operations were suspended by a convention signed at Treviso.

Cobentzel and Joseph Bonaparte had remained at Lunéville during the resumption of hostilities, negotiating mutual concessions, of which the cannon every day altered the conditions. The success of his armies, and the attitude of the powers of the north, enlarged the pretensions of the First Consul; the Austrian plenipotentiary defended with persevering courage the frontier of the Adda, and the re-establishment of the Italian princes in their States, when the instructions of Bonaparte to his brother were all of a sudden altered. Order was given to retard the conclusion of peace; at the same time, as if for the purpose of calling upon Austria to bow to imperious necessity, the First Consul sent to the Corps Législatif a message, which was a bold evidence of the newest phase of his diplomacy.

"Legislators, the Republic triumphs, and its enemies once more implore its moderation.

"The news of the victory of Hohenlinden has resounded throughout Europe; that day will be reckoned in history as one of the grandest examples of French valor. But it has been thought little of by our defenders, who only think themselves victors when the country has no more enemies. The army of the Rhine has passed the Inn; every day has been a battle, and every battle a triumph. The Gallo-Batavian army has conquered at Bamberg; the army of the Grisons, through snow and ice, has crossed the Splügen, in order to turn the for-

midable lines of the Mincio and the Adige. The army of Italy has carried by main force the passage of the Mincio, and has blockaded Mantua. Lastly, Moreau is no more than five days' march from Vienna, master of an immense tract of country, and of all the magazines of the enemy.

"It is at this juncture that the Archduke Charles has asked, and the general-in-chief of the army of the Rhine has accorded, the armistice of which the conditions are about to be placed before you.

"Cobentzel, plenipotentiary of the Emperor at Lunéville, has declared himself ready to open negotiations for a separate peace. Thus Austria is freed from the influence of the English Government.

"The Government, faithful to its principles and to the prayer of humanity, confides to you, and proclaims to France and entire Europe, the intentions which animate it.

"The left bank of the Rhine shall be the limit of the French Republic; she claims nothing on the right bank. The interests of Europe will not permit the emperor to pass the Adige. The independence of the Helvetic and Batavian Republics shall be assured and recognized. Our victories add nothing to the claims of the French people. Austria ought not to expect from its defeats that which it would not have obtained by victories. Such are the unchangeable intentions of the Government. It will be the happiness of France to restore calm to Germany and Italy; its glory to enfranchise the continent from the covetous and malevolent influence of England.

"If our good faith is still deceived, we are at Prague, at Vienna, at Venice."

So many rigorous conditions, thus arrogantly announced, were, and could not fail to be, the object of discussions and stubborn resistance. But even these did not satisfy the will of the First Consul, and his resolution to snatch the last concessions from the conquered. The Emperor Paul, in his capacity of Grand Master of the Order, demanded from England the cession of the island of Malta. Upon the refusal of the British Government, he placed an embargo on all English vessels found in his ports, at the same time announcing the despatch of a plenipotentiary to Paris. In accord with Prussia, he admitted the principle of the granting of indemnities to the deposed Italian princes by the secularization of the ecclesiastical territories in Germany. Cobentzel was constantly opposed to this arrangement; he equally refused to deliver Mantua to France

as a condition of the armistice in Italy. Abandoned by the neutral powers, isolated in Germany, and separated from England, who alone remained openly hostile to France, the Austrian envoy saw himself constrained to accept conditions harder than those the rigor of which he had formerly deplored. On the 9th February, 1801, the treaty of Lunéville was at last signed. A single concession had been accorded to Cobentzel; France had consented to surrender the places which she held on the right bank of the Rhine. She insisted, however, that the fortifications should be demolished. "Dismantle them yourselves," said the Austrian plenipotentiary, sorrowfully, "and we will engage that they shall remain in the condition in which they are surrendered." This was the last hope, and the last effort of diplomacy. Upon the very morning of the signature, and with reference to the obstinate persistence of Cobentzel, Joseph Bonaparte declared, in language which was not his own, "that if the termination of the war was favorable to France, the house of Austria ought to expect to find the valley of the Adige on the crest of the Julian Alps; and that there was no power in Europe which did not see with pleasure the Austrians expelled from Italy."

The bases of the treaty of Lunéville were identical with those of the treaty of Campo Formio. Austria lost in Germany the bishopric of Salzburg, assured as an indemnity to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and in Italy the territories of this prince were granted to the Duke of Parma. The articles made no mention of Piedmont or Parma, or of the Pontifical States. The First Consul did not wish to commit himself on this point or encounter the sluggish proceedings of a congress. The Emperor of Austria had treated for the Empire as for himself. The Diet assembled at Ratisbon simply ratified the conditions of the treaty. Henceforth England found itself isolated in Europe, as France had been in 1793. The duel continued between Bonaparte and Pitt.

So much *éclat* abroad, so much glory and success terminating in an almost general peace, did not absorb all the thoughts of the First Consul, and had not yet succeeded in founding his power on a lasting basis. He felt it bitterly, and the irritation which he experienced habitually manifested itself against the remnants of the Jacobin party, the declared enemies of the order of things which he wished to establish, capable, he thought, of any crimes, and whose works he had had the opportunity of judging. This exclusive preoccupation sometimes turned

away his attention from more pressing perils and bolder enemies. A conspiracy to which the police had lent themselves, and which had failed without any of the accomplices daring to put their hands on their arms, roused public attention, in the month of October, 1800, to the dangers which pursued the First Consul. Since then there had been seized, at the house of a mechanician named Chevalier, an explosive machine which had given rise to certain suspicions; but no attempt had been made, and the conspirators, who plotted in the dark, were as yet only known to Fouché, the minister of police, clever and foreseeing, constantly hostile to the old enemies of the Republic, and more disquieted than the First Consul at the royalist manœuvres. It was to the Chouans and men of that class that the police attributed the brigandage which infested the roads in the departments of the west, the centre, and the south; it was the descents of their former chiefs upon the Norman coasts which preoccupied Fouché. At one period the royalists had thought General Bonaparte capable of playing the rôle of Monk, and accepting that modest ambition. On the 20th of February, 1800, Louis XVIII. wrote to him with his own hand, "Whatever may be their apparent conduct, men like yourself, monsieur, never inspire uneasiness. You have accepted an eminent place, and I am thankful for it. Better than any one you know how much force and power are needed to make the happiness of a great nation. Save France from its own madness, and you will have accomplished the first desire of my heart; restore to it its king, and future generations will bless your memory. You will always be too much a necessity of the State for me ever to discharge by the highest appointments the debt of my forefathers and my own."

This letter remained unanswered. Louis XVIII. thought he ought to write again. "For a long time, general," said he you ought to know that you have won my esteem. If you have any doubt as to my being susceptible of gratitude, appoint your place, and decide as to the position of your friends. As to my principles, I am French; merciful by character, I should be still more so by reason.

"No, the conqueror of Lodi, of Castiglione, of Arcola, the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, cannot prefer a vain notoriety to glory. But you are losing precious time. We can assure the peace of France; I say *we*, because I need Bonaparte for that, and he cannot do it without me.

"General, Europe observes you, glory waits for you, and I am impatient to restore peace to my people."

Sad illusions of exiles, who in a remote country know not how to judge either men or circumstances! Louis XVIII. and his friends were blind as to the state of men's minds in France, which they believed ripe for a monarchical restoration; they comprehended neither the character nor the still veiled designs of the man who had conquered, by the audacity of his genius, military glory and the civil authority. In the depth of his soul, and in spite of his firm design to mount the throne by means of absolute power, Bonaparte was, and remained, revolutionary—hostile to the remains of the past by conviction as well as by personal ambition. He wrote to Louis XVIII. on the 7th September, 1800. "I have received, monsieur, your letter; I thank you for the fair words you have spoken. You ought not to desire your return to France; it would be necessary for you to march over 500,000 corpses. Sacrifice your interests for the repose and happiness of France; history will take account of you for it."

"I am not insensible to the misfortune of your family. I shall contribute with pleasure to the comfort and tranquillity of your retreat."

Five hundred thousand corpses of French soldiers were yet to strew the soil of Europe to serve the ambition of Bonaparte, without hindering that return of the House of Bourbon which he declared to be so disastrous. In 1800 the First Consul deigned to promise his benevolence to the descendants of Henry IV., and felt no fear as to royalist intrigues in France. Since the troubles had ceased in the west, only Georges Cadoudal had continued sometimes to attract his attention. A letter in the month of July had ordered Bernadotte to pursue him: "Have this miserable Georges arrested, and shot within twenty-four hours," he wrote. Georges had returned to England.

He was back again in France on the 24th December, 1800, when the coach of the First Consul was stopped in the Rue St. Nicaise by a small cart which barred the way; the coachman urged forward the horses, and passed it. At the same instant an explosion was heard; the dead and the wounded fell round the carriage of Bonaparte, shaken by the violence of the shock, all the windows being broken. Bonaparte stopped his carriage, and comprehended at once the cause of the accident. "Drive to the opera!" said he. Madame Bonaparte was waiting for him there. When the public was reassured by his

presence, he returned to the Tuileries. A barrel of powder, loaded with grape-shot, had been placed upon the road; the victims were numerous, and the assassins escaped.

The general fright was of use to the anger and emotion of the First Consul. The enemies of Fouché denounced a police everywhere favorable to the old Jacobins. The suspicions of Bonaparte were all directed against these known and furious enemies of his person and his policy. He was enraged in his irritation, and disdained, according to his custom, the legal forms and the justice of the tribunals. "We must make the number of the convicted equal to the number of their victims," he said, "and transport all their adherents. I will not have all quarters of Paris successively undermined. There are always Septembrisers, miscreants covered with crimes, in square battalion against every successive government. It is necessary to make an end of them." Fouché, silent but imperturbable, for a long time on the traces of the conspiracy, persisted in seeing in the infernal machine the work of the agents of Chouannerie. The Council of State proposed to institute a military commission and authorize the First Consul to remove the men who appeared dangerous. Bonaparte was irritated by this slowness of justice. "The action of a special tribunal will be slow," said he; "it will not get hold of the truly guilty. It is not a question of judicial metaphysics. There are in France 10,000 miscreants who have persecuted all honest men, and who are steeped in blood. They are not all culpable in the same degree, far from it. Strike the chiefs boldly and the soldiers will disperse. There is no middle course here; it is necessary to pardon all, like Augustus, or else there must be a prompt and terrible vengeance proportionate to the crime. It is necessary to shoot fifteen or twenty of these miscreants, and transport 200 of them. I am so convinced of the necessity of purging France from these sanguinary dregs that I am ready to constitute myself sole tribunal—to bring forward the guilty, examine them, judge them, and have their condemnation carried into effect. It is not myself that I seek to avenge here. I am as ready to die as First Consul for the preservation of the Republic and the Constitution as to fall upon the field of battle; but it is necessary to reassure France, who will approve my policy."

The members of the council listened, struck with consternation at such absolutist and revolutionary violence, but already too much dismayed to defend the cause of the most elementary

justice. Admiral Truguet alone suggested doubts as to the true authors of the crime. "It is desired," said he, "to defeat the miscreants who trouble the Republic, so be it; but the miscreants are of more than one kind. The returned emigrants menace those who have acquired national property, the Chouans infest the highways, the priests inflame the passions of the people, the public spirit is corrupted by pamphlets." The First Consul blushed violently at this allusion; the reminder of the unfortunate attempt of Lucien Bonaparte increased his anger. Advancing towards the admiral, "Of what pamphlets do you speak?" cried he. "You know as well as I do," without giving way, answered the brave sailor.

The First Consul paced the hall; the councillors of State watched him, vaguely recognizing in the outbursts of the anger of the master the powerful instinct of government, which discerned the permanent hostility of the revolutionaries without being able to divest itself of their principles or of their modes of action. "Do people take us for children?" he cried. "Do they expect to draw us aside with these declamations against the emigrants, the Chouans, and the priests? Because there are still a few partial attempts in Vendée, must we be called upon to declare the country in danger? If the Chouans commit crimes, I will have them shot. But must I commence proscribing for a quality? Must I strike these because they are priests, those because they are old nobles? Must I send away into exile 10,000 old men, who only ask to be allowed to live peaceably in obedience to the established laws? Do you not know, gentlemen, members of the council, that excepting two or three you all pass for royalists? You, Citizen Defermon, don't they take you for a partisan of the Bourbons? Must I send Citizen Portalis to Sinnamari, and Citizen Devaisne to Madagascar, and then must I make for myself a Babeuf council? No, no, Citizen Truguet, you won't get me to make any change; there are none to fear except the Septembrisers. They would not spare even you yourself, and it would be in vain for you to tell them that you defended them at the Council of State. They would cut your throat, just the same as mine or the throats of your colleagues."

He went out without giving time for any one to answer him. Cambacérès, moderate and prudent, equally clever in giving counsel and at yielding when counsels were useless, deemed the anger of the First Consul too passionate to admit of contradiction. The Council of State, several times consulted, was

brought over with repugnance to the idea of an extraordinary measure. The First Consul wished a law; it was decided to involve the great bodies of the State in the arbitrary act which he was about to commit. "The consuls do not know what may happen," said he. "So long as I am alive I am not afraid of any one daring to ask me an account of my actions; but I may be killed, and then I cannot answer for my two colleagues. You are not very firmly placed in your stirrups," he added, turning to Cambacérès, with a smile. "Better to have a law now as well as for the future." The Council of State hesitated from a repugnance to form a proscription list, assuring him that it would be rejected by the Tribune and the Legislative Body. "You are always afraid of the Tribune," said Bonaparte, "because it rejected one or two of your laws; but there are only a few Jacobins in the Legislative Body, ten or twelve at most. The others know well that but for me they would all have been massacred. The law will be passed."

At last, Talleyrand, who had previously remained silent, said that since there was a Senate, some use should be made of it. The proscription list was sent to the Senate. It had been written by Fouché, who knew the real criminals; and the statement of reasons were drawn up by the two sections of the Council of State who were at first unanimously opposed to the measure: the Senate voted, the First Consul having signed the act. "All these men have not taken the dagger in their hands," said the preamble, "but they are all universally known to be capable of sharpening it and taking it." Two days afterwards 133 Jacobins sailed from Nantes for Guiana—formerly members of the Convention and the Commune, proved or supposed to have had a part in the massacres of September, all certainly loaded with crime, and worthy of the punishment which they underwent, strangers to the attempt to assassinate the First Consul, and condemned without regard to moral or legal justice. At the same time, and as if to clear off all old accounts with the conspirators, the four men accused in October, Aréna, formerly a representative, and recently employed by the Committee of Public Safety, and the artists Ceracchi and Topino-Lebrun, were at last tried, and condemned to perish on the scaffold. Chauveau-Lagarde defended them, as he had formerly defended Charlotte Corday and the men of Nantes denounced by Carrier. His efforts were not crowned with success; whether acknowledged or only suspected, the Jacobin conspiracy was everywhere repressed with the same rigor.

Nevertheless, Fouché had at last recovered the temporarily lost traces of the real criminals. Two assistants of Georges Cadoudal, Limoëlan and St. Réjant, who had formerly taken part in the civil wars, entered into partnership with a man of the lower orders named Carbon, who bought them the cart, the horse, and powder. He was found concealed in Paris; Limoëlan had fled abroad. St. Réjant, who had let off the infernal machine, had not yet recovered from the injuries caused by it; and Carbon having betrayed his place of concealment, and all the details of the plot, they were both executed. Fouché's penetration on this occasion gained him still greater confidence with the First Consul. "He was right," repeated Bonaparte; "his opinion was better than that of the others. The returned emigrants, the royalist plotters, and people of that sort, ought to be closely watched. I am pleased, however, to be rid of the Jacobin staff."

Neither the banishment of the old revolutionists, nor the condemnation of those who had contrived the infernal machine, had disturbed the repose of public opinion, then in close alliance with the steady and firm power which ruled France. The abstract principles of justice were no longer thought of by men in general: the desire for permanent freedom had given place to the longing for rest and quiet, and all were pleased with the energy which the government had shown against disturbers of the peace; and the oppressive laws being modified, prosperity was reappearing. The state of the finances became more satisfactory: a part of the public funds had been paid, and that which still remained had just been registered in the "Great Ledger;" the fundholders accepted without too much difficulty the delay in paying the first dividend. The national property not yet sold was set apart for the liquidation, excepting what was assigned for public instruction and the support of the Invalides. Everywhere roads were being made or repaired, canals dug, and three bridges were built over the Seine. In spite of the formation of extraordinary tribunals, the great Code of Civil Law was being slowly made—destined to rule France and extend her useful action. An agent, almost unknown at Rome and only recently arrived in Paris, was already discussing with Abbé Berniér those great questions of order and organization which were afterwards to introduce the concordat. Peace, even when partial and precarious, was everywhere bearing its fruits; at home, France displayed that wonderful recuperative power so frequently and painfully put

to the proof by the severe shocks of our modern history; abroad, her importance in Europe was daily increasing, and caused more disquiet to all her enemies. The government of England, however, was soon to pass from Pitt's hands: the whole English nation called loudly to stop a war of which they had financially borne the burden, even though their armies had generally had little share in it.

In the south of Europe the First Consul, while negotiating with the Pope, and occupying Piedmont without diplomacy, had no longer any enemy to subdue worthy of his power. Murat had invaded the kingdom of Naples, causing so great terror that the queen herself was on the point of accepting an armistice by which the ports of the Two Sicilies were closed to the English. The treaty of definitive peace was signed at Florence on the 18th of March, 1801, the conditions being the same as those of the armistice, with the important addition that the territory of Elba, a dependency of the kingdom of Naples, was to be ceded. By a secret article, the sovereign of the Two Sicilies was obliged to receive and maintain a body of fifteen thousand men, which the First Consul intended to transport to Egypt, important armaments being prepared in our ports in order to be sent to the same place, their real destination being yet concealed. A Franco-Spanish expedition, nominally commanded by Prince de la Paix but really directed by General Gouvion St. Cyr, was to attempt in April the conquest of Portugal. In spite of repeated promises, the government of that small State remained obstinately faithful to England.

England was suffering from a scarcity of food which threatened to become a famine, constantly made worse by the hindrances put in the way of her commerce. The difficulties of the home government increased those of the diplomatic and military isolation which she underwent in Europe. At the moment of the conclusion of the Treaty of Union, Pitt had entered upon engagements with the Irish Catholics which he felt himself bound to fulfil. The conscientious but short-sighted and narrow-minded George III. opposed every act of toleration with respect to his Catholic subjects: he refused to give his assent, and Pitt by resigning his post sacrificed, at a perilous crisis for his country, foreign policy to the duties and obligations of parliamentary tactics. The reason of King George, already tottering, was unable to undergo so much agitation; he remained faithful to his convictions, but was for a short time out of his mind. When he regained his faculties,

Pitt, who was moved to the heart by the trouble which he had caused to his aged king, and disturbed by the evils which threatened England under the regency of the Prince of Wales, undertook never to raise the question of the emancipation of the Catholics during the life of George III. He had no seat, however, in the new cabinet, which was obviously incapable, and unequal to the difficult task which it had undertaken, and in their earlier proceedings still influenced by Pitt's action, and following the line of policy which he had traced. Scarcely had Addington become prime minister, when an attempt which had long been projected against Denmark was put in execution. Nelson had charge of it under the superior command of Sir Hyde Parker, who was above him in the order of seniority. "This is no time to feel nervous," said Nelson to his superior as they were setting sail. "Dark nights and mountains of ice matter little; we must take courage to meet the enemy."

Having passed the Sound, the English squadron blockaded the fleet which covered Copenhagen. The Danes made an heroic defence, and the old Admiral Parker, somewhat alarmed, gave the signal for the action to cease. "I'll be d—d first!" cried Nelson in a passion: "I have the right of seeing badly"—putting his telescope to the eye which he had lost at Aboukir. "I don't see the signal. Nail mine to the mast. Let them press closer on the enemy. That's my reply to such signalling." It was Nelson, moreover, who, when the battle was gained, arranged with the Prince Royal of Denmark the terms of the armistice which separated his country from the number of the neutral states.

Almost at the same moment the coalition of maritime powers underwent a more fatal check. For several months the strange workings of the mind of the Emperor Paul I. had become more obvious. Everybody trembled before him, and even the empress, as well as her sons, had been threatened with banishment to Siberia. A caricature was published representing the Czar holding in one hand a paper on which was written the word "order;" in the other, the word "counter-order;" on his forehead was read the word "disorder." A conspiracy was formed, including the principal nobles and the most intimate members of his household. "They are conspiring against me, Pahlen," said the emperor to the Governor of St. Petersburg. "Let your Majesty's mind be easy," replied the Russian, coolly; "I am up to them." He really was so,

and on the night of the 23rd March, 1801, he entered the Michael palace with the conspirators. The next in importance to him, General Benningsen, had afterwards the honor of fighting bravely against the Emperor Napoleon when subduing Poland; he was already distinguished, and had been decorated with all the orders of the empire. On making his way to the bedroom of the Czar, who was asleep, the two Hungarians who formed the only guard ran away after striking one or two blows; the palace-guard were already on an understanding with the conspirators. The unfortunate Czar, pursued by the assassins, took refuge behind a screen. Benningsen observing him held out a paper: "There is your act of abdication," said he; "sign it and I answer for your life." The emperor resisted; the conspirators crowded into the room; the lamp fell and was extinguished, and in that moment of darkness a scarf was tightened round the neck of Paul I., and he was struck on the head with the pommel of a sword. When a light was brought in he was dead.

Count Pahlen had not entered the room, being engaged in guarding the doors with a troop of soldiers: he went to call on the new emperor. Alexander was not ignorant of the plot formed to force from his father an abdication which had become necessary; but he had not considered, and did not anticipate, the fatal consequences of that enterprise. Pahlen's silence was the only reply to his questions about the Czar: the young man burst into tears, hiding his face in his hands and heaping reproaches upon the Governor of St. Petersburg, who still remained motionless before him. But by this time the empress, out of her mind from sorrow, and suddenly seized with an ill-regulated ambition, sent to announce to her son that she was resolved to take possession of the power. Count Pahlen at once threw off his apathy. "Enough of childish tears," said he to the young emperor; "now, come and reign!" He then presented him to the troops, by whom he was well received.

A few days afterwards the Emperor Alexander was crowned. "Before him marched his grandfather's murderers," wrote Madame de Bonneuil, "beside him those of his father, and behind him his own." Count Pahlen's ambition was to govern the young monarch, but he was not to reap the fruits of his crime. The empress-mother insisted upon the banishment of the murderers of Paul I. In the retirement of his country estate, where he lived a long time, the count on the 23rd of March made himself drunk from daybreak, in order to pass in

oblivion the dreaded anniversary which awoke in his mind a remorse which was only slumbering. "That's the regular mode of deposition in Russia," said Talleyrand, cynically, on hearing of the emperor's assassination. The First Consul's anger overcame his judgment. "The wretches!" he exclaimed; "they failed here on the 3rd Nivôse, but they have not failed in St. Petersburg." And bent on showing his spite towards his enemies, he had the following note inserted in the *Moniteur*: "Paul I. died on the night of the 23rd March, and the English squadron passed the Sound on the 31st. History will inform us the relation that possibly exists between these two events."

History has done justice to those false insinuations, unworthy even of him who pronounced them. Admiral Nelson felt no joy at the death of the Emperor Paul, which finally broke the league of the neutrals, and deprived him of the easy triumph which he made sure of gaining over the Russian fleet. It was of service, however, to England, and contributed to assist the wish for peace which was beginning to be awakened in the mind of the First Consul. Scarcely was the Emperor of Russia dead, when Piedmont, long protected by his favor, was reduced to the condition of a French department: but it was in vain that Bonaparte pretended to reckon on the alliance of the young Czar, in vain that Duroc was despatched to St. Petersburg with a mission of confidence; he was not deceived as to the Emperor Alexander's leaning to ally himself with England. In fact, M. Otto, who had been sent to London to arrange the exchange of prisoners, had already several weeks previously been authorized to meet favorably the advances made by Lord Hawkesbury, then the foreign minister. On both sides they tried to gain time. The great question which then separated France and England, the possession of Egypt, remained undecided, and both sides determined that it should be settled. On the 7th of March, 1801, the English squadron of the Mediterranean, which was long stationed at Mahon, and had recently been directed towards Malta, suddenly disembarked a body of 18,000 soldiers under the orders of Sir Ralph Abercromby. Thus, with a Turkish contingent and the regiments of sepoy brought from India, there were 60,000 men united against the army of occupation, which was reduced to 15,000 or 18,000 soldiers, commanded by dissatisfied officers, and generals who could not act together. Unfortunate in his relations to his colleagues, and showing little tact in his application of

European methods of organization to the native population, General Menou was unable to take the necessary precautions against the English invasion of Egypt; and in spite of his bravery, General Friant, who was in charge of 15,000 men defending Alexandria, could make only a feeble resistance to the landing of the English. Assisted by General Lanusse, he again joined battle, 13th March, on the road to Ramanièh; while General Menou—"Abdallah Menou," as his soldiers called him after he became a Mussulman—was on march with all his troops to assist Alexandria. After committing the fault of allowing the English army to land, it was necessary to make haste to fight it before it should have received the expected reinforcements. The battle of Canopa was fought on the 21st March under disadvantageous circumstances; and General Lanusse being killed in the action, General Reynier's disposition prevented his supplying his chief's incapacity. The battle, though remaining indecisive, left the English masters of the coast, and constantly revictualled by the fleet.

For more than two months, the French army hoped and waited for the assistance which had been promised them. Admiral Ganteaume, provided with the best vessels of our navy, a body of picked soldiers, and supplies and resources of every kind, had in fact set sail on the 23rd January, leaving Brest in the midst of a frightful tempest in the hopes of escaping the English cruisers. After being beaten about and somewhat damaged by the sea, the French vessels made for the Straits of Gibraltar, without any accident except a short engagement between the frigate "Bravoure" and an English one. The admiral hesitated; in spite of his personal courage, he felt loaded with too great a responsibility. Bringing back his squadron almost within view of Toulon, he thought he saw Mahon's English fleet making straight for him, and as the struggle threatened to be unequal he returned into the harbor of Toulon. Leaving it on the 19th of March, after his vessels were repaired and urgent orders were received from the First Consul, he again delayed, on account of an accident which had happened to one of his ships, and it was only on the 22nd that he finally put to sea. On the 26th he was delayed by the collision of two vessels at Cape Carbonara in Sardinia, and becoming discouraged and uneasy, the admiral again entered Toulon on the 5th of April, at the moment when the English fleet were passing Rosetta. The town was badly defended and fell into the hands of the enemies, who thus became masters of the mouth

of the Nile; and sending some gun-boats up as far as Fouèh, they soon took it. Generals Lagrange and Morand held Ramanièh; and Menou delaying to lend the assistance which he promised, Lagrange fell back upon Cairo, and communication with Alexandria was interrupted. General Billiard, who commanded in the capital of Egypt, made a sally to repulse the vizier's troops; but in spite of several skirmishes he could not reach the main body of the army, and returning to the town, he offered to capitulate. The English were anxious to finish, being afraid of one of those strokes of good fortune to which the French arms had so often owed their success. The most honorable conditions were granted to the army, the troops evacuating Egypt being carried back to France at the expense of England, and in their vessels (27th June, 1801). Almost at the same moment (24th June), Admiral Ganteaume, with his squadron reduced by sickness, at last anchored before Derne, several marches from Alexandria; but as the people on the coast opposed his landing, and the undertaking was hazardous and the land route difficult, he again put to sea, thinking himself fortunate in finding in the Straits at Candia an English ship, which he captured and brought triumphantly to Toulon. General Menou, now alone, and shut up in Alexandria, obstinately and heroically resisted in vain. When at last he surrendered, he had been long forgotten in his isolation. Thus though Bonaparte's thoughts often went back to that famous and chimerical conquest of his youth, Egypt was definitively lost to France.

The negotiations with England had undergone the fluctuations inseparable from the vicissitudes of a distant war, the events of which remained still doubtful in Europe several weeks after their occurrence. The successes gained by Admiral Linois against the English before Algeiras and Cadiz, and the danger of Portugal threatened by the Spanish army, had their influence no doubt upon the English cabinet, but it was still haughty and exacting. The First Consul himself drew up a minute for the minister of foreign affairs, giving an abstract of the concessions which he was disposed to accept. "The French Government wishes to overlook nothing which may lead to a general peace, that being for the interests both of humanity and of the allies. It is for the King of England to consider if it is also for the interests of his policy, his commerce, and his nation: and if so, a distant island more or less can be no sufficient reason for prolonging the unhappiness of the world.

"The question consists of three points: the Mediterranean—the Indies—America.

"Egypt will be restored to the Porte.

"The Republic of the Seven Islands will be recognized.

"All the ports of the Adriatic and Mediterranean occupied by French troops will be restored to the King of Naples and to the Pope.

"Mahon will be restored to Spain.

"Malta will be restored to the Order; and if the King of England should consider it conformable to his interests as a preponderating naval power to destroy the fortifications, that clause will be admitted.

"In India, England will keep Ceylon, and so become unsailable mistress of those immense and wealthy countries.

"The other establishments will be restored to the allies, including the Cape of Good Hope.

"In America, all will be restored to the former possessors. The King of England is already so powerful in that part of the world that to wish for more is, being absolute master of India, to wish to be so of America also.

"Portugal will be preserved in all its integrity.

"Such are the conditions which the French Government is ready to sign.

"The advantages which the British Government thus derive are immense: to claim greater ones is not to wish a peace which is just and reciprocally honorable.

"Martinico not having been conquered by the English arms, but placed by the inhabitants in the hands of the English till France should have a government, cannot be considered an English possession. France will never give it up.

"All that now remains is for the British Government to make known the course they wish to adopt; and if these conditions do not satisfy them, it will be at least proved before the eyes of the world that the First Consul has left nothing undone, and has shown himself disposed to make any sacrifice, in order that peace may be restored and humanity spared the tears and bloodshed which must inevitably result from a new campaign."

The concessions were in fact great, the First Consul abandoning points which had long been disputed,—Egypt, Malta, and Ceylon; and he showed extreme annoyance when Lord Hawkesbury refused to admit the principle of complete restitution in America. Several threatening articles were inserted

in the *Moniteur*, and Bonaparte urgently hurried the preparation of a fleet of gun-boats at Boulogne, which were supposed to be intended for the invasion of England. It had long been an idea of the First Consul's thus to intimidate the English Government, but it was only the people on the coast who were really alarmed. Nelson wrote immediately to the Admiralty, that "even on leaving the French harbors the landing is impossible were it only for the difficulties caused by the tides: and as to the notion of rowing over, it is impracticable humanly speaking." An attempt to land a large army on the English coast was soon to become a fixed idea in Bonaparte's mind; but then he used his armaments to disquiet the British Government. Twice Nelson attempted to destroy our fleet, and twice he failed completely: in the second attack, which was begun at night, and vigorously carried on to boarding, Admiral Latouche-Tréville compelled the English ships to withdraw, after inflicting severe losses upon them. Nevertheless, England still insisted on obtaining possession of the island of Trinidad, which belonged to Spain. The First Consul refused for a long time, but the Prince de la Paix had betrayed the hopes of his imperious ally. Bonaparte had guaranteed the throne of "Etruria" to the young Duke of Parma, and recently received in Paris the new sovereign, and his wife, the daughter of the King of Spain, and showed the nation that the prince was a simple lad, to be easily bent to his purposes. In return for so many favors, the Spanish troops had with difficulty conquered a few provinces, and King Charles IV., already reconciled to his son-in-law, the King of Portugal, concluded the treaty of Badajoz, which closed the harbors to the English, and granted an indemnity of twenty millions to France. The First Consul was extremely indignant, having counted on the threat of a war in Portugal to exercise a preponderating influence in the negotiations in London. At first he insisted that the treaty must be broken. "At the very time," said he, "when the First Consul places a prince of the house of Spain on a throne which is the fruit of the victories of the French nation, the French Republic is treated as the Republic of San Marino might with impunity be treated. Let the Prince de la Paix know that if he has been bought by England, and has drawn the king and queen into measures contrary to the honor and interest of the Republic, the last hour of the Spanish monarchy has struck."

The Prince de la Paix made ample excuses, but refused to

break the treaty of Badajoz. The real intention of the First Consul was to have peace: he had three vessels granted him by Portugal, and abandoned the island of Trinidad to the demands of the English Government. At one time England also claimed Tobago, but the very terms of the treaty were displeasing to Bonaparte's pride, and he assumed the insulting tone which he had been accustomed to use with foreign diplomatists. "The following is what I am directed to tell you," wrote Talleyrand: "excepting Trinidad, the First Consul will not yield, not only Tobago, but even a single rock, if there is one, with only a village of a hundred people; and the ground of the First Consul's conduct is, that in the treaty he has yielded to England to the last limit of honor, and that further there would be for the French nation dishonor. He will grant nothing more, even if the English fleets were anchored before Chaillot."

Lord Hawkesbury withdrew his demands as to Tobago, and the First Consul modified his threats, both nations being eagerly desirous of peace. The preliminaries were at last signed in London, on the 1st October, 1801; and when, two days afterwards, the ratifications were brought from Paris by Colonel Lauriston, the welcome news caused an irresistible outburst of joy amongst the populace. The horses of the French envoy's carriage were unharnessed, that he might be drawn in triumph to Lord Hawkesbury's house; and everywhere in the streets there were shouts of "Long live Bonaparte!" At the banquets the First Consul's health was drunk, and cheered as loudly as the speeches in favor of the friendship of the two nations. The same excessive delight was shown in Paris, which was soon crowded with the foreigners whom war had long kept away; and Fox was received by the First Consul with such flattering attentions as made a deep impression on his mind. Party feeling had so influenced the mind of the illustrious orator as to partially efface his patriotic sentiments. A few days after the preliminaries were signed, he wrote to his friend Lord Grey, "I confess to you that I go farther than you in my hatred of the English Government: the triumph gained by France excites in me a joy I can scarcely conceal."

The public joy and hopes, both in France and England, were founded on motives superior to those which inspired Fox's satisfaction, but they were not more permanent, or better founded. On the day after signing the preliminaries of London, and as if to increase the renown of his successes, the First Consul took pleasure in concluding successively treaties with Portugal, the

Sublime Porte, the Deys of Algiers and Tunis, Bavaria, and finally Russia. One clause of the last treaty stipulated that both sovereigns should prevent criminal conduct on the part of emigrants from either country. The House of Bourbon and the Poles were thus equally deprived of important protection. The situation of the King of Sardinia was to be regulated in every way according to actual circumstances. Each of the conventions, and especially the treaty of peace with England contained reticences and obscurities, which were fertile in pretexts for war and in unfriendly interpretations. The First Consul wished to secure an interval of rest and leisure, to consolidate his conquests at home and abroad. He had not renounced the glorious and ill-defined project of the imperial government which he affected to exercise over Europe. "If England made a new coalition," he wrote to M. Otto, "the only result would be a renewal of the history of the greatness of Rome."

It was to the honor of the First Consul, in the midst of this brilliant political and military renown, and in spite of his impulsive and ungovernable disposition, that he understood that the restoration of peace, the joy of victory, and the hope of a regular government, were unable to satisfy all the wants or regulate all the movements of the human soul. Personally without experience of religious prejudices or feelings, free from any connection with philosophical coteries, Bonaparte did not limit himself to a sense of the support which religion could lend in France to the new order which he wished to establish: he understood the higher wants of minds and consciences, and the supreme law which assigns to Heaven the regulation of human life. The doctrines of Christianity, as well as the divisions of the Christian Church, were indifferent to him; he did not understand their importance, and would have thought little of them; but he knew that, in spite of the efforts of the eighteenth century philosophy—in spite of the ravages caused by the French Revolution, the attachment and respect of many for the Catholic religion had still great power. He knew also that Catholicism could not be re-established in France, under his auspices, without the assistance and good will of the Court of Rome. No impression was made on his mind by the attempts made to persuade him to found in France an independent church freed from all connection with the Papacy, or by the arguments used in favor of Protestantism. His traditional respect, as well as the religious sentiment of the mass of the

French nation, were in favor of Catholicism. His good sense, as well as his profound instinct of the means of action in government, had long urged him towards religious toleration. During his last campaign in Italy, a circular to the curés of Milan had revived the hopes of the Roman Court; and after Pope Pius VII. returned to his capital, on its evacuation by the Neapolitan troops, M. Spina, at first envoy at Turin, had followed the First Consul to Paris. He treated with Abbé Bernier who had skilfully negotiated to bring about the pacification of Vendée—a man of great ambition, determined to serve the government which could raise him to the episcopal purple. The *pourparlers* were prolonged; the situation was difficult; the new powers founded in France by the Revolution and by victory raised pretensions which were contrary to the Roman tradition. They were, moreover, embarrassed by the unequal position of the ecclesiastics who were performing in France their sacred functions, some having submitted to the republican demands rather than leave their country and their flocks, others believing it was their duty to sacrifice everything to their former oaths. Proscribed and outlawed, they had for a long time preached, said mass, and given the sacraments in spite of an unrelenting persecution. A large number had decided to take to flight, but having now returned, the faithful were divided between them and the priests who had remained in France. Almost alone in Paris, and among those men whose opinion he was accustomed to consult, the First Consul persevered in his idea of again joining the French Church to the general Catholic body. His patience, however, was exhausted by the delay of the Holy College, and he resolved to have recourse to means which were more efficacious, and more in accordance with his character. On the 13th May, 1801, he wrote to M. Cacault, French minister at Rome, that he had determined to accept no longer the irresolution and dilatory procedure of the Court of Rome; if in five days the scheme sent from Paris, and long discussed by the Sacred College, was not accepted, Cacault must leave Rome to join, in Florence, General Murat, the commander-in-chief of the army of Italy.

The emotion at the Vatican was great. Shortly before, when giving Cacault his final instructions, the First Consul said, "Forget not to treat the Pope as if he had 200,000 men at his orders." The French minister had faithfully observed this injunction, which agreed with his personal opinions: he knew the obstacles which still separated the new master of France

from the Roman Court. The scheme of ecclesiastical organization proposed by Bonaparte was simple: sixty bishops named by the civil power and confirmed by the Pope, the clergy salaried by the State, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction transferred to the Council of State, and the official management of religious bodies to the temporal authority. Pius VII. agreed to accept this new condition of the Church exclusively restored to her spiritual functions. The situation in the Church of the priests who had taken the oath to the civil constitution of 1789, their reconciliation to the papacy, the tacit admission of the appropriation by the State of the ecclesiastical property, the nomination of new bishops and consequent resignation or deprivation of those already holding the titles,—such were the various questions which occupied Pope Pius VII. and his skilful minister Cardinal Consalvi. Cacault tried to persuade them that the cardinal himself must go to Paris. “Most Holy Father,” said the French minister, “it is necessary that Consalvi himself carry your reply to Paris. What alarms me most is the character of the First Consul; that man is never open to persuasion. Believe me, something stronger than cold reason advises me in this matter: a mere animal instinct some would call it, but it never deceives. What inconvenience if somehow or other you appear yourself? You are blamed. What did they say? They wish for a ‘Concordat’ of religion; we anticipate them and bring it, there it is!”

Pope Pius VII. had long felt for General Bonaparte an attraction caused by a mixed feeling of alarm and confidence. Alarm reigned in the mind of his minister, who made up his mind to set out for Paris as if he were going to martyrdom. “Since a victim is necessary,” said he, “I devote myself, and go to see the First Consul: let the will of God be done!” He rode in Cacault’s carriage from Rome to Florence, whence the French minister wrote to Talleyrand,—

“Citizen Minister, here I am, arrived in Florence. The cardinal secretary of state set out with me from Rome, and we have travelled together in the same carriage. We were looked upon everywhere with great astonishment. The cardinal was much afraid people should think I had withdrawn on account of a rupture, and kept saying to everybody, ‘This is the French minister.’ This country, crushed under the recent evils of war, shudders at the least thought of military disturbance. The Roman Government has still greater fear of its own dis-

satisfied subjects, especially those who have been allured to authority and pillage by the sort of revolution just-gone through. . . . The cardinal set out this morning for Paris, and will arrive shortly before my despatch, as he goes extremely quickly. The wretched man feels that if he fails he will be irretrievably lost, and that all will be lost for Rome. He is eager to know his lot. I tried at Rome to bring the Pope to sign the Concordat only; and if he had granted me that point, I should not have left Rome; but that idea was unsuccessful.

"You understand that the cardinal is not sent to Paris to sign that which the Pope has refused to sign at Rome; but being the prime minister of his Holiness, and his favorite, it is with the Pope's mind that you will be in communication. I hope the result will be an agreement as to the modifications. It is a matter of phrases and words, which can be turned in so many meanings that at last the good meaning is got hold of."

The First Consul had resolved to make from the very first an impression on the mind of the pontifical envoy by the display of his power. Scarcely had the cardinal stepped out of his carriage when he received a visit from Abbé Bernier, whom he at once employed to ask an audience for him. The same day, at the Tuileries, before the crowd of courtiers who were thronging to one of the grand receptions, Cardinal Consalvi was presented to the First Consul. "My astonishment," says he in his correspondence, "was like that felt in the theatre by the sudden scene-shifting, when a cottage, prison, or wood is unexpectedly changed to the dazzling spectacle of the most magnificent court. You can easily imagine that a person arriving at Paris on the night preceding, without being told beforehand, without knowing anything of the habits, customs, and dispositions of those before whom he appeared, and who was in a measure considered responsible for the bad success of the negotiations so far as they had been carried, must, at the sight of such grandeur, as imposing as it was unexpected, have felt not only profound emotion, but even a too evident embarrassment." As the cardinal approached the three consuls, alone in the midst of a magnificent drawing-room filled with a brilliant throng, Bonaparte left him no time to speak. "I know the object of your journey to France," said he. "I wish the conferences to be immediately opened. I leave you five days' time; and I tell you beforehand that if at the expiration of the fifth day the negotiations are not finished, you must re-

turn to Rome; whilst as for me, I have decided what to do in that case."

Consalvi came to Paris ardently wishing to bring to a successful completion the difficult negotiations which had been entrusted to him. His Italian cunning was not deceived as to the motive of the display of magnificence, and the rough reception of himself which signalized his first audience. He was conscientious and resolute without narrowness of mind, and he understood the immense importance to religion and politics of the restoration of agreement between France and the Court of Rome. He appeared neither astonished nor disturbed with reference to the First Consul. When they came to the discussion of the questions which had brought him to Paris, the Pope's envoy showed himself easily influenced on most of the points. Bonaparte himself summarized the whole of the Concordat in a few words: "Fifty emigrant bishops, paid by England, manage all the French clergy, and their influence must be destroyed. The authority of the Pope is necessary for that. He deprives them of their charge, or obliges them to resign. As it is said that the Catholic religion is that of the majority of the French, the exercise of it should be organized. The First Consul nominates the fifty bishops; the Pope institutes them; they name the curés, and the State pays their salaries. They take the oath: the priests who refuse to submit are removed, and those who preach against the government are referred to their superiors. After all, enlightened men will not rise against Catholicism; they are indifferent."

A rather keen opposition, however, was raised among the courtiers and in the army against the Concordat, which assisted in hampering the progress of the negotiations. Most of the military men were still imbued with the spirit of the Revolution, and suspicious of the influence of the priests. The constitutional clergy, who had no serious objection to the Concordat, the only means of securing them a regular ecclesiastical standing, feared lest they should be sacrificed in favor of the priests who had refused to take the oath. Several of them were married, and had thus increased the difficulties of their position by new ties. So many personal interests and different motives kept the First Consul's advisers in a state of hostility to the claims of the Holy See. Even the preamble of the Concordat gave room to long discussions. On the refusal to apply the title "State religion" to the Catholic religion, Cardinal Consalvi agreed to the simple statement of the fact

that the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion was the religion of the great majority of the French people. On the other hand, the Pope admitted the great advantage that religion should derive from the re-establishment of Catholic worship in France, and from the personal profession of it made by the consuls of the republic. He at the same time agreed to ask the old titular bishops to resign. The resignation of the constitutional bishops had been already secured. The First Consul wrote to Pius VII.: "Most holy Father, Cardinal Consalvi has showed me your Holiness' letter, and I recognize the evangelical sentiments which distinguish it. The cardinal will inform your Holiness of my intention to do all that may contribute to your happiness. It will depend only on you to find again in the French Government the support which it has always granted to your predecessors, when they have classed with their principal duties the preaching of maxims which help to confirm peace, morality, and obedience to the civil power.

"It only depends on me that the tears of Europe cease to flow, that the revolutions and wars be followed by general peace and order.

"On all occasions, I beg your Holiness to reckon upon the assistance of your devoted son."

Cardinal Consalvi had made several concessions; the French negotiators had more than once extended as they chose the exact sense of his concessions; but he refused absolutely to entrust the regulation of the public worship to the civil authority. In view of the cardinal's conscientious obstinacy, the First Consul at last agreed to important modifications of this point. When the day for signing arrived, Joseph Bonaparte, who had always a share in diplomatic negotiations, being one of the appointed signatories, the cardinal went to his house with the Abbé Bernier, both bringing a copy of the act. At the moment when the papal envoy was taking the pen, he cast his eyes over the text of the convention, and saw that the article referring to the exercise of worship had been restored to the form which he had objected to. Reading further, and finding other changes and additions, the cardinal protested against it. Joseph Bonaparte declared that he knew nothing of it. "The First Consul wished it to be so," said Bernier with some confusion, "declaring that anything may be changed so long as it is not signed. Besides, the draft agreed upon did not please him; and he insists upon the articles being so modified."

The time was short, the First Consul having announced his intention of announcing publicly the signature of the Concordat at a great banquet the same evening. The outbursts of his anger even reached the cardinal's ears. He had torn the Concordat, and threatened to declare the rupture of the negotiations if Consalvi did not consent to give way. "I underwent the agonies of death," said the cardinal. But he was convinced of his duty, and went to the Tuileries as unbending in his resolution as the First Consul in his imperious will. Bonaparte came to him as he entered the drawing-room, and called loudly, "Well, cardinal, you wish then to break! I have no need of Rome! Let it be so! I have no need of the Pope! If Henry VIII., who had not the twentieth part of my power, was able to change the religion of his country, I am much more able to do so! By that change of religion I shall change the religion through nearly the whole of Europe, wherever the influence of my power extends. Rome will be sensible of the losses she brings on herself. She will lament them, but there will be no remedy. You wished to break. . . . Very well! let it be so, since you wished it. When do you set out?" "After dinner, general," replied the cardinal with calmness.

Consalvi did not set out. Next day, in spite of the reiterated attempt made to influence him, in spite of the weakness of the majority of his legation, the Pope's secretary of state held firm. The First Consul gave way, or pretended it, in order afterwards to withdraw the concessions granted, but sufficiently to satisfy the conscience of the cardinal, and persuade him to put his signature to the Concordat. The ratification at Rome quickly succeeded, and a legate was sent to Paris, chosen at the First Consul's express desire. After Cardinal Caprara's arrival, the publication of the Concordat was still delayed by the choosing of the new bishops. Thirteen of the former prelates, who had taken refuge in England, alone refused to resign at the command of the Holy See; and thirty-three bishops, still abroad or already returned to France, obeyed generously and without reluctance. The constitutional bishops had just dissolved their council, which Bonaparte had authorized in order to influence the Court of Rome; but he ordered its cessation as soon as the Concordat was signed. His resolution to place several constitutional priests among the new bishops annoyed and disturbed the Pope. The First Consul became angry, making charges of systematic delay which prevented him from publishing the Concordat, and introducing

into their dioceses the prelates nominated during Lent. The legate quietly claimed the submission which the constitutional priests had promised. "There is haughtiness in asking it," exclaimed Bonaparte; "there would be cowardice in submitting." The conduct of the constitutional prelates remained doubtful: ten, however, were nominated. Cardinal Caprara was both less resolute and less clear-sighted than Consalvi: at one time frightened, at another easily persuaded. In spite of his resistance, "his cries and tears," he at last yielded to the pressing demands of the First Consul. On the 18th April, 1802, Easter Sunday, the Concordat was proclaimed in the streets of Paris. At eleven o'clock an immense crowd thronged Notre Dame, curious to see the legate officiating, and gaze again on the pompous ritual of the Catholic service; but still more eager to look at the First Consul in the brilliancy of his triumph and power, surrounded by his companions in arms, all compelled by his will to assist at a ceremony at variance with the opinions of several of them. The concessions of the Court of Rome and the obedience of the generals could not conceal the vast gulf that separated Revolutionary France from the religious tradition of the past. Bonaparte felt this. He wished for the Concordat, understanding its lofty aim and practical utility; he had conceded more in appearance than he intended to grant in reality. The *Te Deum* was chanted: the bishops were confirmed, and had now set out for their dioceses. In every district, along with the Concordat, and as if invested with the same sanction, the First Consul published a series of "organic articles," regulating in detail the relations of the civil power with the religious authority. Already, when discussing the Concordat the representative of the Holy See had rejected most of Bonaparte's pretensions on that subject; but he now reproduced them, transformed, by the power of his will alone, into administrative measures, voted like the Concordat by the Corps Législatif, and having equal force for the Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, and the Jewish form of worship. The anger and sorrow of the Court of Rome had no effect in modifying the resolution of the First Consul. Cardinal Caprara was constantly passing from submission to despair. "He who is fated to treat with the First Consul," he wrote to Cardinal Consalvi, "must bear always in mind that he is treating with a man who is arbiter of the affairs of the world—a man who has paralyzed, one might say, all the other powers of Europe, who has conceived projects the execution of which

seemed impossible, and who has conducted them with a success which astonishes the whole world. Nor should it be forgotten that I am appointed here in a nation where the Catholic religion has not a ruling power, even in peace. Here all the powerful personages are against her, and they strive as much as possible against the First Consul. He is the only man who watches over her. Unfortunately, her future depends on his intention, but at least that intention is sure of completion. When the First Consul is against us, things proceed with a frightful rapidity." The Pope felt obliged to protest against the organic articles in an allocution to the Consistory, and to address his claims to the First Consul, who took no notice of them. In his communications with the religious authority in France, he proved imperious and insolent. "If the morality of the gospel is insufficient to direct a bishop," he wrote Portalis, "he must act by policy, and by fear of the prosecution which government might institute against him as a disturber of the public peace. I could not be otherwise than full of sorrow at the conduct of certain bishops. Why have you not informed the *préfets*?"

The ecclesiastical organization in France would have been incomplete, had Bonaparte not extended his care to the Protestant churches. In a kindly report addressed to him on the subject, it was stated that "the government, in declaring that Catholicism was in a majority in France, had no wish to authorize in its favor any political or civil pre-eminence. Protestantism is a Christian communion, bringing together, in the same faith and to the same rites, a very large number of Frenchmen. In recent times the Protestants were in the foremost ranks under the standards of liberty, and have never abandoned them. All that is secured to the various Christian communions by the articles of agreement between his Holiness and the Government of the Republic is equally guaranteed to the Protestants, *with the exception of the pecuniary subvention.*"

The original idea of Bonaparte had, in fact, been to leave to the Protestants the full liberty of their internal government, as well as the charge of their worship. The principle, admitted by the Constituent Assembly, of compensating the Catholic clergy for the confiscation of their property, was not applicable to the Protestant Church. On a consideration of the administrative advantages of a church paid by the state, Bonaparte decided that the law of the 18th Germinal, year X., should be drawn up, regulating the nomination of pastors and

consistories after the manner of the interior government of the Protestant Church. The principle which, in this respect, equalized the Protestant and Catholic modes of worship was hailed with satisfaction by the reformers. The Jews established in France were admitted to enjoy the same privileges.

At the same time that an alliance between religion and the state was being re-established in France, Chateaubriand, still a very young man, published his "Genius of Christianity." The sense of the poetic beauty of Christianity then reawakening in men's minds, the success of the book was deservedly great. It marked in recent history the epoch of literary admiration for the greatness and beauty of the gospel. We have since sadly learnt that it was only a shallow and barren admiration.

Peace seemed again established in the world and the church. In spite of several difficulties and suspicions, the definitive treaty with England was at last to be signed at Amiens. But rest seemed already to weigh heavily on the new master of France, and the increasing ambition of his power could not deceive men of foresight as to the causes of disturbance in Europe which were perpetually reappearing. Scarcely were the preliminaries of peace signed in London, when the Batavian Republic—recently composed, after the example of the French Republic, of a Directory and two Legislative Chambers—found itself again undergoing a revolution, the necessary reaction of what was being done in France. On a new constitution being proposed to the Chambers they rejected it. The Dutch Directory, with the assistance of General Augereau, effected at the Hague, in September, 1800, the *coup d'état* which took place in Paris on the 18th Brumaire; the representatives were dismissed, and the people were assembled to pronounce upon the new constitution. Only 50,000 voters out of 400,000 electors presented themselves in the Assemblies. A president was chosen for three months. The absolute authority of the First Consul was secured in the Batavian Republic.

In Switzerland, an agitation diligently kept up throughout all the cantons, rendered a government there impossible. The French minister at Berne, "a powerless conciliator of the divided parties," as Bonaparte called him, received secret instructions from him. "Citizen Verninac must, under all the circumstances, say publicly that the present government can only be considered provisional, and give them to understand that, not only does the French Government not rely upon it, but it is even dissatisfied with its composition and procedure. It is a

mockery of nations to believe that France will acknowledge as the intention of the Helvetic people the will of the sixteen persons who compose the Legislative Body." The French troops had evacuated Switzerland. The First Consul was scheming to annex the canton of Valais to the two departments of Mont Terrible and Léman, which he had already taken from the Helvetian territory. After several months passed, the seeds of discord began to bear fruit; and Aloys of Reding, formerly Landamman, being overthrown, Dolder, the leader of the radicals, was raised in his place. As a concession to the patriotic wishes of the Swiss, the French troops were suddenly recalled from their territory. When freed from that constant menace, interior dissensions burst forth; the Landamman Dolder, replaced at Berne by Mulinen, took refuge in Lausanne, where he founded a new government. The cantons were already taking sides, when the First Consul launched a proclamation as the natural arbiter of the destinies of Switzerland:—

"People of Helvetia, you have been disputing for three years without understanding each other. If you are left longer to yourselves, you will kill yourselves in three years without understanding each other any better. Your history, moreover, proves that your civil wars have never been finished unless by the efficacious intervention of France. I shall therefore be mediator in your quarrels, but my mediation will be an active one, such as becomes the great nation in whose name I speak. All the powers will be dissolved. The Senate alone, assembled at Berne, will send deputies to Paris; each canton can also send some; and all the former magistrates can come to Paris, to make known the means of restoring union and tranquillity and conciliating all parties. Inhabitants of Helvetia! revive your hopes!" At the same time Bonaparte said to Mulinen, who had already escaped to Paris, "I am now thoroughly persuaded of the necessity of some definitive measure. If in a few days the conditions of my proclamation are not fulfilled, 30,000 men will enter Switzerland under General Ney's orders; and if they thus compel me to use force it is all over with Switzerland. It is time to put an end to that; and I see no middle course between a Swiss government strongly organized, and friendly to France, or no Switzerland at all."

On the 15th October, 1802, General Ney received orders to enter Switzerland, and publish "a short proclamation in simple terms, announcing that the small cantons and the Senate had asked for the mediation of the First Consul, who had granted

it; but a handful of men, friends of disorder, and indifferent to the evils of their country, having deceived and led astray a portion of the people, the First Consul was obliged to take measures to disperse these senseless persons, and punish them if they persisted in their rebellion." At the same time, after an imperious summons, the chiefs of the Swiss aristocracy, Mulinen, Affry, and Watteville, joined the radical deputies in Paris. There could be no long discussion, as the plan of the Helvetic Constitution was decided upon in the mind of the First Consul. He had recognized the inconveniences arising from the "unitary government:" he next abolished the old independent institutions of the cantons, and systematically weakened the central power, as the Diet, composed of twenty-five deputies, was to sit by rotation in the six principal cantons; he at the same time nominated Affry as President of the Helvetic Confederation, after carefully securing his services. Henceforward the Swiss cantons, free in their internal government, fell as a state under the rule of France. "I shall never permit in Switzerland any other influence than my own, though it should cost me 100,000 men," Bonaparte had said to the assembled deputies. "It is acknowledged by Europe that Italy, Holland, and Switzerland are at the disposition of France." At the same time (11th September, 1802), and as if to justify this haughty declaration, the territory of Piedmont was divided into six French departments, the Isle of Elba was united to France, and the Duchy of Parma was definitively occupied by our troops.

For a long time the north of Italy was subjected to the laws of its conqueror, and he arrogantly made it bear the whole burden. When the Congress of Vienna had begun its sittings, Talleyrand absolutely forbade Joseph Bonaparte to allow the usurpations of France in Europe to be discussed. "You will consider it a fixed point that the French Government can listen to nothing regarding the King of Sardinia, the Stadtholder, or the internal affairs of Batavia, Germany, Helvetia, or the Italian republics. All these subjects are absolutely unknown to our discussions with England."

England admitted the truce of which she stood in need. She tacitly accepted the reticences of the negotiators; and without any protest on her part the First Consul set out for Lyons, where he had summoned the 500 members of the Italian Consulte. Overwhelmed with the gifts of her conqueror, the Cisalpine Republic was now to receive from his hands a definitive

constitution. Lombardy as far as the Adige, the Legations, the Duchy of Modena, had sent their deputies to France, prepared to vote by acclamation for the constitution, which had been carefully prepared by several leading Italians under the eyes of the First Consul. The Consulte of Milan had accepted it. Bonaparte reserved to himself the direction of the choice of functionaries, and the important nomination of the President of the Republic. Lyons was in grand holiday, crowded by the Italians and numerous bodies of troops. The old army of Italy, on arriving from Egypt, had been ordered to Lyons; and the populace hailed with delight the arrival of the First Consul, who was always popular personally. The Consulte opened its sittings with distinction; and soon the Italian deputies understood who was the president designed for them by the solicitude of General Bonaparte. They accepted without repugnance his proclamation:—"The Consulte has appointed a committee of thirty persons," wrote the First Consul to his colleagues; "they have reported that, considering the internal and external circumstances of the Cisalpine, it was indispensable to allow me to conduct the first magistracy, till such time as the situation may permit, and I may judge it suitable, to name a successor." To the request of the Consulte, in humble terms, the general replied, "I find no one among you who has sufficient claims upon public opinion—who would be sufficiently independent of local influences—who, in short, has rendered to his country sufficiently great services, for me to trust him with the first magistracy." The Count Melzi accepted the vice-presidency of the Republic. On the 28th January, after reviewing the army of Egypt, the First Consul, president of the Italian Republic, started again for Paris.

He was now waiting for news of the expedition which he had recently sent to St. Domingo. The horrors which signalized the violent emancipation of our negroes and their possession of the territory, was succeeded by a state somewhat regular, largely due to the unexpected authority of a black, recently a slave, who displayed faculties which are very unusual in his race. In his difficult government, Toussaint Louverture had given proofs of a generalship, foresight, courage, and gentleness which gave him the right to address Bonaparte, the object of his passionate admiration, in the following terms: "The first of the blacks to the first of the whites." Toussaint Louverture loved France, and rendered homage to it by driving from the island the Spanish and Eng-

lish troops. He claimed the ratification of his Constitution, and sent his sons to France to be properly educated.

The instructions given by the First Consul to his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, are still secret. He had placed under his command 20,000 men, excellent troops, borrowed from the old army of the Rhine, the generals and officers of which were unwilling to resign during the peace. The squadron, in charge of Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, was a large one. The English had been informed of the expedition, by a note signed by Talleyrand but drawn up by Bonaparte himself. "Let England know," said he, "that in undertaking to destroy the government of the negroes at St. Domingo, I have been less guided by commercial and financial considerations than by the necessity of smothering in all parts of the world every kind of inquietude and disturbance—that one of the chief benefits of peace for England at the present moment was that it was concluded at a time when the French Government had not yet recognized the organization of St. Domingo, and afterwards the power of the negroes. The liberty of the blacks acknowledged at St. Domingo, and legitimized by the French Government, would be for all time a fulcrum for the Republic in the New World. In that case the sceptre of the New World must sooner or later have fallen into the hands of the negroes; the shock resulting for England is incalculable, whereas the shock of the empire of the negroes would, with reference to France, reckon as part of the Revolution."

At the same time, and in contradiction to the intentions which he announced to England, Bonaparte wrote to Toussaint Louverture: "We have conceived esteem for you, and we are pleased to recognize and proclaim the services which you have rendered to the French people. If their flag still floats over St. Domingo, it is to you and the brave blacks it is due. Called by your talents and the force of circumstances to the first command, you have overthrown the civil war, curbed the persecution of several fierce men, restored honor to religion and the worship to God, to whom everything is due. The Constitution which you have made contains many good things: the circumstances in which you are placed, surrounded on every side by enemies, without the power of being assisted or provisioned by the capital (mother country), have rendered legitimate the articles of the Constitution which otherwise are not so. We have informed your children and their tutor of our sentiments towards you. We shall send

them back to you. Assist the general by your advice, your influence, and your talents. What can you desire? The liberty of the negroes? You know that in every country in which we have been, we have given it to the peoples who had it not. Hence consideration, honors, fortune! After the services which you have rendered, which you can render in this matter, with the personal feelings which we entertain for you, you ought not to be doubtful as to the position before you. Consider, general, that if you are the first of your color who has arrived at so great power, and is distinguished by his valor and military talents, you are also before God and before us the most responsible for their conduct. Count without reserve upon our esteem, and let your behavior be that which becomes one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation of the world."

One of the incurable evils of a long state of slavery is the distrust begot in those who have undergone it, though it is also the defence and instinctive protection of weakness. Along with his admiration for the First Consul and his traditional attachment to France, Toussaint Louverture remained uneasy and suspicious as a slave. Already, under the orders of General Richepanse, the expedition was being prepared which was to re-establish slavery in Guadeloupe, in spite of the decrees of the Constituent Assembly and the formal declaration of the First Consul in a statement of the State of the Republic (November 30th, 1801). When the French squadron was signalled at St. Domingo, and the negro dictator ascertained the crushing force brought to impose upon him the will of the mother country, he made preparations for defence, entrusted his lieutenant, Christophe, with the guard of the shore and the town of Le Cap, ordering him to oppose the landing by threatening the white population with fire and sword should they offer to assist the French troops. Toussaint, counting upon the effect of threats, had not estimated the savage horror of slavery which animated his companions, nor the ferocity which could be displayed by men of his race when let loose upon their former masters. On entering the roads the French squadron began to fire: the negroes set the town on fire, put chains on some of the principal white men, and withdrew to the mountains or hills. Toussaint having preceded them, the army of negroes was again formed round him. The coast, however, being already taken by General Leclerc, the white population joined them; and a large number of the negroes,

becoming alarmed, accepted the conditions offered by the general. Then, after offering some defence, several of Toussaint's lieutenants, one after another, surrendered. The most ferocious of them, Dessalines, had just been driven from St. Marc, where he committed great atrocities. Toussaint was pursued to his retreat, and after his entrenchments were forced he accepted a capitulation, and withdrew to his plantation at Ennery. The climate of St. Domingo caused frightful ravages to the French army, and the consequent weakness of his troops greatly increased General Leclerc's alarm. He had, moreover received peremptory orders, the severity of which he frequently modified. "Follow exactly my instructions," General Bonaparte wrote to him on the 16th of March, 1802, "and as soon as ever you have got rid of Toussaint, Christophe, Dessalines, and the leading brigands, and the masses of the blacks are disarmed, send away all the blacks and men of color who shall have played any part in the civil troubles." A certain agitation continued to reign among the blacks, and Leclerc seized upon this pretext to summon Toussaint to a conference. The vanity of the former dictator was flattered, and triumphed over his mistrust. "These white gentlemen who know everything still have need of the old negro," said he, and he set out for the French camp (June 10, 1802). Immediately arrested and cast into a frigate, he was taken to the town of Le Cap; his family had been captured as well as himself, and he found them on board the vessel that carried him to France. He was alone when he was imprisoned in the Temple, and afterwards transferred to the fortress of Joux, in the icy casemates under the canopy of the mountains. The only question asked him was where he had hidden his treasures. The dictator of the blacks gave no answer; he had fallen into a deep lethargy. On the 27th April, 1803, he at last expired, the victim of cold, imprisonment, and solitude. A few months later (November, 1803) the mournful remains of our army evacuated St. Domingo, for ever lost to the power of France. General Leclerc was dead of fever, as well as the greater part of his officers, like Richepanse at Guadeloupe. The climate of his country had avenged Toussaint Louverture; the instruments of Bonaparte had perished, the enterprise had failed. The sister of General Bonaparte returned to France, ready for higher destinies; the wife and children of the dictator of St. Domingo pined away slowly in exile.

This check was insignificant in the midst of so much success

for his armies, and so many easy triumphs over the subdued nations; but the jealous susceptibility of the First Consul kept increasing. He had punished Toussaint Louverture for the resistance he had encountered in St. Domingo; he was irritated against the remnants of isolated opposition which he encountered at times among a few members of the Tribunal. The treaties of peace, so brilliantly concluded after the signature of the preliminaries of London, had been ratified without difficulty by the Corps Législatif. A single article of the treaty with Russia raised strong objections; it was obscure, and assured the Czar of the repression of Polish plots in France. The republican pride was irritated at the word *subjects* which was found in the clause. "Our armies have fought for ten years because we were citizens," cried Chenier, "and we have become subjects! Thus has been accomplished the desire of the double coalition!" The treaty was, nevertheless, ratified by an immense majority. But the anger of the master had been roused; "The tribunes are *dogs* that I encounter everywhere," he often exclaimed. The Tribunal and the Corps Législatif soon incurred his displeasure afresh—the one by discussing, the other by rejecting, a few preliminary articles of the new civil code. The First Consul was present at the discussions of the Council of State, often taking part in them with singular spirit and penetration, sometimes warped by personal or political prejudices. He had adopted as his own the work of the learned lawyers who had drawn up and compiled for the honor and utility of France the wisest and the simplest doctrines of civil and commercial law. "We can still risk two battles," said Bonaparte, after the rejection of the first head of the code. "If we gain them we will continue the march we have commenced. If we lose them we will enter into our winter quarters, and will advise as to the course to be taken."

The second head of the code was voted; the third, relative to the deprivation of civil rights, was excessive in its rigor; it was rejected. At the same time, and as if to give proof of its independence, the Corps Législatif, which had just chosen as its president Dupuis, author of a philosophical work, then famous, upon the "Origin of all Religions," sent up as candidates for the Senate the Abbé Grégoire and Daunou. The former had been dismissed from his charge as constitutional bishop at the time of the Concordat, the second was honored of all men, moderate in a very firm opposition. The

Abbé Grégoire was elected. The First Consul had presented Generals Jourdan, Lamartillière, and Berruyer, accompanying their candidature with a message. He broke out violently during a sitting of the Senate. "I declare to you," he said, "that if you appoint Daunou senator, I shall take it as a personal injury, and you know that I never suffer that!" General Lamartillière was appointed, but the slight notion of independence in the constituent bodies had troubled and displeased Bonaparte; he recoiled before the risks that awaited the Concordat and the great project of public instruction presented for the acceptance of the Corps Législatif. On the 8th of January, 1802, a message was brought in during the sitting. "Legislators," said the First Consul, "the government has resolved to withdraw the projects of law of the civil code. It is with pain that it finds itself obliged to defer to another period laws in which the interests of the nation are so much involved, but it is convinced that the time has not yet come when these great discussions can be carried on with that calm and unity of intention which they require."

This was not enough to assure the repose of General Bonaparte and the docile acceptance of his wishes; Consul Cambacérès, clever at veiling absolute power with an appearance of legality, proposed to confide to the Senate the task of eliminating from the Tribune and the Corps Législatif the fifth who ought regularly to be designated by lot. The legislative labors were suspended; the First Consul had set out for Lyons, in order to guide the destinies of the Italian Republic. He wrote thence to his colleagues: "I think that I shall be in Paris at the end of the decade, and that I shall myself be able to make the Senate understand the situation in which we find ourselves. I do not think it will be possible to continue to march forward when the constituted authorities are composed of enemies; the system has none greater than Daunou; and since, in fine, all these affairs of the Corps Législatif and the Tribune have resulted in scandal, the least thing that the Senate can do is to remove the twenty and the sixty bad members, and replace them by well-disposed persons. The will of the nation is that the government may not be hindered from doing well, and that the head of Medusa may no longer be displayed in our Tribunes and in our Assemblies. The conduct of Sieyès in this circumstance proves perfectly that, after having concurred in the destruction of all the constitutions since 1791, he still wishes to try his hand against this one. It

is very extraordinary that he does not see the folly of it. He ought to go and burn a wax taper at Notre Dame for having been delivered so happily and in a manner so unhopèd for. But the older I grow the more I perceive that every one has to fulfil his destiny."

When the First Consul returned to Paris, the opposition, more brilliant than effective, of a few eloquent members, had ceased in the Tribunate; the Corps Législatif had undergone the same purification. Faithful servants had been carefully chosen by the Senate—some capable of ill-temper and anger, like Lucien Bonaparte and Carnot; others distinguished by their administrative merit, like Daru—all fit to vote the great projects which the First Consul meditated. He did not, however, condescend to submit to them the general amnesty in favor of all the emigrants whose names had not yet been erased from the fatal list. Perhaps he still dreaded some remains of revolutionary passion. This act of justice and clemency was the object of a *Senatus Consultum*. The First Consul kept in his own hands the unsold confiscated property of emigrants—a powerful means of action, which he often exercised in order to attach to himself men and families of consideration by direct or personal restitution.

He created at the same time a new instrument of government the fruit of a powerful mind and profound acquaintance with human nature. Formerly the honorary orders successively founded by kings of France had been reserved for a small number of privileged persons; in this limited circle they had been the object of great ambition and of long intrigues. By the institution of the Legion of Honor, Bonaparte resolved to extend to the entire nation, in the camp and in civil life, that rivalry of hopes and that ardent thirst for honors which formerly animated the courtiers. He had proved the importance which the military attached to arms of honor, and he was impatient of the objections which the Council of State brought before him on this subject. "People call this kind of thing a bauble," said he. "Well! it is with baubles that men are managed. I would not say it to a Tribune, but I do not believe that Frenchmen love liberty and equality; they have not been changed by ten years of Revolution; like the Gauls, they must have distinctions. It is one means more of managing men." The experience of the rulers who have succeeded him has justified the far-seeing and cynical conception of Bonaparte. It has proved once more what abuses can be

brought about, and what weaknesses can be created, by an institution originally intended to appeal to noble sentiments. The passion for equality was much stronger than the First Consul thought; the institution of the Legion of Honor encountered great opposition in the purified Tribune and Corps Législatif, and was only voted by a small majority.

A great law on public instruction prepared the way for the foundation of the University, from that time one of the favorite ideas of the First Consul. Primary instruction remained neglected, as it had been practically by the Convention. The communes were entrusted with the direction and construction of schools; no salary was assured to the instructor beyond the school fees. The central schools were suppressed; their method of mixed instruction had succeeded badly. The project of the First Consul instituted thirty-two Lycées, intended for instruction in the classical languages and in the sciences. He had little taste for the free exercise of reflection and human thought; instruction in history and philosophy found no place in his programme. "We have ceased to make of history a particular study," said M. Roederer, "because history properly so called only needs to be read to be understood." The great revival of historic studies in France was soon to protest eloquently against a theory which separated the present from the past, and which left in consequence a most grievous blank in education. Military exercises were everywhere carefully organized. Six thousand four hundred scholarships, created by the State, were to draw the young into the new establishments, or into the schools already founded to which the State extended its grants and its patronage. Without being officially abolished, the freedom of secondary instruction was thus subjected to a destructive rivalry, and the action of the government penetrated into the bosom of all families. "What more sweet," said M. Roederer, "than to see one's children in a manner adopted by the State, at the moment when it becomes a question of providing for their establishment?" "This is only a commencement," said the First Consul to Fourcroy, the principal author of the project, and its clever defender before the Corps Législatif; by and by we shall do better."

The Treaty of Amiens had already been signed several months (25th March, 1802), but it had not yet been presented for the ratification of the Corps Législatif; this was the supreme satisfaction reserved for it, and the brilliant consummation of its labors. It was at the same time the price paid

in advance for a manifestation long prepared for, but which, however, still remained obscure even among those most trusted by the all-powerful master of France. The destinies of the nation rested in his hands, but the power had been confided to him for ten years only; it was necessary to insure the prolongation of this dictatorship, which all judged useful at the present moment, and of which few people had foreseen the danger. Bonaparte persisted in hiding his thought; he waited for the spontaneous homage of the constituent bodies in the name of the grateful nation. Cambacérès was acquainted with this desire, and he exerted himself to prepare the votes in the Senate. A certain mistrust reigned in some minds. The Tribunate, alone permitted to speak, at length took the initiative. Its President, Chabot de l'Allier, the friend of Cambacérès made this proposal:—"The Senate is invited to give the consuls a testimony of the national gratitude." This wish, transmitted to the Senate, was at the same time carried to the Tuileries; Siméon was entrusted with presenting it to the First Consul. "I desire no other glory than that of having entirely completed the task which was imposed on me," replied Bonaparte; "I am ambitious of no other recompense than the affection of my fellow-citizens; life is only dear to me for the services I can render to my country; death itself will have for me no bitterness, if I can only see the happiness of the Republic as well assured as its glory."

So many protestations of disinterestedness deceived nobody; the thirst for power betrayed itself even in the most modest words. Through ignorance, or uneasiness as to the future, the Senate made a mistake as to the measure of an ambition that knew no limit. It voted for General Bonaparte a prolongation of his powers during ten years; Lanjuinais alone protested against the dictatorship, as he had formerly protested against demagogy. The officials, badly informed, ran with eagerness to the Tuileries; they were received with evident ill-temper. The first impulse of Bonaparte was to refuse the proposal of the Senate; prudent counsels opened to him another way.

It was from Malmaison, the pretty country-house dear to Madame Bonaparte, that the First Consul replied to the message of the Senate. "Senators," said he, "the honorable proof of esteem embodied in your deliberation of the 18th will be always graven upon my heart. In the three years that have just passed away, fortune has smiled upon the Republic;

but fortune is inconstant, and how many men whom she has loaded with her favors have lived more than a few years!

"The interest of my glory and that of my happiness would seem to assign as the term of my public life the moment when the peace of the world is proclaimed.

"But you judge that I ought to make a new sacrifice for the people; I will do it if the wish of the people commands what your suffrage authorizes."

In all times, and under all forms of arbitrary government, the appeal to the people has offered to power an easy resource; Cambacérès had cleverly suggested it to the First Consul. In explaining to the Council of State the reasons which rendered the vote of the Senate unacceptable, he formulated immediately the proposal which ought to be put before the nation: "Napoleon Bonaparte, shall he be consul for life?" To this first question Roederer proposed to add a second, immediately rejected by the explicit wish of the First Consul himself: "Shall he have the right of appointing his successor?" For three weeks, in all the cities and in all the villages, the registries of votes remained open. The Tribune and the Corps Législatif presented themselves in a body at the Tuileries, in order to vote into the hands of the First Consul. The Senate had the honor of casting up the votes. It remained mute and powerless in consequence of its awkward proposal. "Come to the help of people who have made a mistake in trying to divine your purposes too deeply," said Cambacérès to the First Consul. 3,577,259 "Yeas" had agreed to the Consulate for life. Rather more than 800 "Noes" alone represented the opposition. La Fayette refused his assent; he wrote upon the registry of votes, "I should not know how to vote for such a magistracy, inasmuch as political liberty will not be guaranteed."

The feeble and insufficient guarantees of political liberty were about to undergo fresh restrictions. In receiving from the Senate the return of the votes, the First Consul said, "The life of a citizen is for his country. The French people wish mine to be entirely consecrated to it; I obey its will. In giving me a new pledge—a permanent pledge of its confidence, it imposes upon me the duty of basing the legal system on far-seeing institutions." A *Senatus Consultum*, reforming the Constitution of the year VIII., substituted for the lists of notables, the formation of Cantonal Colleges, Colleges of Arrondissements, and Colleges of Departments, the members of which, few in number, and

appointed for life by the cantonal assemblies, were to nominate candidates for selection by the executive authority. The Tribunate was limited to fifty members; the Council of State saw its importance diminished by the formation of a Privy Council. The number of senators was fixed at eighty, but the First Consul was left at liberty to add forty members at his pleasure. This assurance of the docility of the Assembly was not sufficient. The Senate was invested with the right of interpreting the constitution, of suspending it when necessary, or of dissolving the Tribunate and the Corps Législatif; but it might not adopt any measure without the initiative of the government. The First Consul reserved for himself the right of pardon and the duty of naming his successor. This last clause was forced on him by reasons of State policy, but he deferred it for a long time. His mind could only be satisfied with the principle of hereditary succession, and he had no children. Madame Bonaparte feared a divorce, the principle of which had been maintained by the First Consul in the Council of State with remarkable earnestness. The choice of a successor remained an open question, which encouraged many hopes. The brothers of the First Consul were loaded with honors; the family of the master took rank by themselves from the moment when the name they bore in common appeared with a freshness which was in part to eclipse its glory. In imitation of the Italian Consulate, the Senate proclaimed Napoleon Bonaparte Consul for life.

A few prudent friends of liberty in France began to feel uneasy at this unheard-of aggrandizement of power without a curb. To the fear which France in anarchy had caused in Europe already succeeded the disquietude inspired by an absolute master, little careful of rights or engagements, led by the arbitrary instincts of his own mind, susceptible by nature or by policy, and always disposed to use his advantages imperiously. Peace was already beginning to be irksome to him; he cherished hopes of new conquests; his temper became every day more exacting, and the feebleness of the English minister furnished him with occasions of quarrel. A stranger to the liberal spirit of the English constitution, a systematic enemy to the freedom of the press, Bonaparte required from Addington and Lord Hawkesbury that they should expel from England the revolutionary libellers, whose daily insults in the journals irritated him, and the emigrant Chouans, whose criminal enterprises he dreaded. To the demands of the French minister at London

was added the official violence of the *Moniteur*, edited and inspired by Barère. "What result," said the journal of the First Consul, "what result can the English Government expect by fomenting the troubles of the Church, by harboring, and revomiting on our territory, the scoundrels of the Côtes-du-Nord and Morbihan, covered with the blood of the most important and richest proprietors of those unfortunate departments? Does it not know that the French Government is now more firmly established than the English Government? Does it imagine that for the French Government reciprocity will be difficult? What might be the effect of an exchange of such insults—of this protection and this encouragement accorded to assassins?"

The irritation was real, and its manifestations sincere; but they cloaked more serious incentives to anger, and pretensions fatal to the repose of Europe. For a long time the First Consul had repelled with scorn any intervention of England in the affairs of the new States he had created, and which the English Government had constantly refused to recognize. The complaints of Lord Hawkesbury on the subject of the French mediation in Switzerland provoked an explosion of anger and threats. "Whatever may be said or not said," wrote Talleyrand to Otto, "the resolution of the First Consul is irrevocable. He will not have Switzerland converted into a new Jersey. You will never speak of war, but you will not suffer any one to speak to you of it. With what war could they threaten us? With a naval war? But our commerce has only just started afresh, and the prey that we should afford the English would be scarcely worth while. Our West Indies are supplied with acclimatized soldiers! St. Domingo alone contains 25,000 of them. They might blockade our ports, it is true; but at the very moment of the declaration of war England would find herself blockaded in turn. The territory of Hanover, of Holland, of Portugal, of Italy, down to Tarento, would be occupied by our troops. The countries we are accused of domineering over too openly—Liguria, Lombardy, Switzerland, Holland—instead of being left in this uncertain situation, from which we sustain a thousand embarrassments, would be converted into French provinces, from which we should draw immense resources; and we should be compelled to realize that empire of the Gauls which is ceaselessly held up as a terror to Europe. And what would happen if the First Consul, quitting Paris for Lille or St. Omer, collecting all the flat-bottomed vessels of

Flanders and Holland, and preparing the means of transport for 100,000 men, should plunge England into the agonies of an invasion—always possible, almost certain? Would England stir up a continental war? But where would she find her allies? In any case, if the war on the continent were to be renewed, it would be England who would compel us to conquer Europe. The First Consul is only thirty-three years old; he has as yet only destroyed States of the second rank. Who knows but that he might have time enough yet (if forced to attempt it) to change the face of Europe, and resuscitate the Empire of the West?"

The violence of these words went beyond the thought of the First Consul; he had not yet firmly made up his mind for the recommencement of hostilities. France submissive, Europe silent and resigned, accepting without a murmur the encroachments of his ambition—such were for him the conditions of peace; England could not accept them. With Piedmont and the island of Elba annexed to France, Holland and Switzerland subdued, and the Duchy of Parma occupied, England had eluded the agreements relative to the island of Malta. Profiting by the difficulties which opposed themselves to the reconstitution of the order of things guaranteed by the great powers, she had detained in her hands this pledge of empire in the Mediterranean. It was the object of continual complaints from the First Consul, and the pretext for his outburst of anger. "The whole Treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the Treaty of Amiens," Otto kept constantly repeating to Lord Hawkesbury. The minister of foreign affairs responded by a declaration equally peremptory: "The condition of the continent at the time of the Treaty of Amiens, and nothing but that condition." The mutual understandings and reticences which had enabled a truce to be arranged, little by little disappeared. The truth began to come to light. A mission of General Sébastiani to Egypt resulted in awakening general uneasiness.

The report of the First Consul's envoy was textually published in the *Moniteur*; it enumerated the forces at the disposal of England and Turkey in the East, and in conclusion expressed its opinion that "6000 Frenchmen would now be sufficient to reconquer Egypt."

This was, perhaps, saying more than Napoleon Bonaparte had resolved upon; and the ambassador's desire to please had responded to the remote and vague desires of the master. England was much disturbed at it, and yet more so at the haughty

declarations of the First Consul in a statement of the condition of the republic. "In England," said he, "two parties contend for power. One has concluded peace and appears resolved on its maintenance; the other has sworn implacable hatred to France. Whilst this strife of parties lasts, there are measures which prudence dictates to the government. Five hundred thousand men ought to be, and shall be, ready to defend and to avenge her. Whatever be the success of her intrigues, England will not be able to draw other nations into new leagues, and the government declares with just pride that England alone could not now contend with France." The spirited indignation of the English people prevailed over the moderation and weakness of the government. George III., in a message to his Parliament, said, "In view of the military preparations which are being made in the ports of France and Holland, the king has believed it to be his duty to adopt new measures of precaution for the security of his States. These preparations are, it is true, officially intended for colonial expeditions; however, as there exists important differences of sentiment between his Majesty and the French Government, his Majesty has felt it necessary to address his Parliament, counting on its concurrence in order to assure all the measures which the honor and interests of the English people require." The public voice demanded the return to power of Pitt. "It is an astonishing and sorrowful fact," said his old adversary, Sir Philip Francis, "that in a moment like this all the eminent men of England are excluded from its government and its councils. For calm weather an ordinary amount of ability in the pilot might suffice; the storm which is now brewing calls for men of greater experience. If the vessel founders, we shall all perish with her."

The ambassador from England had just arrived at Paris. Lord Whitworth was a man of resolute and simple character, without either taste or ability for the complicated manœuvres of diplomacy; he was well received by the First Consul, and conversation soon began. "He reproaches us above all with not having evacuated Egypt and Malta," wrote the ambassador to Lord Hawkesbury. "'Nothing will make me accept that,' he said to me. 'Of the two, I would sooner see you master of the Faubourg St. Antoine than of Malta. My irritation against England is constantly increasing. Every wind that blows from England bears to me the evidence of its hatred and ill-will. If I wanted to take back Egypt by force, I could have had it a

month ago, by sending 25,000 men to Aboukir; but I should lose there more than I should gain. Sooner or later Egypt must belong to France, either by the fall of the Ottoman Empire, or by some arrangement concluded with it. What advantage should I derive from making war? I can only attack you by means of a descent upon your coasts. I have resolved upon it, and shall be myself the leader. I know well that there are a hundred chances to one against me; but I shall attempt it if I am forced to it; and I assure you that such is the feeling of the troops, that army after army will be ready to rush forward to the danger. If France and England understand each other, the one, with its army of 480,000 men which is now being got in readiness, and the other with the fleet which has rendered it mistress of the seas, and which I should not be able to equal in less than ten years—they might govern the world; by their hostility they will ruin it. Nothing has been able to overcome the enmity of the English Government. Now we have arrived at this point: Do you want peace or war? It is upon Malta that the issue depends.’” Lord Whitworth attempted in vain a few protestations. “I suppose you want to speak about Piedmont and Switzerland? These are bagatelles! That ought to have been foreseen during the negotiations; you have no right to complain at this time of day.”

The warlike ardour of the Parliament and the English nation was the answer to the hostile declaration of the First Consul. He had counted upon a more confirmed desire for peace, and upon the disquietude his threats would produce. He attempted once more the effect produced by one of those outbursts of violence to which he was subject, and of which he was accustomed to make use.

The message of George III. to Parliament was known to the First Consul when, on Sunday, March 13, 1803, the ambassador of England presented himself at the Tuileries. Bonaparte was still in the apartment of his wife; when Lord Whitworth was announced, he entered immediately into the salon. The crowd was large; the entire corps diplomatique was present. The First Consul, advancing towards Lord Whitworth, said, “You have news from London;” then, without leaving the ambassador time to answer: “So you wish for war!” “No,” replied Lord Whitworth; “we know too well the advantages of peace.” “We have already made war for ten years; you wish to make it for another fifteen years; you force it upon me.” He strode with long steps before the amazed circle of

diplomats. "The English wish for war," said he, drawing himself up before the ambassadors of Russia and Spain—Markoff and Azara; "but if they are the first to draw the sword, I will not be the last to put it back in the scabbard. They will not evacuate Malta. Since there is no respect for treaties, it is necessary to cover them over with a black pall!" The First Consul returned to Lord Whitworth, who remained motionless in his place. "How is it they have dared to say that France is arming? I have not a single vessel of the line in our ports! You want to fight; I will fight also. France may be killed, my lord; but intimidated, never!" "We desire neither the one nor the other," replied the ambassador; "we only aspire to live on a good understanding with her." "Then treaties must be respected," cried Bonaparte. "Woe to those who don't respect treaties."

He went away his eyes sparkling, his countenance full of wrath—when he stopped for a moment; the sentiment of decorum had again taken possession of his mind. "I hope," said he to Lord Whitworth, "that the Duchess of Dorset* is well, and that after having passed a bad season in Paris, she will be able to pass a good one there." Then suddenly, and as if his former anger again seized him: "That depends upon England. If things so fall out that we have to make war, the responsibility, in the eyes of God and man, will rest entirely upon those who deny their own signature, and refuse to execute treaties."

It was one of Bonaparte's habits to calm himself suddenly after an outburst of violence. A few days were passed by Talleyrand and Lord Whitworth in sincere efforts to plan pacific expedients; the ambassador had received from the English Cabinet its ultimatum: "1. The cession of the isle of Lampedusa. 2. The occupation of Malta for ten years. 3. The evacuation of the Batavian Republic and Switzerland. 4. An indemnity for the King of Sardinia. On these conditions England would recognize the Kingdom of Etruria and the Cisalpine Republic."

The warmth of public opinion in England had obliged the minister to take up a fixed attitude; the consequences could not be doubtful. In vain Lord Whitworth retarded to the utmost limits of his power the departure for which he had received orders. The advances of Talleyrand and the conces-

* Wife of Lord Whitworth.

sions of the First Consul did not seriously touch the essence of the questions in dispute. The decision of Napoleon remained the same: "I will not let them have two Gibaltars in the Mediterranean, one at the entrance and another in the middle." The ambassador quitted Paris on the 12th of May, journeying by short stages, as if still to avert the inevitable rupture between the two nations; at the same time General Andréossy, accredited at the court of George III., quitted London. The two ambassadors separated on the 17th of May at Dover, sorrowful and grave, as men who had striven to avert indescribable sorrows and struggles from their country and the world.

It was the harsh and barbarous custom of the English navy to fall upon the merchant vessels of an enemy's country immediately peace was broken. Two French ships of commerce were thus captured on the day following the departure of General Andréossy for Paris. The First Consul replied to this act of hostility by causing to be arrested, and soon afterwards interned at various places in his territory, all the English sojourning or travelling in France. Some had recently received from Talleyrand the most formal assurances of their safety. "Many English addressed themselves to me," said Napoleon in his "*Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*," "I constantly referred them to their government. On it alone their lot depended." England did not claim its citizens; it resolutely persisted in leaving upon its author the full weight of this odious act, disapproved by his most faithful adherents. No Frenchmen were annoyed on English soil.

Europe was agitated and disquieted, still entrenched in its neutrality, more or less malevolent, and terrified at the consequences it foresaw from the renewal of the strife between France and England. "If General Bonaparte does not accomplish the miracle that he is preparing at this moment," said the Emperor of Germany, Francis II., "if he does not pass the straits, he will throw himself upon us, and will fight England in Germany." "You inspire too much fear in all the world, for it to dream now of fearing England," cried Philippe de Cobentzel, ambassador of Austria at Paris. It was upon this universal fear that the First Consul had counted. Already his troops had invaded Hanover, without England thinking it possible to defend the patrimonial domains of its sovereign. The Hanoverian army did not attempt to resist: Marshal de Walmoden concluded with General Mortier at Suhlingen a

convention which permitted the former to retire beyond the Elbe with arms and baggage, on condition of not serving against France in the present war. These resolutions not having been ratified by George III., the Hanoverian army was disbanded after laying down its arms; 30,000 Frenchmen continued to occupy Hanover. The uneasiness of Germany continued to increase. The Emperor of Russia offered himself as mediator; the King of Prussia offered to arrange for the neutrality of the north; but the First Consul remained deaf to these advances. He sent Gouvion de Saint Cyr into the gulf of Tarento, formerly evacuated after the peace of Amiens. The forces intended for this expedition were to live at the expense of the kingdom of Naples. "I will no more suffer the English in Italy than in Spain or Portugal," he had said to Queen Caroline. "At the first act of complicity with England, war will give me redress for your enmity."

The attitude of Spain was doubtful, and its language little satisfactory. By the threat of invasion by Augereau, whose forces were already collected at Bayonne, the First Consul acted on the disgraceful terrors of the Prince de la Paix; he only exacted money from his powerless ally. As he now found it impossible to occupy Louisiana, Bonaparte conceived the idea of ceding it to the United States for a sum of 80,000,000 francs, which the Americans hastened to pay. Holland was to furnish troops and vessels, Etruria and Switzerland soldiers.

It was upon a maritime enterprise that the efforts and thoughts of the First Consul were at this moment entirely concentrated. The attempt at an invasion of England which the Directory had formerly wished to impose on him, and which he had rejected with scorn on the eve of the campaign in Egypt, had become the object of his most serious hopes. To throw 150,000 men into England on a calm day by means of a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats, which should be rowed across whilst the great vessels of the English navy would be immovable through the absence of wind—such was the primitive conception of the enterprise. Bonaparte prepared for it with that persevering activity, and that marvellous pre-arrangement of details with a view to the entire plan, which he knew how constantly to carry out in administration as in war. To the original project of the Directory he had added more masterly combinations, which still remained secret. A squadron was preparing at Brest, under the orders of Admiral Ganteaume; the Dutch vessels, commanded by Admiral



E. Roujat

CAMBRACRES (SECOND CONSUL).



E. Roujat

TALLEYRAND.



THE CORONATION.

Verhuell, were collected at Texel; Admiral Latouche-Tréville, clever and daring, was to direct the squadron of Toulon destined for a decisive manœuvre. Admiral Brueix was entrusted with the conduct of the flotilla of the Channel; everywhere boats had been requisitioned, gun-boats and pinnaces were in course of construction; the departments, the cities, the corporate bodies, offered gifts of vessels or maritime provisions; the forests of the departments of the north fell under the axe. Camps had been formed at Boulogne, at Étaples, at St. Omer; fortifications rose along the coast; the First Consul undertook a journey through the Flemish and Belgian departments, accompanied by Madame Bonaparte and all the splendor of a royal household. The presence of the Legate in the *cortége* was to impress with respect and confidence the minds of the devout populations of the north. The first point at which Napoleon Bonaparte stayed his progress was at Boulogne; he pressed forward the works, commenced, and ordered new ones. On his return from the triumphal march to Brussels and back, he resumed himself the direction of his great enterprise. Established in the little chateau of Pont de Briques at the gate of Boulogne, he hastened over to St. Cloud, and returned, with a rapidity which knew no fatigue. Without cessation, on the shore, in the workshops, in the camps, he animated the sailors, the workmen, and the soldiers with the indomitable activity of his soul. The minister of marine, Decrès, clever, penetrating, with a nature gloomy and mournful, suggested all the difficulties of the expedition, and yielded to the imperial will that dominated all France. Admiral Brueix, already ill, and soon afterwards dying, was installed in a little house which overlooked the sea, witnessing the frequent experiments tried on the new vessels, sometimes even the little encounter that took place with the English ships. The First Consul braved all inclemencies of weather; he was eager "to play his great game." "I received your letter of the 18th Brumaire," wrote he to Cambacérès. "The sea continues to be very bad, and the rain to fall in torrents. Yesterday I was on horseback or in a boat all day. That is the same thing as telling you I was continually wet. At this season nothing can be accomplished without braving the water. Fortunately for my purpose, it suits me perfectly, and I was never better in health."

Already the night expeditions, intended to exercise the sailors and inure the soldiers, had commenced; the ardor of

the chief spread to the army. On the 7th of January, 1804, the minister of marine wrote from Boulogne to the First Consul: "In the flotilla they are beginning to believe firmly that the departure will be more immediate than is generally supposed, and they have promised to prepare seriously for it. They shake off all thoughts of danger, and each man sees only Cæsar and his fortunes. The ideas of all the subalterns do not pass the limits of the roadstead and its currents. They argue about the wind, and the anchorage, and the line of bearing. As for the crossing, that is your affair. You know more about it than they do, and your eyes are worth more than their telescopes. They have implicit faith in everything that you do. The admiral himself is in just the same condition. He has never presented you any plan, because in fact he has none. Besides, you have not yet asked him for it; it will be the moment of execution which will decide him. Very possibly he will be obliged to sacrifice a hundred vessels to draw down the enemy upon them, whilst the rest, setting out at the moment of the defeat of the others, will go across without hindrance."

The First Consul, ceasingly watching the sea which protected his enemies, wrote to Cambacérès on November 16th: "I have passed these three days in the midst of the camp and the port. I have seen from the heights of Ambleteuse the coasts of England, as one sees the Calvaire from the Tuileries. You can distinguish the houses, and the movements going on. It is a ditch, which shall be crossed as soon as we shall have the audacity to attempt it."

So many preparations, pushed forward with such ardor, disquieted England. The most illustrious of her naval officers—Nelson, Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Keith—were ordered to blockade the French ports, and hinder the return of distant squadrons. Everywhere corps of volunteers were formed, and actively exercised on the coasts. Men of considerable note in the political or legal world—Pitt and Addington, as well as the great lords and the great judges—clothed themselves in uniform, and commanded regiments. Pitt proposed to fortify London. Insurrectionary movements were being fomented in Ireland; the French squadron at Brest was destined to aid them.

In the midst of this warlike and patriotic agitation, it was only natural that the excitement should gain a party, naturally restless and credulous. The French emigrants could not but

feel a desire for action, in the hope of taking an active part in the general struggle waged against the enemy who kept them far from their country by the very fact of his existence and his power. The First Consul had offered an amnesty to all the emigrants, restored their property to some, and attracted a certain number of them round his own person; he had recalled the priests, and re-established the Catholic religion; but he had repelled the advances of the House of Bourbon. His hostility to the restoration of the monarchy had always been flagrant; the throne might be re-erected, but it should be for his own profit. He alone was the obstacle to the hopes cherished by the exiled princes and their friends, in presence of the re-establishment of order and the public prosperity. Delivered from his yoke, that pressed heavily upon her, France would salute with enthusiasm the return of her legitimate sovereign.

It was in England even, and amongst the circle that surrounded the Count d'Artois, that expression was given to these hopes and ignorant illusions as to the true state of men's minds in France. The Princes of the House of Condé, recently enrolled with their little army in the service of England, held themselves ready to fight, without conspiring. Louis XVIII. lived in Germany, withdrawn from the centre of warlike preparations; he was cold, sensible, and prudent; he thought little of plots, and had a healthier judgment than his brother as to the chances which might restore his fortune. The actual resources, the noisy agents of the emigration, were collected in England: there were found the chiefs of the Chouans, with Georges Cadoudal at their head; there dwelt the generals who had had the misfortune to abandon their country or betray their honor—Willot, Dumouriez, Pichegru; there were hatched chimerical projects, impressed from the first with the fatal errors and the terrible ignorance which doom to inevitable sterility the hopes and the efforts of exiles.

By his counsels, or his orders, Georges Cadoudal had taken part in the plot which had been discovered in 1801. After the failure of the infernal machine of St. Réjant he had felt regret, and some repugnance, for such proceedings. He proposed to go to Paris, with twenty or twenty-five resolute men, to attack the guard of the First Consul while he passed along the street, and strike him in the midst of his defenders. In order to profit by this bold stroke, intrigues were to be car-

ried on beforehand with discontented generals, who might be able to dispose the forces necessary for the sudden overthrow of the consular government. Bonaparte dead, the Count d'Artois and his son the Duc de Berry, secretly brought into France, would rally their friends round them, and proclaim the restoration of the House of Bourbon.

Two principal actors were indispensable to the execution of the project; Georges at Paris, unknown to the prying police of the First Consul; and General Moreau, favorable to the fall of Bonaparte, if not to his assassination. A nearly complete rupture had succeeded to the professed regard which for a long time covered the secret jealousy of the First Consul with respect to his glorious companion-in-arms. At the summit of his power and glory, Napoleon Bonaparte was never exempt from a recollection of rivalry with regard to the former chiefs of the republican army, his old rivals, and who had not bowed before the prestige of his recognized superiority. He liked neither Kléber, nor Masséna, nor Gouvion St. Cyr. As regards Moreau, he experienced a concealed uneasiness; it was the only military name that had been mentioned as that of a possible successor to himself. Wounded susceptibilities, and the quarrels of women, had aggravated a situation naturally delicate and strained. Moreau was spirited as well as modest; he felt himself injured; he dwelt in the country, living in grand style, sought after by the discontented, and speaking of Bonaparte without much reserve. The emigrant conspirators believed that circumstances were favorable for engaging him in their plans. General Pichegru had formerly been his friend. Moreau had long concealed the proofs of the former treason; perhaps he regretted having given them up at the moment of his comrade's just disgrace: he was known to be favorable to the return of Pichegru to France. It was in the name of Pichegru, and for his interests, that Moreau was to be approached. The first agent sent to Moreau was soon arrested; he has said in his "*Mémoires*," "Moreau would have nothing to do with conspiracy, and said, 'he must cease to waste men and things.'" Other emissaries had no better success. An active intriguer, General Lajolais, an old friend of Pichegru, meanwhile left Paris for London; he repeated the bitter words of Moreau respecting the First Consul—words which created illusions and hopes. On the 21st August, 1803, Georges landed at the cliff of Biville, crossing the rocks by the footpaths of smugglers. The police had for some time been on

the traces of the conspiracy: they were, perhaps, actively concerned in it. A few Chouans, obscure companions of Cadoudal, were arrested and put in prison, without their trial being proceeded with; their chief succeeded in reaching Paris safely, where he hid himself. Two successive arrivals completed the band of conspirators; on January 16th, 1804, General Pichegru, the Marquis de la Rivière, Jules and Armand de Polignac, landed in France. On the same day, and by a coincidence which suggests the idea of a certain knowledge of the situation, the First Consul said in his statement as to the condition of the republic,—

“The British Government will attempt to cast, and has perhaps already cast upon our shores, a few of those monsters which it has nourished during the peace, in order to injure the land which gave them birth. But they will no longer find the impious bands who were the instruments of their first crimes; terror has dissolved them, or justice has purged our country of their presence. They will no longer find that credulity they abused, or that hatred which once sharpened their daggers. Surrounded everywhere by the public power, everywhere within the grasp of the tribunals, these horrible wretches will be able henceforth neither to make rebels, nor to resume with impunity their profession as brigands and assassins.”

The conspirators succeeded in assuring themselves that, contrary to the hopes of some English diplomatists, an insurrection was no longer possible in Vendée or Brittany. Already a certain amount of discouragement was influencing their minds as to the success of their perilous enterprise. At their first interview, by night, on the Boulevard of La Madeleine, Moreau showed himself cold towards Pichegru. Georges, who had accompanied the latter, was dissatisfied and gloomy. “This looks bad,” said he, at once. The two generals conferred. Moreau displayed no repugnance towards the overthrow of the First Consul; he would form no project of conspiracy, but he believed himself sure of becoming the master of power if Bonaparte happened to disappear; he was, and he remained, a republican. He reproached Pichegru with being mixed up with men unworthy of him. The general had more than once bitterly felt this. “You are with us (*avec nous*),” the Chouans used to say to him. “No gentlemen,” cried Pichegru, one day; “I am in your company (*chez vous*).”

“Poor man!” said the conqueror of Holland, on quitting the conqueror of Hohenlinden, “he also has his ambition, and

wishes to have a turn at governing France: he would not be its master for twenty-four hours." Georges Cadoudal laughed scornfully; "Usurper for usurper! I love better the one who is ruling now than this Moreau, who has neither heart nor head!" The conspirators felt their danger. Their preliminary interviews had led to no result; the murmurs of discontent had not developed into serious promises, still less into effective actions. La Rivière lost hope every day; the First Consul every day became better informed as to what was going on.

He had recently suppressed the ministry of police; Fouché continued, without authority, the profession which he had always practised with enthusiasm; he informed Napoleon as to the result of his researches. The latter had ardently cherished a hope of pursuing, and striking down at one blow, enemies of diverse origin, dangerous on different accounts. Amongst the Chouans arrested in the month of August, two had remained obstinately silent, and had been shot; a third was less courageous. "I have secret information which makes me believe that they only came here to assassinate me," wrote Bonaparte to Cambacérès. Querelle revealed all he knew of the plot; he named the place of disembarkation; General Savory was sent there in disguise, ordered to wait for that arrival of a prince, as had been promised to the conspirators. Already his doom was determined on in the mind of the First Consul.

Fresh arrests had taken place in Paris, for a servant of Georges had given information. One of his principal officers, Bouvet de Lozier, vainly attempted to kill himself; rescued from death, he asked to see the chief judge. Régnier sent in his place Réal, the counsellor of state, more penetrating and more clever than himself. It is supposed that the latter was no stranger to the drawing up of the deposition of Bouvet, who implicated General Moreau in the gravest manner. "Here is a man who comes back from the gates of the tomb, still surrounded by the shadows of death, who demands vengeance upon those who by their perfidy have thrown him and his party into the abyss where they now find themselves. Sent to sustain the cause of the Bourbons, he finds himself compelled either to fight for Moreau, or to renounce an enterprise which was the sole object of his mission. Monsieur was to pass into France, to put himself at the head of the royalist party. Moreau promised to unite himself to the cause of the Bourbons; the royalists arrived in France, and Moreau retracts. He proposes to them to work for him, and to get him named Dictator.

Hence the hesitation, the dissension, and the almost total loss of the royalist party. I know not what weight you will attach to the assertions of a man snatched an hour ago from the death to which he had devoted himself, and who sees before him the fate which an offended government has in reserve for him. But I cannot withhold the cry of despair, or refrain from attacking the man who has reduced me to this."

Réal hastened to the Tuileries. The First Consul was less astonished than himself; he was acquainted with the interviews of Moreau and Pichegru. He was well aware that the opinions of Moreau were quite opposed to any thought of monarchical restoration. The general returned to Paris, after a visit to Grosbois, on the morning of the 15th of February; he was arrested on the bridge of Charenton, and taken to the Temple. Lajolais was arrested at the same time. The trial was directed to take place before the civil tribunal of the Seine. Cambacérès had proposed a military commission. "No," said the First Consul; "it would be said that I desire to disembararrass myself of Moreau, and to get him judicially assassinated by own creatures." The jury was chosen in the department of the Seine; a report upon the causes of the arrest of Moreau was sent to the Senate, the Corps Législatif, and the Tribunate.

The commotion in Paris was great, and the public instinct was favorable to General Moreau. The presumed accomplices of his crime had not yet fallen into the hands of the government. People refused to believe him guilty, a traitor to the opinions of a lifetime, and mixed up in a royalist conspiracy. The attitude of the general was firm and calm. For a moment, the First Consul conceived the idea of seeing him. "I pardon Moreau," said he; "let him own everything to me, and I will forget the errors of a foolish jealousy." General Lajolais had recounted the details of the interviews of Moreau with Pichegru; the accused persisted in denying everything. "Ah, well!" replied Napoleon, "since he will not open with me, it will be necessary for him to yield to justice." Anger broke forth, in spite of the efforts of the First Consul to preserve the appearance of a sorrowful justice. The brother of Moreau, was a member of the Tribunate; he had loudly pleaded in favor of the accused. "I declare," cried he, "to the assembly, to the entire nation, that my brother is innocent of the atrocious crimes that are imputed to him. Let him be given the means of justifying himself, and he will do so. I demand that he

may be judged by his natural judges." The president of the Tribunate dared to style the accusation against Moreau a *denunciation*; the First Consul warmly criticised this expression. "The greatness of the services rendered by Moreau is not a sufficient motive for screening him from the rigor of the laws," cried he. "There is no government in existence where a man by reason of his past services may screen himself from the law, which ought to have the same grasp on him as on the meanest individual. What! Moreau is already guilty in the eyes of the highest powers of the State, and you will not even consider him as accused!" "Paris and France have only one sentiment, only one opinion," wrote he to Comte Melzi, vice-president of the Italian Republic.

The pursuit had become rigorous. It was known that Pichegru and Georges were hidden in Paris; the gates of the city were closed, egress by the river watched by armed vessels. The Corps Législatif voted a measure condemning to death whoever should conceal the conspirators, to the number of sixty. Whoever should be cognizant of them without denouncing them, was liable to six years in irons. One night General Pichegru went to ask asylum of Barbé-Marbois, formerly intendant of St. Domingo, transported, like himself, to Sinnamari, and now become a minister of the First Consul. Barbé-Marbois did not hesitate to receive him. When he avowed it afterwards to Napoleon, the latter warmly congratulated him upon it.

A few days passed by; General Pichegru, shamefully betrayed by one of his former officers, was arrested on the 28th of February, bravely resisting the agents of the police. Georges, seized in the street on the 9th of March, blew out the brains of the first gendarme who seized the bridle of his horse. La Rivière and Polignac were also in prison. Moreau had given up his system of absolute denials; at the prayer of his wife and his friends he wrote to the First Consul, simply recounting his relations with Pichegru, without asking pardon, and without denying the past transactions, seeking to disengage his cause from the Royalist conspiracy—less haughty, however, than he had till then appeared. Bonaparte had the letter affixed to the process of the trial. He appeared moved at the situation of Pichegru. "A fine end!" said he to Réal: "A fine end for the conqueror of Holland. It will not do for the men of the Revolution to devour each other. I have long had a dream about Cayenne; it is the finest country in the world for

founding a colony. Pichegru has been proscribed, as he knows; ask him how many men and how much money he wants to create a great establishment; I will give them to him, and he will retrieve his glory by rendering a service to France." The general did not reject the proposition, but he persisted in his silence. "I will speak before the tribunal," said he. Before the supreme day when the trial was about to take place before human justice, Pichegru had appeared before a more august tribunal; on the morning of the 6th of April he was found dead in his bed, strangled, it was said, by his own hands.

The royalist conspirators at first proudly avowed the aim of their enterprise. "What did you come to do in Paris?" asked the prefect of the police of Georges Cadoudal. "I came to attack the First Consul." "What were your means?" "I had as yet little enough; I counted on collecting them." "Of what nature were your means of attack?" "By means of living force." "Where did you count on finding this force?" "In all France." "And what was your project?" "To put a Bourbon in the place of the First Consul." "Had you many people with you?" "No, because I was not to attack the First Consul until there was a French prince in Paris, and he has not yet arrived."

This was the prince for whom General Savary had been waiting in vain for nearly a month on the cliff of Biville. The anger of the First Consul continued to increase. "The Bourbons think they can get me killed like a dog," said he. "My blood is worth more than theirs; I shall make no more of their case than of Moreau or Pichegru; the first Bourbon prince who falls into my hands, I will have shot remorselessly." The Comte d'Artois and the Duc de Berry were announced, and did not arrive. Napoleon stretched forth his arm to seize an innocent prince, whose misfortune it was to be within his reach. On the 10th of March, 1804, he wrote to General Berthier: "You will do well, citizen minister, to give orders to General Ordener, whom I place at your disposal, to repair at night, by post, to Strasburg. He will travel under another name than his own, and see the general of division. The aim of his mission is to throw himself upon Ettenheim, invest the city, and carry away from it the Duc d'Enghien, Dumouriez, an English colonel, and any other individual who may be in their suite. The general of division, the marshal of the barracks of gendarmes, who has been to reconnoitre Ettenheim,

as well as the commissary of police, will give him all necessary information."

The young Duc d'Enghien, son of the Duc de Bourbon, and grandson of the Prince of Condé, resided in fact at Ettenheim, in the grand duchy of Baden. Drawn at times to Strasburg, by his taste for the theatre, he was held fast in this little city by a passionate attachment for the Princess Charlotte of Rohan, who lived there. He was young and brave, and was waiting for the call from England to take part in the war. He was not implicated in the plot hatched round the Comte d'Artois, and was absolutely ignorant of it. A few emigrants—very few in numbers, and without political importance—resided near him; one of them was the Marquis de Thumery, whose name, mispronounced with a German accent, gave rise to the error which supposed the presence of Dumouriez at Ettenheim. This supposition might for a moment deceive the First Consul as to the complicity of the Duc d'Enghien; it was cleared up when, after having violated the territory of the Grand Duke of Baden (for which Talleyrand was careful to apologize), he learnt the arrival of the unfortunate prince at Strasburg; all the papers seized at Ettenheim were in his hands.

The first movement of the Duc d'Enghien had been to defend himself. "Are you compromised?" asked a German officer who was at his house. "No!" replied the young man with astonishment. Resistance was useless; he surrendered. There was one single ground of accusation against him: like all the princes of his house, and thousands of emigrants, he had borne arms against France. Nearly all the nobility had been permitted again to tread the soil of their country; he alone was about to expiate the fault of all. The minister of France at Baden, Massias, felt compelled to bear witness that "the conduct of the Prince had always been innocent and guarded." A few days later the *Moniteur* had to announce the assembling of emigrants, with a staff of officers and bureaux of officials round a prince of the House of Bourbon. Massias had beforehand given the lie to this rumor. The Duc d'Enghien was brought to Paris; detained for a few hours at the barriers, he was then conducted to the chateau of Vincennes. On the same morning the First Consul had sent this order to his brother-in-law, General Murat, whom he had just named governor of Paris: "General, in accordance with the orders of the First Consul, the Duc d'Enghien is to be conducted to the castle of Vincennes, where arrangements are made to re

ceive him. He will probably arrive at his destination to-night. I pray you to make such arrangements as shall provide for the safety of this prisoner at Vincennes, as well as on the road from Meaux by which he comes. The First Consul has ordered that the name of this prisoner, and everything relative to him, shall be kept a profound secret. In consequence, the officer entrusted with his guard ought not to be made acquainted with the name and rank of his prisoner; he travels under the name of Plessis."

Bonaparte was at Malmaison, gloomy and agitated; since the day when the order had been given to arrest the Duc d'Eng-hien, the intimate companions of the First Consul had no doubt as to his fatal resolution. Cambacérès had warmly insisted upon the deplorable consequences of such an act; Madame Bonaparte had cast herself at his feet, but he raised her up ill-temperedly. "You have grown very saving over the blood of the Bourbons," said he bitterly to Cambacérès. "I shall not allow myself to be killed without being able to defend myself." The fatal moment approached. Madame de Remusat, playing at chess with Napoleon, heard him repeating in a low voice the noble words of Augustus pardoning Cinna, and she believed the prince saved: he had just entered the castle of Vincennes, and already the judges were awaiting him.

Murat had loudly declared his repugnance for the functions imposed on him by his brother-in-law. "He wants to stain my uniform with blood," said he with anger. He was not called to Vincennes. General Savary, devoted without reserve to the First Consul, had set out with a corps of gendarmes. Already the Duc d'Enghien, weighed down by fatigue, was asleep; he was roused up at midnight. A captain, as judge advocate, was entrusted with a first examination. He being asked his names, Christian names, age, and place of birth, in reply said "he was named Louis-Antoine-Henri de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien, born at Chantilly, the 2nd of August, 1772." Being asked at what time he quitted France, in reply he said, "I cannot say precisely, but I think it was on the 16th July, 1789, that I set out with the Prince de Condé my grandfather, my father the Comte d'Artois, and the children of the Comte d'Artois." Being asked where he had resided since leaving France, in reply he said, "On leaving France I passed with my parents, whom I always accompanied, by Mons and Brussels; thence we returned to Turin, to the palace of the king, where we remained nearly sixteen months. Thence, always

with my parents, I went to Worms and the neighborhood, upon the banks of the Rhine. Lastly the Condé corps was formed, and I was with it throughout the war. I had before that made the campaign of 1792, in Brabant, with the Bourbon corps, in the army of Duke Albert. We terminated the last campaign in the environs of Grätz, and I asked permission of the Cardinal de Rohan to go into his country, to Ettenheim, in Brisgau, the former bishopric of Strasburg. For two years and a half I remained in this country, with the permission of the Elector of Baden." Being asked if he had ever passed into England, and if that power had always accorded him a grant of money, in reply he said he had never been there; that England always accorded him a grant of money, and that he had only that to live upon. Being asked if he kept up correspondence with the French princes in London, and if he had seen them for some time, he said that naturally he kept up a correspondence with his grandfather, and that equally naturally he corresponded with his father, whom he had not seen, so far as he could recollect, since 1794 or 1795. Being asked if he knew General Pichegru, and if he had any relations with him, he said, "I believe I have never seen him; I have had no relations with him. I know that he has desired to see me. I am thankful not to have known him, after the vile means of which it is said he has desired to make use, if it is true." Being asked if he knew the ex-general Dumouriez, and if he had had relations with him, he said, "On the contrary, I have never seen him." Being asked if, since the peace, he had not kept up correspondence with the interior of the republic, he said, "I have written to a few friends who are still attached to me, who have been my companions in war, about their affairs and my own; these correspondences are not, I think, those to which it is intended to refer."

Upon the minute of the examination, beneath his signature, the Duc d'Enghien wrote, "I earnestly entreat to have a private audience with the First Consul. My name, my rank, my way of thinking, and the horror of my situation, make me hope that he will not refuse me my request." The request was foreseen, and the answer, according to instructions given, that under no pretext would the First Consul be willing to receive the Duc d'Enghien.

At two o'clock in the morning the military commission was assembled, presided over by General Hullin, formerly life-guard of Louis XVI., and one of the insurgent leaders before the Bas

tille. The same questions were addressed to the prince, more briefly—less explicitly, as if the time was short, and the enemy threatening. Sometimes the president interfered with an appearance of rude benevolence. General Savary did not speak. When the examination was finished he rose up. “Now this is my concern,” said he. The judges deliberated a moment. The sentence, signed in blank, was already in their hands. The Governor of Vincennes, Harel, appeared at the gate carrying a light. He had formerly delivered to Bonaparte the conspirators of the plot of Aréna and Topino-Lebrun; to-day he preceded in the sombre corridors the prisoner, escorted by a piquet of troops. The prince did not pale; he reiterated his request for an audience, which was harshly denied. Already the grave was dug in the ditch of the chateau; a detachment of gendarmes waited for the condemned.

The Duke stopped. “Comrades,” said he loudly, “there is without doubt among you a man of honor who will charge himself with receiving and transmitting my last thoughts.” And as a young officer stepped out of the ranks, “Has any one here a pair of scissors?” asked the Prince. He cut a lock of his hair, and joining it in the form of a ring, he pronounced in low tones the name of the person for whom he intended this souvenir; then pushing back with his hands the bandage with which they wished to cover his eyes, he made one step towards the soldiers: they fired, and he was dead. General Savary went to tell his master that he was obeyed.

Shakespeare has depicted remorse with that terrible truthfulness which carries home to our minds the horror of crime. Lady Macbeth passes before us haunted by a vision, and ceaselessly washing her blood-stained hands. During all his life, even in his exile, Napoleon vainly sought to wash off the innocent and illustrious blood which he caused to flow in the fosse of Vincennes on the 20th of March, 1804. The men whom he had employed as the instruments of his heinous crime struggled like himself under this terrible responsibility. In vain has Bonaparte reproached Talleyrand with having perfidiously urged him on in the fatal path; in vain has Réal affirmed that an order reached his house during the night assuring to the prisoner a new examination, unfortunately forestalled by his death. All explanations, and all accusations have failed before the severe justice of history and the infallible instinct of the public conscience. The odious burden of a cowardly assassination was constantly weighing upon him who had ordered it.

The blood of his victim created round him an abyss that all the efforts of supreme power could never succeed in filling up.

When the news spread in Paris, on March 21st, it was received with stupor; people wept, even at Malmaison. Caulaincourt, previously entrusted with the explanatory letter for the Elector of Baden, complained bitterly of the stain upon his honor. Fourcroy was sent to dissolve the Corps Législatif; Fontanes, who presided over the assembly, replied to the counsellor of state without making allusion to the catastrophe, the intelligence of which the latter had mixed up with matters of business. His speech was modified in the *Moniteur*. Fontanes had the courage to protest against the approbation which had been attributed to him. The same journal contained the judgment of the military commission which had condemned the Duc d'Enghien; like the speech of Fontanes, the wording had been altered.

Alone amongst the public functionaries of every rank or origin, young Chateaubriand, minister of France to the republic of Valais, felt himself constrained to give in his resignation. Louis XVIII. sent back the collar of the Golden Fleece to the King of Spain, who remained the ally of Napoleon. The courts of Russia and Sweden put on mourning for the Duc d'Enghien.

Thus was preparing in Europe, under the impulse of public opinion, the third coalition, which was to unite all the sovereigns against France. Alone till then, England had hatched against us the plots in which its diplomatic agents were found compromised; but the denunciations of the First Consul against Spencer and Drake vanish, and lose all importance in presence of the crime committed at Vincennes. Prussia, long and obstinately faithful to its policy of neutrality, and recently disposed to draw nearer to us, began to incline towards Russia, with whom she soon concluded an alliance. Austria evinced neither regret nor anger, but the action of the German powers was silently influencing her. The First Consul broke out against the Emperor Alexander, violently hurling a gross insult at him. "When England meditated the assassination of Paul I., if it had been known that the authors of the plot could be found at a place on the frontiers, would not you have been inclined to have them seized?" General Hédouville, ambassador of France at St. Petersburg, received the order to set out in forty-eight hours. "Know for your direction," said he to the chargé d'affaires, "that the First Consul does not wish for war, but he does not fear it with anybody."

In presence of this general perturbation of Europe, of the loud indignation of some and the dull uneasiness of others—in order to respond to the denunciations of the royalists, who understood the fatal consequences of the blow that Bonaparte had dealt to his own glory, the First Consul resolved to take at length the last step which separated him from supreme greatness. A year before he had been appointed Consul for life of the French Republic; the murderer of a prince of the house of Bourbon, he raised again on his own account the overturned throne. Still without children, he founded in his person an hereditary monarchy, assured of finding in the nation the assent of admiration as of lassitude and fear. Eight days had scarcely passed since the execution of the Duc d'Enghien; the brothers of the First Consul were absent and discontented. Cambacérès was opposed to the projects which he had divined in the mind of Napoleon Bonaparte. In his place, Fouché, always eager to serve the man whose favor he courted, cleverly prepared the minds of the Senate. No equivocation was possible as to the desires of Napoleon. On March 27th the first assembly of the state addressed to the supreme chief this humble request: "You found a new era," said the Senate, "but you ought to make it eternal. Splendor is nothing without duration. You are harassed by circumstances, by conspirators, by the ambitious. You are also in another sense harassed by the uneasiness which agitates all Frenchmen. You can conquer the times, master circumstances, put a curb on conspirators, disarm the ambitious, tranquillize all France, by giving it institutions which shall cement your edifice, and prolong for the children what you have done for the fathers. In town and country if you could interrogate all Frenchmen one after another, no one would speak otherwise than we. Great Man, complete your work by rendering it as immortal as your glory; you have drawn us forth from the chaos of the past, you make us blessed in the benefits of the present—make us sure of the future."

The clever manœuvre of Fouché gave Napoleon the opportunity of declaring himself; he wished to be invited to speak. His answer was not, and could not, be ready; he asked of the Senate time to reflect. Meanwhile he set himself to sound the courts of Europe. On the morrow of the insult he had offered to all the sovereigns by the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, their good-will was doubtful: the earnest adhesion of Prussia and Austria astonished and satisfied him; he was at war with

England, embroiled with Russia; the rest of Europe seemed to be at his feet. Clever at managing those of whom he had need, he wished to assure himself of the disposition of the army still agitated by the arrest of Moreau. He wrote to General Soult, who commanded the camp of Saint Omer: "Citizen General Soult, I have received your letter. The Councils-General of the departments, the Electoral Colleges, and all the great bodies of the State, ask that an end should be at last put to the hopes of the Bourbons, by placing the republic in safety from the shocks of elections and the uncertainty of the life of a single man. But up to this moment I have decided upon nothing; meanwhile I desire that you should instruct me in great detail as to the opinion of the army on a measure of this nature. You perceive that I would not be drawn into it except with the sole object of the nation's interest, for the French people have made me so great and so powerful that I can desire nothing more."

The malcontents in the army were silent; the ambitious, the courtiers, the faithful and devoted servants of the great general, brought him the protestation of their devotion; the addresses from the departments succeeded each other in great numbers. On April 25 the First Consul sent a message to the Senate: "Your address of the 6th Germinal has not ceased to be present to my thoughts," said he. "You have judged the hereditary succession of the chief magistrate to be necessary to shelter the French people from the plots of our enemies, and the agitation born of rival ambitions. Many of our institutions have at the same time appeared to you to require to be improved in order to assure without reversal the triumph of equality and public liberty, and to offer to the government and the nation the double guarantee of which they have need. In proportion as I have fixed my attention on these great objects, I have perceived more and more that, under circumstances as novel as they are important, the counsels of your wisdom and of your experience are necessary to me in order to fix all my ideas. I invite you then to let me become completely acquainted with all your thoughts. I desire that on the 14th July this year we shall be able to say to the French people: Fifteen years ago, by a spontaneous movement, you rushed to arms; you required liberty, equality, and glory. To-day, this best of all national wealth, assured to you without fear of reversal, is protected from all tempests. Institutions conceived and commenced in the midst of the storms of internal and ex-

ternal war, developed with constancy, have been brought to their climax amidst the noise of the efforts and plots of our mortal enemies, by the adoption of all that the experience of ages and of peoples has demonstrated as fit to guarantee the laws which the nation has judged necessary for its dignity, its liberty, and its honor."

On the day following the 14th of July, 1789, the Duc de Rochefoucauld said, with prophetic sadness, "It is very difficult to enter into true liberty by such a gate." General Bonaparte was destined to confirm this solemn truth, so often and so sorrowfully misunderstood by our country. France, exhausted and disgusted by the enthusiasms of demagoguery and the bloody tyranny of the Terror, had been tossed by shock after shock into the arms of the conqueror who promised her order and energy in government: she had forgotten for a time those great and salutary conquests of the liberty which she unreservedly yielded up at his feet.

By a tardy return towards the convictions of the past, Carnot alone raised his voice in the Tribunate to recall the Republic, abandoned by all, in the name of that liberty which he wrongly attributed to it. "Was liberty then always to be shown to man without his being able to enjoy it? Was it ceaselessly offered for his desires, like a fruit to which he could not stretch forth his hand without being in danger of death? No! I cannot consent to regard this gift, so universally preferable to all others, without which the others are nothing, as a simple illusion. My heart tells me that liberty is possible, that its rule is easy and more stable than any arbitrary or oligarchic government. You say that Bonaparte has effected the salvation of his country, that he has restored public liberty; is it then a recompense to offer up to him this same liberty as a sacrifice?"

On the 3rd of May, on the proposal of Curée and the report of Jard-Panvillier, the Tribunate sent to the Senate a proposal to the effect: "Firstly, that Napoleon Bonaparte, at present Consul for life, be appointed Emperor, and in this capacity entrusted with the government of the French Republic. Secondly, that the title of Emperor and the imperial power be hereditary in his family, from male to male, in order of primogeniture. Thirdly and lastly, that in deciding as regards the organization of the constituted authorities upon the modifications required by the establishment of hereditary power—equality, liberty, and the rights of the people, be preserved in their integrity."

The Senate was resolved not to lose the fruits of its initiative; the project of the *senatus-consultum* was ready, and was immediately carried to the First Consul, accompanied by the views of all the great bodies of the State. When it returned to the Senate, amended and modified by the will of the supreme chief, the authority which the senators had sought to arrogate to themselves had been taken away. "The senators, if they were allowed to do it, would go on to absorb the Corps Législatif, and, who knows? perhaps even to restore the Bourbons," said the First Consul to the Council of State. "They wish at once to legislate, to judge, and to govern. Such a union of powers would be monstrous; I shall not suffer it!" The Tribune ceased to exist as an assembly, and could no longer discuss except in sections; the Corps Législatif were permitted to debate in secret committees only. A High Court was to be constituted, to judge the crimes of personages too important for the jurisdictions of ordinary tribunals. In order to satisfy the vanity of Joseph and Louis Bonaparte, alone entitled to the succession of the empire, two officers were borrowed from the constitution devised by Sieyès, and from mediæval history; the one became Grand Elector, and the other Constable. Sagacious and docile counsellor of the First Consul in their apparent equality, Cambacérès was appointed arch-chancellor of the empire, and Lebrun became arch-treasurer. Four honorary marshals* and fourteen active marshals† were grouped around the restored throne. Alone and beforehand the Senate decided upon the destinies of France, arrogantly called upon to ratify decisions over which it exercised no authority; on May 19th, 1804, at the close of the sitting, all the senators went together to St. Cloud, and by the voice of Cambacérès prayed his *Imperial Majesty* that the organic arrangements might come into force immediately. "For the glory, as for the happiness of the country, we proclaim at this very moment Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French."

Those present cried, "Long live the Emperor!" Only the sanction of the law of hereditary succession was submitted to the popular vote. By the force of his genius as much as by the splendor of his military glory, Napoleon had conquered France more completely than Italy or Egypt.

* Kellermann, Pérignon, Lefèvre, Sérurier.

† Murat, Berthier, Masséna, Lannes, Soult, Brune, Ney, Augereau, Moncey, Mortier, Davout, Jourdan, Bernadotte, Bessières.

CHAPTER VIII.

GLORY AND SUCCESS (1804—1805).

ON the eve of the declaration of the Senate in favor of the empire, Cambacérès had said to Lebrun, "All is over! the monarchy is re-established! But I have a presentiment that what they are now constructing will not be durable. We made war upon Europe to give it republics, which should be daughters of the French Republic; now we shall make it to give Europe monarchs, sons or brothers of ours; and France, exhausted, will finally succumb to such fatal attempts."

A year before that, when the consulship for life was proclaimed, the wise and virtuous Tronchet, when a sorrowful witness of the revolutionary crimes against which he had defended King Louis XVI., had shown the same inquietude and fatal presentiment. "This young man begins like Cæsar," he said of General Bonaparte; "I am afraid he may end as he did."

The daggers of the Roman conspirators had arrested Cæsar in his course. Napoleon had found neither a Brutus nor a Cassius: he reigned without contest, by a triumphal acclamation of 3,572,329 suffrages against 2569 "Noes." The country was eager to salute its new master, with a curiosity mixed with confidence in the unexpected resources of his genius. The courtiers alone around him who had found no place in the prodigal distribution of honors, muttered their murmurs. They served him nevertheless; and Talleyrand remained minister of foreign affairs, even when all the important posts of the empire had escaped his desires.

With more calmness and pride than the courtiers, Moreau and the royalist conspirators waited in prison for their verdict. Napoleon was as eager as they were, being in haste to rid himself of an embarrassment which could become a danger. In proportion as the trial proceeded, Moreau's case was more and more kept distinct from that of the other prisoners. The mode of defence adopted by the royalists tended entirely to prove his innocence. "We entered France," they said, "de-

ceived by false reports, and with the hope of securing our restoration: General Moreau refused us his assistance, and our project failed." The general did not appear disturbed by the irregular jurisdiction to which his case was to be referred. "Strive," he wrote to his wife, "to make sure that those who are to judge me are just men, incapable of betraying their conscience. If I am judged by persons of honor, I cannot complain, although they have apparently suppressed the jury."

The public interest was lively, and openly shown, in spite of the evident annoyance of the emperor. The friends of the royalist prisoners were numerous and ardent; and, whether from admiration or indifference, the public believed General Moreau innocent of all conspiracy, and made excuse for the dissatisfaction or ambition which he might have manifested. The sharers of his renown—Dessoles, Gouvion St. Cyr, MacDonald, Lecourbe—were faithfully present at every sitting. I borrow from the interesting recollections of Madame Récamier the picture of the spectacle then seen in the hall of the Palace of Justice, every approach to which was choked by the crowd. "The prisoners, of whom there were forty-seven, were for the most part unknown to each other, and filled the raised seats facing those where the judges sat. Each prisoner was seated between two gendarmes; those near Moreau were full of respect. When I raised my veil the general recognized me, and rose to salute me. I returned his salute with emotion and respect. I was deeply touched at seeing them treat as a criminal that great general whose reputation was then so glorious and unstained. It was no longer a question of republic and republicans. Excepting Moreau, who I am certain was an entire stranger to the conspiracy, it was the royalist loyalty that alone was on its defence against the new power. This cause of the ancient monarchy had as its head a man of the people, Georges Cadoudal.

"That fearless Georges! We looked at him with the thought that that head, so freely and energetically devoted, must fall on the scaffold; or that he alone, probably, would not escape death, as he did nothing for that purpose. Disdaining to defend himself, he only defended his friends; and when they tried to persuade him to ask for pardon, as the other prisoners had done, he replied, 'Do you promise me a fairer opportunity of dying?'

"In the ranks of the accused, Polignac and Rivière were

still noticeable, interesting from their youth and devotion. Pichegru, whose name will remain historically united with Moreau's, was missing at his side—or rather, one believed his shade was visible there, because it was known that he also was not in the prison.

“Another recollection, the death of the Duc d'Enghien, increased the sorrow and terror of many minds, even among the most devoted partisans of Bonaparte.”

Taken as a whole, and in spite of the embarrassment caused by the persistence of two or three of the accusers, the public judicial examination was favorable to General Moreau. On being accused of having agreed to a reconciliation with the traitor Pichegru, he replied, “Since the beginning of the Revolution there have been many traitors. There were some who were traitors in 1789, without being so in 1793; there were others who were so in '93 but were not in '95, others who were so in '95 but have not been so since. Many were republicans who are not so now. General Pichegru may have had an understanding with Condé in the year IV.; I believe that he had; but he was included in the proscription of Fructidor, and must be considered as one of those who were then proscribed. When I saw other Fructidorian at the head of the authorities of state—when Condé's army filled the Parisian drawing-rooms and those of the First Consul, I might very well take a share in restoring to France the conqueror of Holland. I am credited with the absurd idea of making use of royalists in the hope of regaining power if they were successful. I have made war for ten years, and during those ten years I am not aware of having done absurd things.” When they laid emphasis on his interview with Pichegru and Georges, he said, “A quarter of an hour is but little for the discussion of a plan of government. It is said that Pichegru was dissatisfied; probably we were not of the same mind.” On the president regretting that he had not denounced Pichegru and the royalists, saying that he owed it to a government that loaded him with benefits, Moreau exclaimed, “The conqueror of Hohenlinden is not a denouncer, M. le Président. Do not put my services and my fortune in the same balance, for there is no possible comparison between the things. I should have fifty millions to-day, had I made the same use of victory which many others have done!”

Moreau wished to plead himself the cause of his life and renown. “It is only by my counsel,” he said, “that I wish

to address justice"—here the illustrious general looked round upon the attentive multitude—"but I feel that both on your account and mine I ought to speak myself. Unfortunate circumstances, produced by chance or caused by hatred, may for an instant obscure the life of the most honorable man; and a clever criminal may keep off suspicion and the proof of his crimes. The whole life of a prisoner is always the most certain testimony against him and for him. I therefore set my whole life to witness against my accusers and prosecutors; it has been public enough to be known: I shall only recall a few of its epochs: and the witnesses whom I shall summon will be the French people, and the people whom France has conquered. I was devoted to the study of law at the beginning of that revolution which was to establish the liberty of the French people; and the object of my life being thus changed, I devoted it to arms. I became a warrior because I was a citizen: I bore this character beneath our standards, and have always preserved it. I was promoted quickly, but always from step to step without passing any; always by serving my country, never by flattering the committees. On being appointed commander, when victory obliged us to march through the countries of our enemies, I was as anxious that our character should be respected as that our arms should be dreaded. War, under my orders, was a calamity only on the battlefield. I have the presumption to think that the country has not forgotten my services then, nor the ready devotion which I showed when fighting as a subordinate; nor how I was appointed to the command-in-chief by the reverses of our arms, and, in one sense, named general by our misfortunes. It is still remembered how I twice recomposed the army from the fragments of those which had been scattered, and how, after having twice restored it to a condition of being able to cope with the Russians and Austrians, I twice laid down the command to take another of greater responsibility. I was not during that period of my life more republican than during the others, though I seemed so. It is well known that there was a proposal to put me at the head of a movement similar to that of the 18th Brumaire. I refused, believing that I was made to command armies, and having no desire to command a Republic. I did more; on the 18th Brumaire I was in Paris. That revolution, instigated by others, could not disturb my peace of mind; but directed by a man surrounded by great renown, I might have hoped for happy results from it. I took part in it

to assist it, whilst some other parties urged me to lead them in opposing it. I received in Paris General Bonaparte's orders, and, in seeing them executed, I assisted in raising him to that high degree of power which circumstances rendered necessary. When, shortly afterwards, he offered me the command of the army of the Rhine, I accepted it from him with as much devotion as from the hands of the Republic itself. Never had my successes been more rapid, more numerous, or more decisive, than during that period; and their renown was reflected upon the government which accuses me. What a moment for conspiring, if such a scheme had ever entered my mind! Would an ambitious man, or a conspirator, have let slip the opportunity when at the head of an army of 100,000 men so often victorious? I only thought of disbanding the army before returning to the repose of civil life.

"During that rest, which has not been without glory, I enjoyed my honors (such honors as no human power can deprive me of), the recollections of what I had done, the testimony of my conscience, the esteem of my country and of foreigners, and, to be candid, the flattering and pleasant presentiment of the esteem of posterity. My mind and disposition were so well known, and I kept myself so far aloof from any ambitious project, that from the victory of Hohenlinden till my arrest my enemies were never able to accuse me of any crime except freedom in speaking. Do conspirators openly find fault with that which they do not approve? So much candor is scarcely reconcilable with political secrets and plots. If I had wished to adopt and follow the plans of any conspirators, I should have concealed my sentiments, and solicited every appointment which might have restored me to power. As a guide on such a route, in default of the political talent which I have never had, there were examples known to all the world and rendered imposing by success. I might have known that Monk retained command of his armies when he wished to conspire, and that Cassius and Brutus came nearer Cæsar's heart in order to pierce it."

When the pleading was finished, the emperor and the public anxiously waited for the sentence. The fact of the royalist plot being proved, the condemnation of the prisoners was certain, and the inquietude and hopes of all were concentrated on Moreau. "Towards the close of the trial," said Madame Récamier, "all business was stopped, the entire population were out of doors, they talked of nothing but Moreau." The

emperor had informed the judges that he would not demand that the general be condemned to death unless in the interest of justice, and as a salutary example, his fixed intention being to grant him pardon. One of the members of the tribunal, Clavier, a man of great virtue and learning, said, on hearing General Murat's proposition, "And who will pardon us ourselves, if we pass judgment and condemnation against our consciences?" At the first deliberation of the tribunal, seven judges out of twelve voted for acquittal pure and simple: being afraid of Napoleon's anger, they sentenced Moreau to two years' imprisonment. "Why, that's a punishment for a pick-pocket!" exclaimed the emperor in a passion. By wise counsel he was induced to show a prudent clemency. Moreau, nearly ruined by the expense of the trial, and as annoyed by the sentence as Napoleon was, refused to ask any favor. "If it was certain that I took part in the conspiracy," he exclaimed, "I ought to have been condemned to death as a leader. I undergo the extremity of horror and disgrace. Nobody will believe that I played the part of a corporal."

His young and handsome wife, being near confinement, asked for and obtained permission to sail to America with her husband, and when delayed at Cadiz by child-birth, was urged to set out on the voyage through Fouché's influence in the Spanish court. "Four years ago about this time," wrote the general, "I gained the battle of Hohenlinden. That event, so glorious for my country, procured for my fellow-countrymen a repose which they had long wanted. I alone have been unable to obtain it. Will they refuse it me at the extremity of Europe, 500 leagues from my native land?"

Moreau carried with him into exile the cruel recollection of the name "brigand" (ruffian), which had been formerly abusively replied to him, and that keen desire for vengeance which was one day to prove so fatal to his renown.

Of the royalist prisoners, twenty were condemned to death. In spite of Murat's eager pleading, eleven perished on the scaffold with Georges Cadoudal, equal to him in the imperturbability of their political and religious faith. Rivière and Polignac, General Lajolais, and four others owed their lives to the supplications of their families, judiciously assisted by the kindness of the Empress Josephine. They were all sent to prison.

Napoleon felt with more justice than Moreau himself that the conscience of the judges had been opposed to his supreme

will. In spite of the silence which he imposed upon the organs of the press, more and more roughly treated by him, public opinion remained equally stirred up against the murder of the Duc d'Enghien. A thought which had arisen in his mind from the day of his elevation to the empire, gained fresh forces from the feeling of silent disapprobation of all honorable men. He wished to place a religious stamp upon his greatness, and instructed Cardinal Caprara to ask the Pope to come to Paris to consecrate him. "It is most unlikely," said he, "that any power will make objection to it either in right or in fact. Therefore broach the subject, and when you have transmitted the reply, I shall make the suitable and necessary arrangements with the Pope."

As in the case of the Concordat, the emperor's confidential advisers were not favorable to the idea of consecration. The discussion in the Council of State was lively, characterized by all the philosophical and revolutionary suspicion as to the pretensions of a power being invited to bestow the crown and thus probably believing it had the power to withdraw it. Napoleon had formed a better judgment of the profound and permanent effect of the condescension which he asked from the Pope. "Gentlemen," said he to his council, "you are deliberating in Paris in the Tuileries; suppose that you were deliberating in London in the British cabinet, that in a word, you were ministers of the King of England, and that you were told that at this moment the Pope was crossing the Alps to consecrate the Emperor of the French, would you consider that as a triumph for England or for France?"

The council had not insisted, and the court of Rome felt their force of resistance becoming weaker every day. The death of the Duc d'Enghien had caused the Pope much sorrow:—"My tears flow," said Pius VII., "at the death of the one and the attempt upon the other." The French bishops who had not resigned had renewed their protestations against the Concordat. The Sacred College, when consulted as to the journey of the holy father, were divided in their opinion. Five cardinals declared that by so doing the Pope would ratify all the usurpations of which the new Emperor of the French had rendered himself culpable; fifteen showed less severity, but all insisted upon surrounding the solicited favor with numerous conditions. "The actual advantage to religion expressly professed in the invitation which his Holiness is about to accept, but actually injured in the result, can alone excuse

in the eyes of Catholics the temporary abandonment of the holy seat," wrote Cardinal Consalvi to Cardinal Caprara: "the dignity and honor of the head of religion both require it." He also wrote, "The form of oath taken by the emperor raises great difficulties. We cannot admit the oath *to respect and caused to be respected the laws of the Concordat*, which is the same thing as saying that one must respect the organic articles and cause them to be respected. *To respect the liberty of worship* supposes an engagement not to tolerate and allow, but to sustain and protect, and extends not only to persons, but to the thing, that is to say to all forms of worship. But a Catholic cannot defend the error of false forms of worship."

Cardinal Caprara, as papal legate in Paris, and Cardinal Fesch, as French ambassador in Rome, explained away or avoided the difficulties. The legate, always timid and easily persuaded, gave grounds for hopes which he was not always able to realize; the cardinal, haughty and violent, divided between devotion to his all-powerful nephew and his own restoration to ecclesiastical practices and sentiments, was at Rome lavish of presents and threats. He at the same time advised the court of Rome to claim the Legations, whatever were the scruples of the Pope to confound temporal questions with spiritual concessions. Skilful in making use of the real intentions or wishes which he was aware of, without compromising his government by any formal engagement, Cardinal Fesch at last triumphed over the repugnances of the Pope by avoiding most of the conditions of the Holy College, and on the 30th September, 1804, he presented to Pius VII. General Caffarelli, the emperor's deputy at Rome, instead of the two bishops formerly insisted upon. Still less explicit than his ambassador, Napoleon gave no hopes to the holy father of the important concessions with which the latter was fondly flattering himself.

"Very Holy Father," said the emperor, "the happy result evinced in the morality and character of my people by the re-establishment of the Christian religion, leads me to pray your Holiness to give me a new proof of the interest which your Holiness takes in my destiny and that of this great nation, in one of the most important periods shown in the annals of the world. I beg your Holiness to come and give a religious character of the highest degree to the ceremony of the consecration and coronation of the first Emperor of the French. That

ceremony will acquire a new lustre if done by your Holiness. It will bring upon us and our peoples the blessing of God, whose decrees govern according to His will the lot of empires and of families.

"Your Holiness knows the friendly feeling which I have long had towards you, and must therefore infer the pleasure which I shall have in giving you fresh proofs.

"Thereupon we pray God, most holy father, that He may keep you for many years in the rule and government of our mother the holy Church.

"Your devoted son,

"NAPOLEON."

The Pope had determined to set out, being convinced that resistance was impossible, and harassed by a serious inquietude the importance of which was afterwards confirmed, and by the vague fears of a sickly old man. He was offended by the contemptuous terms which the foreign ambassadors applied to the condescension of him whom they called the "French emperor's chaplain." His Italian subtilty was disturbed, and his natural kindness chafed by the dryness of the emperor's message. "This is poison which you have brought to me," said he to General Caffarelli, after reading Napoleon's letter. He set out nevertheless, obstinately refusing to take with him Cardinal Consalvi, in whose hands he had placed his abdication. "If they keep me here," said he one day in Paris, "they will find that they only have in their power a wretched monk called Barnabus Chiaramonti."

The Pope's departure had been much hastened by the repeated urgency of the emperor, and his journey was so also. The time for the ceremony was fixed without consulting him. As Cardinal Consalvi said in his Memoirs, "they made the holy father gallop from Rome to Paris like an almoner summoned by his master to say mass."

On the 25th November, 1804, about mid-day, the emperor was hunting in the forest of Fontainebleau, and went towards Croix St. Herem at the moment when the Pope's carriage just reached that spot. The carriage stopped, and "the holy father stepped out in his white dress; as the road was muddy he could not soil his silk stockings by stepping on the ground." He got out, however, whilst the emperor, leaping from his horse, advanced to him and embraced him. The meeting had been skilfully arranged in order that the new master of France might be spared the annoyance of a deference which he con-

sidered excessive. Both doors of the emperor's carriage were opened at once, and Napoleon entering by the right, Pius VII. naturally took the left. The empress and imperial family were waiting for the Pope at the great portico of the palace. The emperor seemed triumphant. The Pope was full of emotion, affected by the kind reception he had met with by the people during his journey. "I have passed through a population all on their knees," said he.

The Emperor Napoleon was not on his knees, and Pius VII. was even sensible of it. Several questions had remained undecided before the holy father's departure for France: Napoleon had resolutely disposed of them, and yielded only on one point. Still bandied about between his own uncertainty, the love which he still felt for the Empress Josephine, the intrigues of her family, who were opposed to him, and the passionate longing to have a son to inherit his crown, he had been on the point of demanding a divorce a few days previously, but on the empress making the Pope her confidant their union was confirmed, and on the eve of the coronation, with the greatest secrecy, the religious marriage of the emperor with Josephine was celebrated by Cardinal Fesch. Pius VII. declared that it was impossible for him to proceed with the ceremony of the double consecration so long as that act of réparation remained unaccomplished.

Those who had charge of the arrangements for the great spectacle, the Abbé Bernier, lately appointed Bishop of Orleans, and the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès, had frequently discussed the ceremonial of the coronation properly so-called. In France the peers, in Italy the bishops, formerly held the crown above the head of the sovereign, who then received it from the hands of the pontiff. "All the French emperors, all those of Germany who have been consecrated by the popes were at the same crowned by them. The holy father, in order to decide as to the journey, must receive from Paris the assurance that in this case there will be no innovation contrary to the honor and dignity of the sovereign pontiff." At Rome the replies had been vague; at Paris the emperor had calmed the zeal and inquietude of his servants. "I shall arrange that myself," said he. On the 2nd December, 1804, the ceremony of consecration took place according to the solemn ceremonial, and the emperor, after being anointed with the holy oil, held out his hand towards the crown which the Pope had just taken from the altar. Pius VII., completely taken by surprise,

made no resistance, and Napoleon himself placing on his head the emblem of sovereign power, then crowned with his own hands the empress, who was in tears kneeling before him. Mounting his throne whilst his brothers held up his robe, being compelled to that act of humility by his imperious will, and their sisters bore the train of the empress, the Pope pronounced the solemn formula, "*Vivat in æternum Augustus!*" And under the very eyes of the holy pontiff, the Emperor Napoleon took the oath in the form which had been so much opposed in Rome. His victory was complete: he triumphed over the old revolutionary prejudices, whilst at the same time confirming in Notre Dame, in spite of the scruples of the court of Rome, the principles of liberty acquired by the French Revolution.

When the Pope, sad and discouraged, at last set out for Rome, 4th April, 1805, he had obtained none of the favors which he thought he had a right to expect. The emperor was inflexible on the question of the "*organic articles*," making no concession as to their application. The statement presented by the Pope and drawn up by Cardinal Antonelli, the most enthusiastic of his councillors, was on Napoleon's orders replied to by Portalis, who was skilful in concealing the refusal under the grave phraseology of legal and Christian language. Urged to extremity, Pius VII. applied to the emperor himself to ask the restoration of the Legations. Talleyrand wrote in reply, "*France has very dearly bought the power which she enjoys. It is not in the emperor's power to take anything from an empire which is the fruit of ten years' war and bloodshed, continued with an admirable courage and accompanied with the most unhappy agitation and an unexampled constancy. It is still less in his power to diminish the territory of a foreign state which, by entrusting him with the care of governing, had laid upon him the duty of protecting it.*" A few sentences added by the emperor to the diplomatic document left room for vague hopes of certain consolations. The illusions of Pius VII. began to disappear; without compensation or recompense, he had worked to consolidate for a short time the throne of the conqueror; the conquests which he had won were not of this world; the complete submission of the constitutional bishops, and the genuine respect with which the French people constantly surrounded him were due to the personal veneration which he inspired. When at last he crossed the mountains the Emperor Napoleon had reached Italy before

him, as if to indicate more emphatically the condescension which the sovereign pontiff had shown to him. It was at Turin that he finally took leave of Pius VII., letting him return to Rome while he took in the cathedral of Milan the iron crown of the Lombard kings, and placed it on his head before an immense crowd of on-lookers, using the traditional words of the ancient Lombard monarchy, "God has given it me, who dare touch it?"

The Cisalpine Republic no longer existed, and the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, boasted of the moderation he had evinced in keeping the two crowns apart. At one time he intended raising his brother Joseph to the new throne, but the latter was afraid of compromising his right to succeed to the imperial crown. Louis Bonaparte refused to govern in the name of the child which he had by Hortense de Beauharnais, daughter of the Empress Josephine by her first marriage, whom he had married with regret. Compelled to unite, on his own head, the two crowns of France and Italy, Napoleon entrusted the care of the government to his son-in-law, Eugene de Beauharnais. His protestations of respect for the independence of the allied peoples did not prevent his annexing to the kingdom of Italy the territory of Genoa, whilst forming the domains of Lucca and Piombino into a principality in favor of his eldest sister, Elisa Baciocchi. The storm was already threatening the feeble government of Naples: the queen, obsequious in her alarm, had sent to Milan an ambassador to congratulate the emperor and king. "Tell your queen," exclaimed Napoleon, "that her intrigues are known to me, and that her children will curse her memory, for I shall not leave in her kingdom enough of land to build her tomb upon."

So much brilliance and severity in the display of his sovereign power proved of service to the irreconcilable enemies who were stirring up Europe against the already uncontrollable ambition of the new emperor. Pitt had already returned to power (19th May, 1804), though with less support in Parliament, and very infirm in health. He felt himself sustained by the breath of public opinion, and by the firm confidence of the mass of the nation. In this great duel, of which he was not to see the end, it was the consolation, as well as the honor of the illustrious minister, that he had constantly defended the principles of true liberty, as well as European independence,

against the encroachments and contagion of the revolutionary powers, and those of anarchy or absolutism.

It was in the name of the same principles that the young Emperor of Russia then proposed to Europe a mediation which was soon to end in a coalition. Generously chimerical in his inexperience, Alexander dreamt of a general rearrangement of Europe, which was to secure forever the peace of every nation. Poland itself was to be reconstituted, Italy and Germany to recover their independence, and a new code of the rights of nations on sea and land was to regulate the relations of civilized states. Nowosiltzoff was entrusted to discuss this scheme with Pitt.

It was by the prudence and skilful tact of the English minister that the scaffolding of ambitious hopes was overthrown, and the Emperor Alexander brought to the practical consideration of a durable alliance. England and Russia engaged to carry out the formation of a great European league and the legitimate re-establishment of the states. Hanover and Northern Germany were to be evacuated, the independence of Holland and Switzerland guaranteed, the King of Piedmont re-established, the kingdom of Naples consolidated, Italy delivered. In order to bring Prussia into that alliance, Pitt proposed to grant him the Rhenish provinces. He refused formally to evacuate Malta, and pleaded the English prejudices against the Russian overtures with reference to the Turkish territory. The Emperor Alexander still hoped to obtain important concessions from Napoleon. Trusting in his sincere disinterestedness, the young monarch had got Prussia to ask passports for his envoy; Napoleon was in Italy, and said he could not receive Nowosiltzoff before July. "I expect nothing from this mediation," he wrote to the King of Prussia: "Alexander is too fickle and feeble; Russia is too far, too foreign to colonial and maritime interests; the Woronzovs too much influenced by English money, for one to have reasonable hopes of an advantageous general peace. Whenever propositions are passed at St. Petersburg to reach Paris, there is no wish to come to an understanding: in London they wish to gain time, dazzle the eyes of all the peoples, and perhaps form a coalition which should bring disgrace upon England. My brother, I wish for peace, but I do not wish to agree to my people being disinherited of the commerce of the world. I have no ambition: I have twice evacuated the third part of Europe with-

out being compelled to do so. I owe Russia no more as to Italian affairs than she owes me with reference to Turkish and Persian affairs. Russia has not the right to take that tone with anybody, and with me still less than with anybody whatever."

The Emperor Napoleon had already given his reply to Europe. The annexation of the territory of Genoa, and the threat to the Neapolitan government sufficiently proved his intentions. The treaty provisionally signed on the 11th April between England and the Emperor Alexander was confirmed; and on the 9th August, Austria, which already had a secret engagement with Russia, adhered to the Anglo-Russian alliance. Sweden joining soon after, the third coalition was now complete. Prussia remained as a common object for the negotiations and advances of all. Napoleon gave her hopes of obtaining Hanover.

He had just set out for Boulogne, always the centre of his adventurous plans. Already in the previous year he believed that he had reached the accomplishment of the project so carefully matured and prepared with that mixture of foresight and boldness which so often secured the unexpected success of his attempts. His enormous preparations were at last completed, the Dutch squadron alone being waited for; and the emperor deceived the impatience of his troops and his own agitation by reviews and military ceremonies. On the 2nd July, he wrote to Admiral Latouche-Tréville, whom he had put in command of his Toulon squadron: "By the same messenger let me know on what day you will weigh anchor. Let me know also what the enemy is doing, and where Nelson is located. Reflect upon the great enterprise which you are about to execute, and before I sign your definite orders let me understand the manner in which you think they would be most advantageously carried into effect. I have appointed you Grand Officer of the Empire, Inspector of the Coasts of the Mediterranean; but I desire much that the operation you are about to undertake may enable me to elevate you to such a degree of consideration and honor, that you may have nothing more to desire. The squadron of Rochefort (commanded by Admiral Villeneuve), composed of five vessels, of which one is a three-decker, and of four frigates, is ready to weigh anchor; it has before it only five of the enemy's ships. The squadron of Brest (commanded by Admiral Ganteaume) is of twenty-one ships; these ships have just weighed anchor in order to harass the enemy and

compel him to keep there a large number of vessels. The enemy have also six ships before the Texel, and there blockade the Dutch squadron, consisting of eight vessels, four frigates, and a convoy of thirty ships in which the corps of General Marmont is embarked. Between Etaples, Boulogne, Wimereux and Ambleteuse (two new ports which I have constructed) we have 1800 gun-boats of various kinds, and 120,000 men, and 10,000 horses; only let us be masters of the strait for six hours, and we shall be the masters of the world.

"The enemy have before Boulogne, before Ostend, and at the Downs, two ships of seventy-four guns, two of sixty-four guns, and two or three of fifty guns. Until now Admiral Cornwallis has had only fifteen vessels, but all the reserves from Plymouth and Portsmouth have come to reinforce him before Brest.

"The enemy keep also at Cork, in Ireland, four or five ships of war; I do not speak of frigates or small vessels, of which they have a large number. If you deceive Nelson, he will go to Sicily or to Egypt or to Ferrol. It would then appear to me best to make a considerable roundabout, and arrive before Rochefort; thus making your squadron one of sixteen ships and eleven frigates; and then, without dropping anchor or losing a single instant, arrive before Boulogne. Our squadron at Brest, twenty-three vessels strong, will have on board an army, and will be constantly under sail set, so that Cornwallis will be obliged to press close to the shore of Brittany in order to try and prevent the escape of our fleet. For the rest, in order to fix my ideas upon this operation, which has its risks, but of which the success offers results so enormous, I wait for the scheme you have mentioned to me, and which you will send me by return of the courier. You must embark as many provisions as possible, so that under any circumstances you may have nothing to hinder you."

It is the weakness as well as the honor of human enterprises to depend upon the life and force of a man. Before Admiral Latouche-Tréville had been able to profit by the occurrence of the mistral to get out of Toulon and deceive Nelson, he himself succumbed to the illness that had preyed upon him since the expedition of San Domingo (20th August, 1804), and the projected expedition against the coast of England was indefinitely postponed. "The flotilla has been looked upon as temporary," wrote the Emperor to Decrès, the Minister of Marine; "it will be necessary henceforth to look upon it as a fixed estab-

lishment, and from this moment to give the greatest attention to all that is unchangeable, managing it by other regulations than the squadron."

It was at the same time the plan of the emperor to try to turn away the thoughts of the English from his schemes of invasion; in the midst of his arrangements for the coronation, and of the diplomatic negotiations, and whilst writing a private letter to the King of England, pompously proposing peace, he had formed other designs and prepared new plans in order at last to carry out his great enterprise.

It was no longer on the coasts of France or of Spain, but far away in the regions of the Antilles that the French squadrons of Toulon, Brest, and Rochefort were to effect their junction and concentrate their forces. The hope of Napoleon was to see the English, deceived by their disappearance, dash off in pursuit of them and rush to the succor of the Indies. The emperor had for a moment thought of directing the blows of his united navy against this distant and new formed empire. Returning to the project of the descent on England, he had made Admiral Villeneuve set out directly after the 30th of March. He was to join at Cadiz the Spanish Admiral Gravina and at Martinique, Admiral Missiessy, who had left Rochefort on the 11th of January. Admiral Ganteaume, taking advantage of the first moment when the English should be obliged by contrary winds to withdraw from Brest, was in his turn to set sail for Martinique. The fleet, which would then be fifty or sixty strong, assured of triumphing over all the English forces if they should dare to face it, would return into the channel to cover the departure of the flotilla. "The English do not know what calamity awaits them," wrote Napoleon on the 4th of August to the Admiral Decrès. "If we are masters of the passage for twelve hours, England's day is done."

Racine has said by the mouth of Mitbridates,—

"Mais, pour être approuvés,
De semblables projets veulent être achevés."

Villeneuve quoted it to the Minister of Marine when the plans formed by the emperor were confided to him. This mournful forecast haunted, no doubt, more than once the thoughts of the admiral when he found himself at sea, discontented and uneasy. "We have bad masts, bad sails, bad rigging, bad officers, and bad sailors," said he. Arrived, on the 14th of May, at Martinique, he found Missiessy no longer there, but his orders obliged him to await the arrival of Ganteaume. A

continuous calm prevented the latter from leaving Brest, where he was blockaded by the English. At the two ends of the world, discouragement weighed upon the admirals consigned to inaction by unforeseen obstacles met with in the execution of a plan which took no account of accidents of wind or sea. In vain wrote Napoleon to Ganteaume, "You hold in your hands the destinies of the world." The unfortunate commander of the Brest squadron communicated his despair to the Minister of Marine: "I believe, my friend, that you share all my experience. Every day that passes is a day of torment for me; and I tremble lest at the end I should be obliged to commit some gross folly. The length of the days and the beauty of the season cause me to despair of the expedition." In the middle of May, Admiral Magon was despatched to Martinique to give Villeneuve orders to return with his squadron, to raise the blockade of Ferrol, to touch at Rochefort, and join Admiral Missiessy, and then to present themselves before Brest in order to force the blockade with the aid of Ganteaume. The united fleets were then to set sail towards the channel.

Upon land, and until the day when success and presumption disturbed the clearness of his judgment, and the penetrating light of his genius, Napoleon was accustomed to judge soberly of the obstacles he calculated on overcoming, and of his power to do so. Without maritime experience, and struggling against the recognized superiority of the English navy, he constantly committed the error of counting on the mistakes of the enemy and of looking on the chiefs of his squadrons as equal in talent to Nelson. No sooner had the latter learnt the direction of Villeneuve than he dashed off in pursuit, caring little as to the number of vessels he might have to confront. Napoleon had miscalculated the length of the voyage. "Nelson will have been first to Surinam, thence to Trinidad, and from that to Barbadoes," wrote he on the 28th of June to Admiral Decrès; "he will lose two days at Cape Verd; he will lose much time in collecting his ships, on account of the vessels and frigates to which he will give chase on his way. When he learns that Villeneuve is not in the Windward Islands he will go to Jamaica, and during the days lost in provisioning and waiting, great blows will be struck. This is my calculation. Nelson is in America and Collingwood in the East Indies. Nelson will not venture before Martinique; he will stay at Barbadoes in order to plan a junction with Cochrane."

Nelson had already quitted Barbadoes and was pursuing his adversary from anchorage to anchorage. Troubled by this formidable proximity, and pressed by the formal orders which enjoined him to transfer his efforts to the seas of Europe, Villeneuve crowded all sail to reach Ferrol. Nelson soon followed him, directing his course towards the Mediterranean, but careful to warn the Admiralty, who sent Admiral Calder with fifteen vessels to the neighborhood of Cape Finisterre. It was in these waters that Villeneuve encountered Nelson on July 22nd, 1805. The weather was foggy, and the sea rough; the engagement ended without any important result, two Spanish vessels being captured by the English. Villeneuve set sail speedily towards Ferrol, without entering the Channel, the order having arrived to take his course to Brest immediately; but he lingered at Corunna, persuaded that Nelson had joined Admiral Calder, and that both would combine with Lord Cornwallis for his destruction. In again taking to sea, he let it be thought that he was setting out for Brest; General Lauriston, aide-de-camp to the emperor, and who had accompanied Villeneuve in his expedition, wrote so immediately to the emperor. But the discouragement of Villeneuve, more profound than ever, showed itself in a letter to his friend, Admiral Decrès. "They make me the arbiter of the highest interests," wrote he; "my despair doubles in proportion as more confidence is placed in me, because I cannot pretend to any success, whatever plan I adopt. It is perfectly plain to me that the fleets of France and Spain cannot be effective in large squadrons. Divisions of three or four, or five at the most, are all that we are capable of conducting. Let Gantheaume get out, and he will judge the point. Public opinion will be settled. I am about to set out, but I know not what I shall do. Eight vessels are in view of the coast at a few leagues' distance. They will follow us, but I shall not be able to join them, and they will go to unite with the other squadrons before Brest or Cadiz, according as I make my way to one or other of those ports. I am far from being in a position, in leaving this place with twenty-nine vessels, to be able to fight against a similar number; I do not fear to tell you that I should be hard put to it to encounter twenty."

For three weeks past the emperor had been at Boulogne, consumed with impatience, exercising the troops every day, repeating the manœuvres of embarkation, his attention fixed upon the sea, and ready to deliver his flotilla and his army to

the mercy of the waves as soon as his squadrons should at last appear in the Channel. The days sped by; in vain ships after ships were hurried off to Admiral Villeneuve, bearing the most urgent orders. "If you run up here in three days, if only for twenty-four hours, your mission would be accomplished. The English are not so numerous as you think; they are everywhere detained by the wind. Never will a squadron have run a few risks with so great an end, and never will our soldiers have had the chance on land or sea to shed their blood for a grander or nobler result. For the great object of aiding a descent upon that power which for six centuries has oppressed France, we ought all to die without regret."

The Minister of Marine, clever and experienced in naval affairs, endowed with a cold and prudent spirit, had never approved the projects of Napoleon, and had constantly sought to turn him from them. The conviction which was firmly rooted in the mind of Decrès as to the impossibility of success, in connection with the sorrowful discouragement which impelled Villeneuve towards Cadiz instead of towards Brest, increased the uneasiness as well as the anger of the emperor. Located in barracks by the seashore, whilst Napoleon resided at the Chateau du Pont de Briques, Decrès wrote to his terrible master: "I throw myself at the feet of your Majesty, to beseech of you not to associate the Spanish vessels with the operations of the squadrons. Far from having gained anything in this respect, your Majesty hears that this association would add to the vessels of Cadiz and Carthage. In this state of things, in which your Majesty counts as nothing my arguments and experience, I know of no situation that would be more painful than mine. I desire your Majesty to take seriously into consideration that I have no other interest than that of your banner and the honor of your arms: and if your fleet is at Cadiz, I beseech you to consider this event as an act of destiny which reserves it for other operations. I implore you not to cause it to come from Cadiz into the channel, because the attempt at this moment would only be attended by misfortunes. I reproach myself with not being able to persuade your Majesty. I doubt if a single man could succeed in doing so. Deign to form a council upon maritime affairs—an admiralty, of those who may suit your Majesty, but as for me, I perceive that in place of growing stronger, I grow weaker every day. And it cannot but be true that a Minister of Marine, overruled by your Majesty in naval affairs, becomes

useless for the glory of your arms, if, indeed, not positively hurtful."

A single word from the emperor was the reply to the despairing letter of his minister:—"Raise yourself to the height of the circumstances and of the situation in which France and England now find themselves; never again write me a letter like that which you have written to me; it is not to the purpose. As for me, I have only need of one thing, and that is to succeed."

In the depth of his soul, and in his secret thoughts, Napoleon saw himself conquered by a concurrence of circumstances which he had not been willing to foresee. His anger continued violent against the instrument who had failed him in his imprudent designs; he asked Decrès, however, what should be his plans in case Admiral Villeneuve were found at Cadiz, which he still refused to believe. On August 13th he wrote to Talleyrand: "The more I reflect upon the state of Europe, the more I see how urgent it is to take a decisive part. I have in reality nothing to expect from the explanations of Austria. She will answer by fine phrases and gain time, in order that I may not be able to act this winter. Her treaty of subsidies and her act of coalition will be signed this winter under the pretext of an armed neutrality, and in April I shall find 100,000 Russians in Poland, provided by England with equipment of horses, artillery, etc., 15,000 to 20,000 English at Malta, and 15,000 Russians at Corfu. I shall find myself then in a critical situation. My decision is taken. My fleet left Ferrol on the 29th Thermidor with thirty-four vessels. It had no enemy in sight. If it followed its instructions, joined itself to the squadron at Brest and entered the Channel, there is yet time, and I am master of England. If, on the contrary, my admirals hesitate, manœuvre badly, and do not accomplish their purpose, I have no other resource than to wait for the winter to cross with the flotilla. The plan is a hazardous one. It would be more so if, pressed by circumstances, political events placed me under the obligation of passing over in the month of April. In this state of things I rush to the point where I am most needed; I raise my camps, and replace my war battalions with my third battalion, always an army sufficiently formidable for Boulogne; and on the 1st Vendémiaire I find myself with 200,000 men in Germany, and 25,000 men in the kingdom of Naples. I march upon Vienna, and I do not lay down my arms till I have taken Naples and Venice, and

have so augmented the States of the Elector of Bavaria that I shall have nothing to fear from Austria. She will in this manner be certainly pacified for the winter. I return to Paris, but to be off again immediately."

It was always one of the sources of power of the Emperor Napoleon, and perhaps the rarest among them, that the marvellous fecundity of his mind, and the inexhaustible variety of the projects and conceptions which he was constantly turning over, reciprocally sustained and complemented each other. This characteristic of his genius has been ignored; and little honor has been done to his foresight when he has been depicted as taken in some degree unawares by the failure of his maritime plans, and constrained to improvise by a supreme effort the direction of his campaign in Germany. In the last days of August, whilst he was still uncertain as to the movements of his squadrons, all the orders were already given for the concentration of his armies. Bernadotte was to proceed to Göttingen with the army of Hanover; Prince Eugène was collecting his forces on the Adige; Gouvion St. Cyr was ready to march upon Naples; and Marmont to advance from the Texel upon Mayence. General Duroc had set out for Berlin, commissioned to propose an alliance. "My intention is not to leave Austria and Russia to combine with England," said Napoleon. "My conduct in that event would be that of the great Frederic in his first war." He wrote to Marshal Berthier on August 25th: "The decisive moment has arrived; you know how important a day is in this affair. Austria restrains herself no longer; she believes, without doubt, that we are all drowned in the ocean."

Doubt was no longer possible; time was flying, and no news arrived of the squadron. Villeneuve had evidently retired to Cadiz. The violence and injustice of the emperor's utterances vexed Decrès beyond expression. "Villeneuve is a wretch, who ought to be ignominiously discharged," cried he; "he has neither contrivance, nor courage, nor public interest; he would sacrifice everything provided that he could save his skin." He broke out thus before Monge, for whom he had retained a true friendship, notwithstanding the known opinions of the savant, who had remained republican. Troubled by the anger of Napoleon, Monge went to apprise Daru, then principal Secretary of War, who presented himself before the emperor. Badly informed as to the intentions of the master and the causes of his discontent, he waited silently. The emperor, coming up to

him, exclaimed, "Do you know where Villeneuve is? He is at Cadiz." And, unfolding before Daru all the projects he had been cherishing for six months, and attributing their failure to the cowardice and incapacity of the men he had employed, he launched out into invectives and recriminations. All of a sudden, and as if he had relieved his soul by the outburst of his passion, "Sit down there," said he to Daru, "and write!" A powerful effort, and the natural play of a fruitful imagination, had recalled him to the combinations which were to make his enemies tremble, and to assure him of the triumph over Austria of which he had been baulked as regards England. The plan of his campaign was fixed; all his thoughts turned towards a dreadful execution of his will.

The secret had been carefully guarded, and already, on all sides, the French armies were threatening the enemy, when, on the 1st Vendemiaire, the emperor opened the session of the Senate. "The wishes of the eternal enemies of the Continent are fulfilled," said he. "War has broken out in the centre of Germany; Austria and Russia are leagued with England; and our generation is dragged once more into all the calamities of war. A few days ago I still hoped that peace might not be broken; menaces and outrages found me impassive; but the Austrian army has passed the Inn, Munich is invaded, the Elector of Bavaria is driven from his capital, all my hopes have vanished. Senators, when, at your desire, at the call of the entire French people, I placed upon my head the imperial crown, I received from you, and from all citizens, the promise to maintain it pure and without blemish. All the promises I have made to you I have kept; the French people in their turn have made no engagement with me which they have not even surpassed. Frenchmen, your emperor will do his duty; my soldiers will do theirs; you will do yours."

General Mack had entered Ulm, and the emperor was still at Saint-Cloud. The movements of our troops were quietly going forward, when Napoleon conceived the idea of surrounding the enemy in Suabia by cutting off his communications with Austria. A note in his own handwriting, written on the 22nd of September, indicates beforehand the positions of all the corps of the army. On the 27th he arrived at Strasburg, prolonging his residence there in order to deceive the Austrian general, who kept his attention constantly fixed upon the Black Forest. On the 30th, at Strasburg, the emperor addressed to his troops a simple and firm proclamation, animated by that martial

spirit which always inspired the army when he addressed it. "Soldiers, the war of the third coalition has commenced. The Austrian army has passed the Inn, broken the treaties, attacked our ally, and sent him from his capital. You yourselves have been compelled to hasten, by forced marches, to the defence of our frontiers. But already you have passed the Rhine. We will not stay our progress until we have assured the independence of the Germanic state, succored our allies, and confounded the pride of the unjust aggressors. We will have no more peace without a guarantee. Our generosity shall not again deceive our policy. Soldiers, your emperor is in the midst of you; you are only the vanguard of the great people. If it is necessary, they will rise as one man, to confound and dissolve this new league woven by the hatred and the gold of England. But, soldiers, we have forced marches to make, fatigues and privations of every kind to endure. Whatever obstacles may be opposed to us we shall be victorious, and we will take no rest till we have planted our eagles upon the territory of our enemies."

Napoleon had said, "I reckon on making more use of the legs of my soldiers than even of their bayonets." The fatal circle was narrowing round General Mack by the rapid movements of the French troops, without his appearing to comprehend their aim, or divine the danger which threatened him. On the 5th of October he still wrote, that never had an army been posted in a manner more fitted to assure its superiority. On the same day, advancing upon Günzburg, Marshals Lannes and Murat encountered at Wutingen an Austrian corps, which was tardily marching to the succor of General Kienmayer, already dislodged from the bridges of the Danube and the Lech. The engagement was short and brilliant; the fugitives bore at length to Ulm the conviction of the overwhelming forces which menaced the Austrian army. The Emperor Napoleon had arrived at Donauwerth. The first bulletin from the Grand Army was dated October 7th, explaining all the military operations: "This grand and vast movement has carried us in a few days to Bavaria; has enabled us to avoid the Black Mountains, the line of parallel rivers which fall into the Danube, and the inconvenience of a system of operations which would have always had the defiles of the Tyrol on the flank; and lastly, has placed us several marches in the rear of the enemy, who has no time to lose to avoid his entire destruction."

Napoleon was particularly watchful with respect to the

Tyrol, for he had settled in his own mind that General Mack would seek an outlet on this side, to escape from the blockade with which he was menaced. The little German princes, terrified or won over, had submitted to the yoke of Napoleon, and accepted his alliance; the French troops had violated neutral territories with impunity; the Russian armies were at last making forced marches, and had just entered into Germany. At one moment Mack appeared to discover the feeble point in the enemy's line; the left bank of the Danube at Albech, was occupied by the divisions of Dupont and Baraguey d'Hilliers, insufficient for resisting a violent attack. Murat, who commanded the three divisions posted near Ulm, ordered Ney to recall all the troops posted on the left bank. The marshal was indignant and furious, but obeyed; but General Dupont had not accomplished his movement when he was assailed by a corps of 25,000 Austrians, commanded by the Archduke Ferdinand. The heroic resistance of the French troops enabled them to fall back upon Albech with 1500 prisoners. The enemy contented themselves with occupying the little town of Elchingen, and burning the bridge.

Napoleon had quitted Augsburg, and Marshal Soult had just effected the capitulation of Meiningen. The emperor ordered Ney to retake the positions of Elchingen. The piles of the bridge had not been burnt, and under the fire of the Austrians the platform was replaced, and the troops rushed forward to the attack on the village. The convent which crowned the height was taken at the bayonet's point. Always pushing the enemy before him, Ney seized upon the heights of Michelsberg; the fire of his cannons commanded the grand square in Ulm. The emperor in person had just arrived at the camp.

The Archduke Ferdinand had succeeded in escaping during the night. In spite of a frightful tempest he gained Biberach, and rejoined Werneck in Bohemia. Murat pursued him, while Marshal Soult occupied Biberach.

Henceforth Mack found himself without resources. "The general-in-chief was in the city," said the sixth bulletin of the grand army. "It is the destiny of generals opposed to the emperor to be taken in town. It will be remembered that after the splendid manœuvres of the Brenta, the old Field-Marshal Wurmser was made prisoner at Mantua; Melas was taken in Alexandria; so is Mack in Ulm."

The emperor caused the Prince of Lichtenstein, major-general of the Austrian army, to be summoned. "I desire" said

he "that the place capitulate; if I take it by assault, I shall be compelled to do what I did at Jaffa, where the garrison was put to the sword. It is the sad law of war. I desire that the necessity for such a frightful act should be spared to me, as well as to the brave Austrian nation. The place is not tenable."

Mack consented to surrender if he was not succored before the 25th of October. The rain fell in torrents. For eight days the emperor had not taken off his boots. The Austrian prisoners were astonished to see him, "soaked, covered with mud, as much fatigued as the lowest drummer in his army, and even more so." An aide-de-camp repeated to Napoleon the remarks of the enemy's officers. Napoleon replied quickly, "Your master has been desirous of making me remember that I am a soldier," said he. "I hope he will be convinced that the throne and the imperial purple have not made me forget my first business."

Werneck had laid down his arms at Nordlingen; the archduke was fleeing into Bohemia before the cavalry of Murat: the corps of Jellachich in the Tyrol, and that of Kienmayer beyond the Inn, could send no succors to General Mack. Urged to escape the horror of the situation, he forestalled the day fixed for the capitulation: on the 20th of October, 1805, the garrison at Ulm, which still counted 24,000 or 25,000 men, defiled slowly before the conqueror. The troops were prisoners of war, the cannons and flags had been abandoned; seven lieutenant-generals, eight generals, and the general-in-chief, Mack, kept at the emperor's side, were present with death in their souls at the ceremonial which proved their defeat. "In fifteen days we have finished a campaign," said the proclamation of Napoleon to his soldiers. "That which we proposed is completed. We have driven the troops of the House of Austria from Bavaria, and re-established our ally in the sovereignty of his States. That army which, with as much ostentation as imprudence, came forward to place itself on our frontiers, is annihilated. But what matters it to England? Her purpose is answered; we are not at Boulogne, and the subsidy which she grants to Austria will be neither larger nor smaller."

England resented the defeat of her ally more keenly than Napoleon acknowledged in the bitterness of his hate. The rumor of the capitulation of Ulm had reached London. On November 2nd, Lord Malmesbury was seated at table beside Pitt, and spoke to him of the rumors he had heard. "Don't believe a word of it; it is simply a lie," said Pitt, roughly,

raising his voice so as to make himself heard by those around him. "But the next day, Sunday, the 3rd," continues Lord Malmesbury in his journal, "he entered my house with Lord Mulgrave, about one o'clock, and they brought with them a Dutch journal which contained at full length the capitulation of Ulm. Neither of them knew that language, and all the officials were away. I translated the article as well as I could, and I saw very clearly the effect that it produced upon Pitt, in spite of the efforts he made to hide it. This was the last time that I saw him. This visit left upon me a profound impression, his manners and countenance were so altered; I conceived from it, in spite of myself, the sad presentiment of the misfortune which threatened us."

Pitt was again, for one day only, to taste for an instant of patriotic joy, bitterly mingled with regret. In spite of the bravery to which Napoleon did not always render justice, the French sailors, inexperienced and badly commanded, had alone failed in the great projects confided to them, and thwarted the hopes of the emperor. Before setting out for Strasburg he had ordered the fleet at Brest to make several cruises, and the fleet at Cadiz to take the soldiers it had on board to the support of the movement of Gouvion St. Cyr in the Bay of Naples. "It might seize an English vessel and a Russian frigate which are to be found there: it could remain in the waters near Naples all the time necessary to do the greatest possible harm to the enemy and intercept the convoy which he is projecting to send to Malta. After this expedition it will return to Toulon, where it will effect for me a powerful diversion. I estimate then that it is necessary to do two things, first to send a special message to Admiral Villeneuve, ordering him to effect this manœuvre; second, as his excessive pusillanimity will hinder him from undertaking it, you will send Admiral Rosily to replace him. He will be the bearer of letters enjoining upon Admiral Villeneuve to return to France, to render an account of his conduct."

The minister of Marine was a friend of Villeneuve, and in announcing to him the departure of Admiral Rosily, he did not make him acquainted with his own disgrace. Leaving the consequences to chance, he had given up the endeavor to influence the imperious will of Napoleon with regard to the squadrons, and he dared not give instructions to Villeneuve. Villeneuve divined what his friend hid from him. "The sailors of Paris and the departments will be very unworthy and

very foolish if they cast a stone at me," wrote he to Decrès. "They will have themselves prepared the condemnation which will strike them later on. Let them come on board the squadrons, and they will see against what elements they are exposed to fight. For the rest, if the French marine, as is maintained, has only failed in daring, the emperor will shortly be satisfied, and may count upon the most brilliant successes."

In the middle of October, without having united with the Spanish squadron of Carthagena, nor the vessels which he had formerly imprudently detached under the orders of Captain Allemand, Villeneuve left Cadiz in company with Admiral Gravina and some Spanish vessels. The latter were large and heavy, difficult to manœuvre, and fitted with very second-rate crews. The squadron of battle, commanded by Admiral Villeneuve and the Spanish Vice-Admiral Alava, numbered twenty-one vessels. The squadron of reserve, composed of twelve vessels, had been placed under the orders of Admiral Gravina.

The forces of Nelson numerically equalled those of Villeneuve, but they were infinitely superior to his in the quality of the vessels and their crews. The illustrious English admiral was ill; for several weeks he had sought repose in England. When he offered to resume the command of the fleet, he was impressed with the idea that he should not again see his country. He called upon the workman entrusted with making a coffin, which Captain Hollowell had ordered to be made from a fragment of the keel of the French vessel *L'Orient*.^{*} "Engrave the history of this coffin on the plate," said he; "I shall probably have need of it before long." When at length he appeared on board, the sailors cheered him as the assurance of victory. The English admiral had carefully concealed the number of his vessels, fearing Villeneuve might hesitate in view of his forces. On the 21st the Franco-Spanish fleet was entirely at sea, sailing in order of battle. The English had formed in two lines; Admiral Collingwood, upon the *Royal Sovereign*, commanded the first; Nelson, on board the *Victory*, directed the second. He had given orders to bear down upon the French lines in order to cut them. "The part of the enemy's fleet that you leave out of the fight," said he, "will come with difficulty to the assistance of the part attacked, and you will have conquered before it arrives." The same signal was hoisted all over the fleet, "England expects that every man will do his

^{*} *L'Orient*, commanded by Admiral Brueys, foundered at Aboukir.

duty." Villeneuve had not less nobly announced his intentions to his officers. "You need not wait for signals from the admiral," were his orders; "in the confusion of a naval battle it is often impossible to see what is going forward, or to give orders, or above all to get them understood. Each one ought to listen only to the voice of honor, and throw himself into the place of greatest danger. Every captain is at his post if he is under fire." It was the misfortune of Admiral Villeneuve in the battle of Trafalgar, that he did not adhere to his original instructions. Gravina asked for authority to manœuvre in an independent manner. Villeneuve objected, and ordered him to place himself in line. Already at midday Admiral Collingwood, separated from his column by the superior swiftness of the *Royal Sovereign*, engaged so hotly in battle with the *Santa Anna*, the flag-ship of the Spaniard Alava, that he soon found himself in the midst of the enemy. "See how that brave Collingwood hurls himself into action," said Nelson to his flag-officer; whilst on his own deck, in the midst of the bullets that rained around him, Collingwood cried, "Nelson would give all the world to be here." The greater number of the Spanish captains offered a feeble resistance, and Collingwood had already cut the line of battle. Gravina, upon the *Prince-des-Asturies*, was surrounded by English vessels. The *Fougueux*, the *Pluton*, the *Algésiras*, commanded by Rear-Admiral Magon, heroically resisted overwhelming attacks. The *Redoutable*, the *Santis-sima-Trinidad*, and the French flag-ship the *Bucentaure*, crowded in upon each other, waited for the assault of the second column, which Nelson brought against them. Like Collingwood, he had got in advance of his squadron. The officers had begged of him to leave the vanguard to the *Temeraire*. "I am quite willing," said Nelson, "that the *Temeraire* should get in front if it can;" and spreading all sail on board the *Victory*, he advanced first against the enemy. Already his topmast had been struck, and fifty men placed *hors de combat*. The English admiral had given orders to separate the *Redoutable* from the *Bucentaure*; but Captain Lucas, who commanded the former vessel, profited by a slight breath of wind, and his bowsprit touched the stern of the *Bucentaure*. Nelson then engaged the *Redoutable*, dashing against it with a shock so violent that both vessels were thrown out of the line; the *Bucentaure* and the *Santissima-Trinidad* were also surrounded by the English. The struggle continued between Nelson and his courageous adversary; the flames were

breaking out every moment upon the French vessel. "Hardy, this is too hot to last long," said Nelson to his flag-captain. Presently a ball from the topmast of the *Redoutable* struck the illustrious sailor in the loins. He fell, still supporting himself by one hand. "Hardy, they have done for me now," said he. "No! not yet," cried the captain, who sought to raise him up. "Yes," replied Nelson, "the spine is hit;" and drawing his handkerchief from his pocket, he himself covered his face and his decorations, in order to hide his fall from his crew. "Take care!" said he, as they carried him down; "the cable of the helm is cut." Between decks was crowded with the wounded and the dying. "Attend to those whom you can save," said he to the surgeon; "as for me, there is nothing to be done." Meanwhile he listened anxiously, noticing the discharges of artillery, seeking to divine the issue of the combat. The *Redoutable* had been attacked by the *Temeraire* and the *Neptune* at the moment when the French sailors were preparing to board the *Victory*. Captain Lucas was compelled to haul down his flag; of the 660 men of his crew, 522 were *hors de combat*. The *Bucentaure*, caught by its bowsprit in the gallery of the *Santissima-Trinidad*, was overwhelmed by the enemy, and, held in its position by the Spanish vessel, completely dismasted. Already the flag-officer and two lieutenants had been wounded by the side of Admiral Villeneuve, who courted death in vain. The *Bucentaure* was cut down close like a pontoon. The admiral wished to pass on to another vessel. Not a single boat was left him. When he at last pulled down his flag he could not reply with a single cannon-shot to the English vessels that were bent on his destruction.

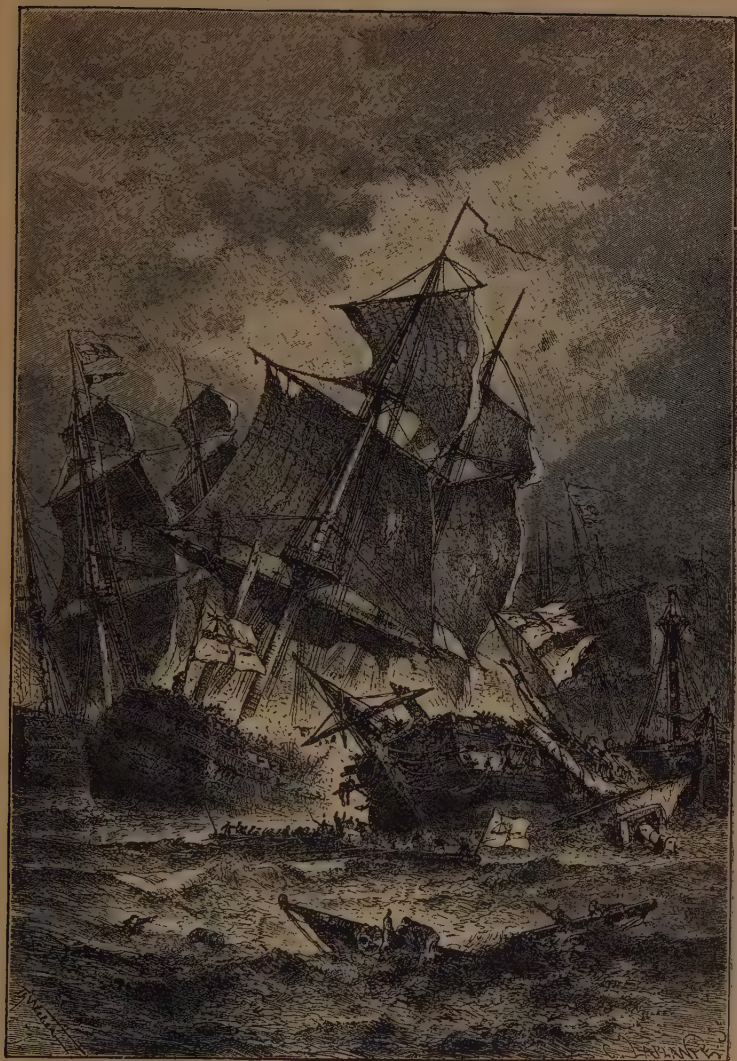
Nelson still breathed. "Where is Hardy?" he repeated; "if he does not come to me, it is because he is dead." The captain presently came down, too much moved to utter a word. "How is it now with us?" said the dying man. "All goes well," said Hardy; "ten vessels have already lowered their flag. I see that the French are signalling to the vanguard to tack about. If they come against the *Victory* we will call for aid, and give them a beating." "I hope none of our ships have surrendered," said Nelson. "There is no danger," replied Hardy, who returned to his post. When he reappeared, Nelson's eyes were closed. The captain stooped over him. "We have fifteen prizes," said he. "I counted upon twenty," murmured the dying man. Then rousing himself, "Anchor,

Hardy, anchor; give the signal! Kiss me . . . I am satisfied. Thank God, I have done my duty." He expired,—just forty-seven years of age.

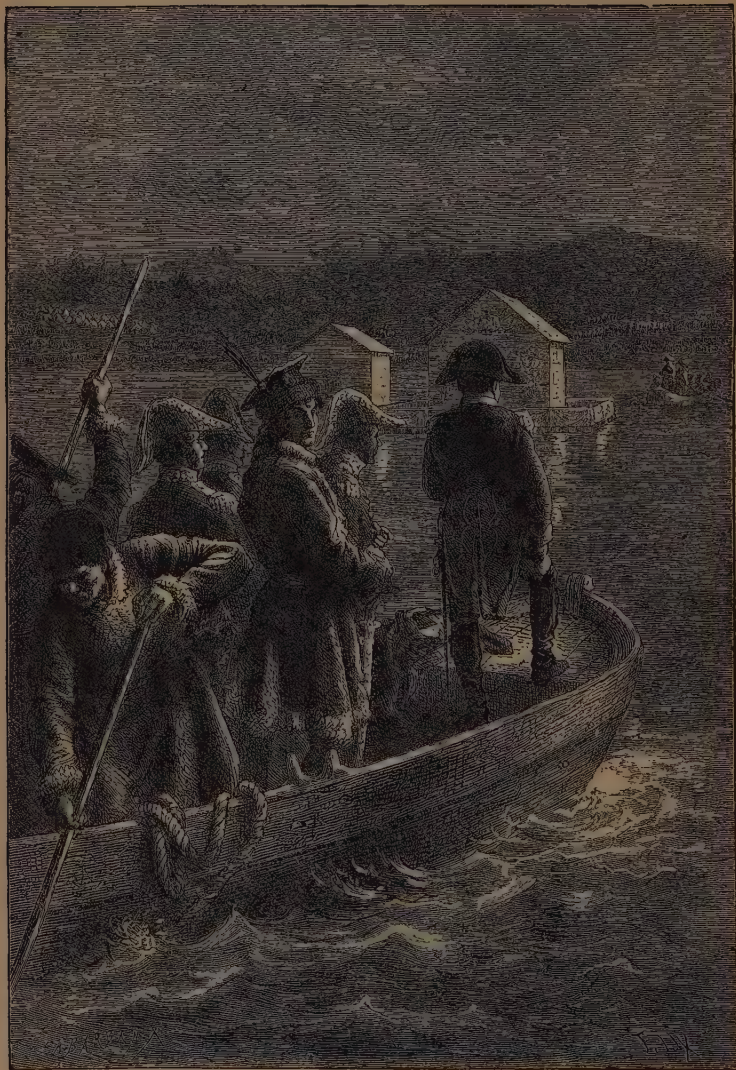
The French Admiral Magon was still defending the *Algesiras*, attacked by the *Tonnant*; he wanted to board her, but his deck was swept by the grape shot of fresh assailants. Himself threatened with being boarded, the admiral repulsed the English, axe in hand, at the head of his sailors. He was covered with wounds. Bretonnière, become flag officer by the death of his seniors, implored Magon to have his wounds dressed; as he yielded to the request, a cannon-shot penetrating between decks struck him in the chest, and he was dead. The *Algesiras* at last hauled down her flag, at the moment when the *Achille*, for some time already the prey of flames which the crew had no time to extinguish, blew up with a terrific explosion. Thus ended the battle. Admiral Gravina rallied round him eleven vessels; a few had at an early period withdrawn from the combat. Admiral Dumanoir, who had not succeeded in engaging his vanguard, had already retired. The English carried off seventeen vessels, for the most part too shattered to be of service. The unfortunate French admiral was received by the conquerors with the honor due to his bravery. A few months later, when released by the enemy, Villeneuve in despair was to die by his own hand in an inn at Rennes, writing in the last moment these heartrending words: "What a blessing that I have no child to receive my horrible inheritance, and live under the weight of my name!"

The last orders of Nelson in dying, recommended the fleet to be anchored; Collingwood judged otherwise, and waited till daylight. Already Admiral Gravina had taken his vessels into the port of Cadiz, when a furious tempest broke forth, irresistible by the ships so dreadfully damaged in the conflict. The English had so much to do in looking after their own safety that they could not attend to their prizes, and the officer having charge of the *Bucentaure* resigned it to the French commanders: the unfortunate vessel perished on the coast, opposite Cape Diamant.

Indomitable in defeat as in battle, the officers and sailors of the *Algesiras* forced their guardians to surrender the vessel. They at last escaped death, after two nights of anguish and struggle. At their side the *Indomptable*, all hung with lanterns, its deck crowded with a despairing crew, was forced from its anchors by the hurricane, and shattered against the



BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.



IT WAS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIEMEN THAT THE TWO EMPERORS MET.

rocks. The English lost all their prizes but four; they were compelled to sink the *Swiftsure*, captured by Admiral Ganteaume, and which they were intent on recapturing from us.

Nelson had made the request in dying, "Do not cast my poor body into the sea." The most extraordinary honors awaited in England the remains of this great seaman: the broken mast of his flag-ship, and one of the French bullets which struck him, still attract attention in a room at Windsor. The whole nation put on mourning; the politicians forgot the embarrassment which he had more than once caused them, and which had drawn from one of them the expression, "He is an heroic cockney." The splendor of his military genius, his devotion to his country, the noble simplicity of his character, inspired all minds with respect. The hero of the struggle against France, he fell at the height of his glory. He had taken part in nearly all the maritime victories which had signalized the war: the names of Aboukir, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar render his memory glorious.

The emperor bore the blow of his defeat without showing despondency or anger. "All this makes no change in my cruising projects," wrote he on the 18th November, to Admiral Decrès; "I am even annoyed that all is not ready. They must set out without delay. Cause all the troops that are on board the squadron to come to me by land. They will wait my orders at the first town in France."

Napoleon was then at Znaïm in Moravia, and the date of his letter told the story of his astonishing successes. Abandoned by the King of Prussia, with whom the Austrians and the Russians had turned to account the violation of his territory, Napoleon prepared to dispute Hanover with new enemies, without modifying his general plan, and without renouncing his march upon Vienna. The Russian army of Kutuzof alone barred his way; but already it was commencing a clever movement of retreat, never fighting without necessity, firm and resolute, however, when attacked. The Russians passed the Danube at Krems, destroying the bridges behind them. They committed great ravages during their march, and had gained the ill-will of the Austrian corps who went with them, and who fell back upon Vienna. With great imprudence General Mortier had been detached on the left bank of the Danube, where he was attacked by the larger portion of the Russian army at the very moment when he found himself separated from the division of Dupont. In spite of the heroic resistance

of the French soldiers the danger was imminent. Mortier was urged to take to a boat, and not deliver to the enemy a marshal of France. "Who would leave such brave men?" replied Mortier; "we will be saved or perish together." A road lay open across the ground occupied by the Russians, to the village of Dernstein; the soldiers of General Dupont entered it at the same time from another direction. They hastened by forced marches to the succor of the marshal. Napoleon's anger fell heavily on Murat, whom he accused, not without reason, of vainglorious levity. Already the brilliant general of cavalry had presented himself at the gates of Vienna. The Emperor Francis had not wished to expose his capital to the horrors of a siege; when he saw the proposals for an armistice rejected which he had addressed to Napoleon (November 8th) he prepared to quit Vienna. Less menacing than at Ulm, the conqueror no longer invited the Emperor of Austria to meditate upon the fall of empires: he reminded him that the present war was for Russia only a fancy war; "for your Majesty and myself it is a war that absorbs all our means, all our sentiments, all our faculties." Fifteen days later Napoleon entered the palace of Schoenbrunn. Thanks to a ruse, more daring than fair, Murat had succeeded in carrying the bridges of Vienna at the moment when the workmen were preparing to blow them up; he was on the march for Moravia, pursuing the Russians, with the co-operation of Mortier and Bernadotte.

By his superior ability Napoleon struck his enemies at once with terror and astonishment, paralyzing their forces by their anxiety at the unforeseen blows he dealt them. The Archduke Charles had long remained immovable on the Adige; when he at last commenced his retreat he marched to the assistance of the threatened empire, and was pursued by Masséna. The marshal attacked the archduke in his camp of Caldiero after having seized Verona by night, and had fought him on the shores of the Tagliamento; he was now approaching Marmont, who occupied the Styrian Alps. The Archduke Charles rallying the remains of the army of his brother, the Archduke John, was engaged with him in Hungary, in order to rejoin the Russian army in Moravia. Before the two masses of the enemy could reach Brünn, and in spite of the clever manœuvre of Kutuzof, who succeeded before Hollabrunn in concealing from Murat and Lannes the great bulk of his army, the French were, on the 19th of November, in possession of the capital of Moravia. Napoleon entered it next day.

The Emperor Alexander joined the Emperor of Austria at Olmütz. Proud of his diplomatic successes at Berlin, and convinced that his visit to the King of Prussia had alone decided him to attach himself to the coalition, he nursed a military ambition, assiduously encouraged by his young favorites. The Emperor Francis sent Stadion and Giulay to Brünn, commissioned to treat for conditions of peace. Napoleon referred them to Talleyrand, whom he had sent to Vienna. "They know the state of the question by what I have said to them in a few words," wrote he; "but you have to treat it smoothly and at full length. My intention is absolutely to have the State of Venice, and to reunite it to the kingdom of Italy. I have good cause to think that the court of Vienna has taken its resolution on that point."

Napoleon was wishing for peace—immediate, glorious, and fruitful. He had vainly sought to separate the Austrians from the Russians; he could not doubt the hostile intentions of Prussia. The very explanations that Haugwitz had just given him as to the motives for the entry of a Prussian army into Hanover foreshadowed plenty of approaching hostilities: a brilliant victory, forestalling the union of the German and Russian forces, became necessary. For a few days the soldiers rested, recruiting their forces after their long and perilous marches. The impatience of the Emperor Alexander had already carried the general quarters of the allies to Wischau. It was there that General Savary presented himself, intrusted with aimless negotiations, which gave him opportunity to examine the condition of the Austro-Russian army. Prince Dolgorouki, sent from Brünn with the reply of the Emperor Alexander, was received at the advanced posts. The young favorite was thoughtless and proud. "What do they want of me?" said Napoleon. "Why does the Emperor Alexander make war on me? Is he jealous of the growth of France? Well, let him extend his frontiers at the expense of his neighbors on the side of Turkey, and all quarrels will be at an end." Dolgorouki protested the disinterestedness of his master. "The emperor wishes," said he "for the independence of Europe, the evacuation of Holland and Switzerland, an indemnity for the King of Sardinia, and barriers round France for the protection of its neighbors." Napoleon broke out in a passion: "I will never yield anything in Italy, even if the Russians should camp upon the heights of Montmartre." He sent back the negotiator, who had perceived the movements of

troops falling back around Brünn. Ignorant of the great principle which directed the campaigns of Napoleon—"divide in order to subsist, concentrate in order to fight"—he thought he divined the preparations for retreat. The ardor of the Russian army grew more intense. It advanced towards the position long studied by Napoleon, and which he destined for his field of battle. In accordance with the plan of the Austrian general, Weirother, who was in great favor with the Emperor Alexander, the allies had resolved to turn the right of the French army, in order to cut off the road to Vienna by isolating numerous corps dispersed in Austria and Styria. Already the two emperors and their staff-officers occupied the castle and village of Austerlitz. On December 1st, 1805, the allies established themselves upon the plateau of Platzen; Napoleon had by design left it free. Divining, with the sure instinct of superior genius, the manœuvres of his enemy, he had cleverly drawn them into the snare. His proclamation to the troops announced all the plan of the battle.

"Soldiers," said he, "the Russian army presents itself before you to avenge the Austrian army of Ulm. These are the same battalions which you have beaten at Hollabrunn, and that you have constantly pursued to this place.

"The positions that we occupy are formidable, and whilst they march to turn my right they will present me their flank.

"Soldiers, I will myself direct your battalions. I will keep myself away from the firing if, with your accustomed bravery, you carry disorder and confusion into the enemy's ranks. But if the victory were for a moment uncertain you would see your emperor expose himself to the brunt of the attack; for this victory will finish the campaign, and we shall be able to resume our winter quarters, where we shall be joined by new armies which are forming in France. Then the peace I shall make will be worthy of my people, of you, and of me."

It was late, and the emperor had just dismissed Haugwitz, whom he had sent back to Vienna. "I shall see you again if I am not carried off to-morrow by a cannon-ball. It will be time then to understand each other." Napoleon went out to visit the soldiers at the bivouac. A great ardor animated the troops; it was remembered that the 2nd December was the anniversary of the coronation of the emperor. The soldiers gathered up the straw upon which they were stretched, making it into bundles, which they lit at the end of poles; a sudden illumination lit up the camp. "Be assured," said an

old grenadier, advancing towards the chief who had so many times led his comrades to victory, "I promise thee that we will bring thee to-morrow the flags and the cannon of the Russian army to signalize the anniversary of the 2nd December."

The fires were extinguished, and the enemies thought they saw in it the indication of a nocturnal retreat. Gathered around a map, the allied generals listened to Weirother, who developed his plan of battle "with a boasting air, which displayed in him a clear persuasion of his own merit and of our incapacity," says General Langeron, a French emigrant officer in the Russian army. Old Kutuzof slept. "If Bonaparte had been able to attack us, he would have done it to-day," was the assurance of Weirother. "You do not then think him strong?" "If he has 40,000 men, it is all." "He has extinguished his fires; a good deal of noise comes from his camp." "He is either retreating or else he is changing his position; if he takes that of Turas, he will spare us a good deal of trouble, and the dispositions of the troops will remain the same." The day was scarcely begun (2nd December, 1805) when the allied army was on the march. The noise of the preparations in the camps had reassured Napoleon as to the direction the enemy would take. On the previous evening, whilst listening to the learned lecture of Weirother, Prince Bagration, formerly the heroic defender of the positions of Hollabrunn, had uttered under his long moustache, "The battle is lost!" In seeing his enemies advance towards the right, as he had himself announced to his soldiers, Napoleon could not withhold the signs of his joy. He held the victory in his own hands. He waited patiently until his enemies had deployed their line. The sun had just risen, shining through the midst of a fog, which it dispersed with its brilliant rays. The plateau of Pratzen was in part abandoned; the emperor gave the signal, and the whole French army moved forward, forming an enormous and compact mass, eager to hurl itself on the enemy. "See how the French climb the height without staying to respond to our fire!" said Prince Czartoriski, who watched the battle near the two emperors. He was still speaking when already the allied columns, thrown out one after another on the slope, found themselves arrested in their movement and separated from the two wings of the army. Old Kutuzof, badly wounded, strove in vain to send aid to the disordered centre. "See, see, a mortal wound!" he cried, extending his arms towards Pratzen.

During this time the right, commanded by Marshal Davout, disputed with the Russians the line of Goldbach, extricating with the division of Friant General Legrand for a moment outflanked. Murat and Lannes attacked on the left eighty-two Russian and Austrian squadrons, under the orders of Prince John of Lichtenstein. The infantry advanced in quick time against the Uhlans sent against them, soon dispersed by the light cavalry of Kellermann. The Russian batteries drowned the sound of all the drums of the first regiment of the division of Cafarelli. General Valhubert had his thigh fractured, and his soldiers wished to carry him away. "Remain at your posts," said he calmly. "I know well how to die alone. We must not for one man lose six." The Russian guard at last turned towards Pratzen. A French battalion, which had let itself be drawn in pursuit, was in danger. Napoleon, stationed at the centre with the infantry of the guard, and the corps of Bernadotte, perceived the disorder. "Take there the Mamelukes and the chasseurs of the guard," said he to Rapp. When the latter returned to the emperor he was wounded, but the Russians, were repulsed, and Prince Repnin prisoner. A Russian division, isolated at Sokolnitz, had just surrendered; two columns had been thrown back beyond the marshes. The bridge broke under the weight of the artillery. The cold was intense; and the soldiers thought to save themselves by springing upon the ice, but already the French cannon-balls were breaking it under their feet. With cries of despair they were engulfed in the waters of the lake. Generals Doctoroff and Keimayer effected their painful retreat, under the fire of our batteries, by a narrow embankment, separating the two lakes of Melnitz and Falnitz. Only the corps of Prince Bagration still kept in order of battle, Marshal Lannes having restrained his troops which were rushing forward in pursuit.

The day had come to a close; the two emperors had abandoned the terrible battle-field. Behind them resounded the French shouts of victory; around them, before them, they heard the imprecations of the fugitives, the groans of the wounded, unable any longer to keep on their way, the complaints of the peasants ravaged by the furious soldiery. They arrived thus at the imperial castle of Halitsch, where they found themselves next day pressed by Marshal Davout. Austerlitz became the headquarters of the conqueror.

Before even having reached a place of safety the Emperor Francis, gloomy and calm, had in his own mind taken his de-

cision. Prince John of Lichtenstein was sent to ask from Napoleon an armistice and an interview. The conqueror was still traversing the field of battle, attentive in procuring for his soldiers the care that their bravery merited. "The interview, when the emperor will, the day after to-morrow, at our advanced posts," said he to the Austrian envoy; "until then, no armistice." Whilst Napoleon was speaking to his army and to Europe, Marshal Lannes and the cavalry were already pursuing the vanquished enemy.

"Soldiers, I am satisfied with you," said he in his proclamation of the 3rd December, 1805. "You have upon the day of Austerlitz justified all that I expected from your intrepidity. An army of 100,000 men, commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, has been in less than four hours either cut up or dispersed, and what escaped from your steel is drowned in the lakes. Forty flags, the standards of the Imperial Guard of Russia, a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, and more than thirty thousand prisoners are the results of this ever-memorable day. In three months this third coalition has been vanquished and dissolved. Soldiers, when all that is necessary in order to assure the happiness and prosperity of France shall be accomplished, I will lead you back into France; there you will be the object of my most tender solicitude. My people will see you again with joy, and it will suffice for you to say, 'I was at the battle of Austerlitz,' to receive the reply, 'There is a hero!'"

The army rested, intoxicated with pride and joy. The losses, considerable in themselves, were small in comparison with the disasters inflicted on the coalition; the arrogance of the Russians had undergone a most painful check; the youthful illusions of their Czar cruelly dissipated. The Emperor of Austria informed him of his pacific intentions, and Alexander hastened to release his allies from their engagements; he was in a hurry to retire and disengage himself from a war which could procure for him no other advantage than a vain hope of glory.

Napoleon repeated his former sentiments to the Emperor Francis when he met him next day at the mill of Paleny, between Nasiedlowitz and Urschitz. "Do not confound your cause with that of the Emperor Alexander. Russia can to-day only make a fancy war (*une guerre de fantaisie*). Conquered, she retires into her deserts, and you pay all the costs of the war." Then, gracefully returning to the courtesies of society,

the all-powerful conqueror made excuses for the poor place in which he was compelled to receive his illustrious host.

"These are the palaces," said he, "which your Majesty has compelled me to inhabit for three months past." "Your visit has succeeded sufficiently well for you to have no right to bear me any grudge," replied the Emperor Francis. The two monarchs embraced, and the armistice was concluded. The Russians were to retire by stages, and the seat of negotiations was fixed at Brünn. A formal order from Napoleon was necessary in order to stop the march of Marshal Davout in pursuit of the Russian army. General Savary was entrusted with this order; he brought to the Czar the conditions of the armistice. "I am satisfied, since my ally is," replied Alexander, and he allowed to escape from him the expression of an admiration which was long to exercise over him a profound influence. "Your master has shown himself very great," said he to Savary.

Napoleon left Talleyrand at Brünn exchanging arguments with Stadion and Giulay; he himself repaired to Vienna, where Haugwitz awaited him. Imperfectly instructed as to the alliance concluded on the 3rd of November at Potsdam between the King of Prussia and the allies, he knew enough of it to break forth in violent reproaches against the perfidy of the Prussian Government. And as Haugwitz made excuses and protests, the Emperor proposed to him all of a sudden that union with France which had been so often discussed. Hanover was to be the price of it. Prussia was uneasy, frightened, divided in her councils, but she accepted; the Marquisate of Anspach, the Principality of Neuchâtel, and the Duchy of Clèves were ceded to France, and the treaty was signed at Schönbrunn on the 15th December, 1805. Prussia recognized all the conquests of Napoleon; the two sovereigns reciprocally guaranteed each other's possessions.

Talleyrand had just quitted Brünn, which had become unhealthy through the overcrowding of the hospitals; the negotiations were being carried on at Presburg. In spite of the wise and prudent counsels of his minister, Napoleon was resolved on exacting from Austria still more than he had declared before Ulm. The defection of Prussia had thoroughly disheartened the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Francis. The French armies concentrated afresh around Vienna. Napoleon was doubly imperious, threatening to recommence the war; the negotiators at length yielded to necessity. On the 26th of December, 1805, peace was signed at Presburg between France

and Austria. The Emperor Francis abandoned to the conqueror Venice, Istria, Frioul, and Dalmatia, which were to become part of the kingdom of Italy; the Tyrol and Vorarlberg, of which Napoleon made a present to Bavaria; the outlying territories of Suabia, handed over to Wurtemberg; the Brisgau, Ortenau, and the city of Constance, which were added to the territories of the Elector of Baden. Napoleon ceded to the Emperor the Principality of Wurtzburg for one of the archdukes; the secularization of the Teutonic Order was agreed upon to the profit of Austria; the latter power was to pay a war indemnity of forty millions.

The small German princes, who beheld their possessions increased and their titles made more glorious by the powerful hand of the conqueror, were in their turn to pay the price of the terrible alliance which weighed upon them. The new Kings of Wurtemberg and Bavaria found themselves obliged to give their daughters to Jerome Bonaparte and to Eugène de Beauharnais; the marriage that the former had contracted in America, and the betrothal of the Princess of Bavaria to the son of the Elector of Baden, weighed nothing in the balance in comparison with the iron will of Napoleon. Intimidated and restless, the Elector of Baden himself broke off the marriage of his son, accepting for him the hand of Stéphanie de Beauharnais, niece of the Empress Josephine. Before taking the road to France, the Emperor was present at the marriage of the vice-King of Italy with the princess whose portrait he had seen a few days before upon a porcelain cup. Everything had yielded to his power,—sovereigns, families, and hearts. Russia and England alone remained openly enemies. “Rest awhile, my children,” said the Archduke Charles in disbanding his army; “rest awhile, until we begin again.”

I have been desirous of conducting General Bonaparte, now become the Emperor Napoleon, up to the popular summit of his glory. He had already tainted it by many acts of violence, and by an exclusive devotion to personal ends, in defiance of justice and liberty. Henceforward and under the disastrous inspirations of a mad ambition, victory itself was to become a fatal seduction which by inevitable degrees draws us on to ruin. Great and terrible lesson of Divine justice on the morality of nations! Starting from the violation of the peace of Amiens, and in spite of the glory of the sun of Austerlitz, the history of the glory of the conqueror includes in germ the history of his fall, and of the ever-increasing misfortunes of France.

CHAPTER IX.

GLORY AND CONQUEST (1805—1808).

GUIZOT has said at the commencement of his essay on Washington: "There is a spectacle as fine as that of a virtuous man struggling with adversity, and not less salutary to contemplate; it is the spectacle of a virtuous man at the head of a good cause and assuring his triumph."

There is a spectacle, sorrowful and sad, also salutary to contemplate in its austere teachings: it is that of a man of genius bearing along in his train an enthusiastic nation, and squandering all the living forces of his genius and his country in the service of a senseless ambition, as fatal to the sovereign as the people, both foolishly dragged along by a vision of glory towards injustices and crimes not at first foreseen. Such is the spectacle offered to us by the history of the Emperor Napoleon, and of France, after the battle of Austerlitz and the Peace of Presburg.

For the moment a stupor seemed to oppress the whole of Europe. Prussia, humiliated and indignant, had, however, just ratified the treaty of Schönbrunn; Austria was panting and conquered; England had lost her great minister: William Pitt died 23rd January, 1806, struck to the heart in his patriotic passion, by the new victory of the conqueror whom he dreaded for the liberty of the world. "Roll up this map of Europe," said he when the news was brought to him as he lay dying in his little house at Putney, "in ten years time there will be no further need for it." Already his rival had succeeded him in office, and Fox did not yet foresee that he would presently be inevitably brought to adopt the policy of resistance to the long increasing power of Napoleon. He was then making cordial advances towards him. The Emperor Alexander had not disarmed, but the appeals to him from the Court of Naples found him immovable. Already the Bourbons were trembling on the thrones they still occupied.

Napoleon announced it in his thirty-seventh bulletin, dated from Vienna. "General Saint Cyr marches by long stages

towards Naples, to punish the treason of the queen, and hurl from the throne this criminal woman who has violated everything that is held sacred among men." Intercession was attempted for her with the Emperor. He replied, "Ought hostilities to recommence, and the nation to sustain a war of thirty years, a perfidy so atrocious cannot be pardoned."

In this struggle between violence and treason the issue could not remain long doubtful. In the name of Joseph Bonaparte, Masséna commanded the army which came to take possession of the kingdom of Naples. For the second time, King Ferdinand and Queen Charlotte took refuge in Sicily. "It is the interest of France to make sure of the kingdom of Naples by a useful and easy conquest," the *Moniteur* had formerly declared, in publishing the treaty of neutrality agreed to by the House of Bourbon. The work was accomplished; on the 30th of March, Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies. The city of Gaëta alone was to prolong its resistance.

Two months later, with the appearance of the national consent, Napoleon elevated his brother Louis to the throne which he had instituted for him in Holland. The prince had been ordered to protect this country, threatened by the Anglo-Swedish army. After the battle of Austerlitz he presented himself before the Emperor. "Why have you quitted Holland?" demanded the latter brusquely, "we saw you there with pleasure, and you should have remained there." "Sounds of a monarchical transformation circulate in Holland," replied Louis Bonaparte, "they are not agreeable to this free and worthy nation, nor are they any more pleasant to me."

Napoleon broke out into a passion. "He gave me to understand," says Prince Louis in his *Mémoires*, "that if I had not been more consulted over this affair, it was for a subject only to obey." At the same time the Emperor wrote to Talleyrand, "I have seen this evening Admiral Verhuell. In two words hear what this question amounts to. Holland is without executive power. It requires that power, and I will give it Prince Louis. In place of the Grand Pensionary Schimmelpenninck, there shall be a king. The argument is that without that I shall not be able to give peace a firm settlement. Prince Louis must make his entry into Amsterdam within twenty days." The accession to the throne of the new monarch was celebrated on the 5th June, 1806.

Napoleon disposed at his will of crowns and appanages, elevating or dethroning kings, magnificently dowering the com-

panions of his military life and the servants of his policy. He had at the same time conceived the idea of forming beyond his States a barrier which should separate them from the great German powers, always secretly hostile. The dukes and the electors whom he had made kings, the princes whose domains he had aggrandized, were to unite in a confederation for the protection of the new State of Germany. The seat of government was established at Frankfort. The town of Ratisbon, formerly honored by the assemblies of the Diet, had been ceded to Bavaria. The Diet was officially informed that Prussia received a decisive authorization to form in its turn a confederation of the North. Most of the German States having been forcibly taken from him, Francis II. voluntarily resigned the vain title he still bore; he ceased to be Emperor of Germany, and became Emperor of Austria.

Meanwhile the overtures of Fox towards France had until now remained without result. England refused to treat without Russia, whom the Emperor would not admit to a common negotiation. "Regrets are useless," wrote Fox to Talleyrand on the 10th April, 1806; "but if the great man whom you serve, could see with the same eye with which I behold it, the true glory which would accrue to him from a moderate and just peace, what good fortune would not result from it for France and for all Europe?"

In the depth of his soul and in his secret thoughts Napoleon now desired peace. Amongst the English prisoners detained in France after the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, a few had been exchanged since the advent of Fox to the ministry; one of them, Lord Yarmouth (afterwards Lord Hertford), elegant and dissipated, had been commissioned by his government to talk over familiarly with Talleyrand the chances of peace that existed between the two nations. Napoleon had conceded Hanover to Prussia as the price of peace; he was ready to retrocede it to England, free to indemnify Prussia at the expense of Germany. The negotiation was carried on secretly, the negotiators meeting as men of the world rather than diplomats. Oubril, an envoy from the Emperor Alexander, had just arrived in Paris, charged with reassuring France on the subject of a circumstance which had recently taken place in Dalmatia. The Russian admiral, Sinavin, animated with unseasonable zeal, with the aid of the Montenegrins had seized the mouths of the Cattaro. The Austrian officers, appointed to hand over the territory to the French, had not opposed any resistance to the

Russians. The two Emperors of Austria and Russia hastened to disavow their agents; on 20th July Oubril signed with France a separate peace.

This was failing in loyalty towards England, who had refused to treat without its ally. The Emperor of Russia perceived it; he had thought the cabinet of London more inclined to conclude peace at any cost. The health of Fox was giving way, and his successors were likely to be less favorable to the demands of Napoleon. Alexander declared that he would not ratify the treaty negotiated by Oubril. This news arrived at Paris on the 3rd of September, 1806. On the 13th of the same month Fox expired in London, amiable and beloved to the last day of his life; ardently devoted to his friends, to freedom, to all noble and generous causes; a great orator and a great debater; feeble in his political conduct even in opposition, incapable of governing and of sustaining the great struggle which for so long agitated Europe. At his death the party of resistance resumed power in England. In Germany the secret of the negotiations with regard to Hanover had transpired; the disregard of sworn faith which Prussia had more than once practised during the war fell back upon herself with crushing weight. Napoleon thought nothing of his engagements; he had detached King Frederick William from his natural allies, and showed himself disposed to snatch from him the price of his compliance. The nation and the king had with great difficulty accepted the treaty negotiated by Haugwitz; indignation broke forth on every side. It had already betrayed itself for a few weeks past by numerous and violent pamphlets against the Emperor of the French and against the armies of occupation. Napoleon responded to them by a despotic and cruel act which was to bear bitter fruits. On the 5th August he wrote to Marshal Berthier:—

“My cousin,—I imagine that you have had the booksellers of Augsburg and Nuremberg arrested. My intention is that they should be indicted before a military tribunal, and shot within twenty-four hours. It is no ordinary crime to spread libels in places where the French army is stationed, in order to excite the inhabitants against it. It is a crime of high treason. The sentence shall set forth that wherever there is an army, the duty of the commander being to watch over its safety, such and such individuals convicted of having attempted to stir up the inhabitants of Suabia against the French army are condemned to death. You will place the criminals in the midst of

a division, and you will appoint seven colonels to try them. You will have the sentence published throughout Germany." Only one bookseller of Nuremberg, named Palm, was arrested, and suffered the terrible sentence. Berthier never forgot the cruel necessity to which he had been subjected in ordering this odious procedure. "He makes us condemn under the penalty of being condemned ourselves," said General Hullin, in reporting the murder of the Duc d'Enghien.

The growing irritation of Germany only awaited an excuse for bursting forth. A despatch of the Marquis of Lucchesini, then minister of Prussia at Paris, gave the protracted irritation of the court of Berlin its opportunity. According to the information received from this diplomatist, the French government was putting pressure upon the German Princes of the North, to prevent them from entering the Confederation projected by Prussia. A letter from King Frederick William and a diplomatic note demanded peremptorily the evacuation of Germany by the French troops, and liberty of action for the German Princes. At the same time the armaments of Prussia, for a long time prepared in secret, became public. Already the Emperor Napoleon had quitted Paris, without Laforest, his minister at Berlin, having been authorized to reply to the demands of the Prussians. "We have been deceived three times," said Napoleon. "We must have facts; let Prussia disarm, and France will re-cross the Rhine, and not before." It was to the Senate and to the soldiers alone that Napoleon now addressed the explanation of his aggressive movements against Prussia.

"Soldiers, the order for your re-entry into France was issued; you had already approached it by several marches. Triumphant fêtes awaited you, and the preparations to receive you had already commenced in the capital.

"But whilst we abandon ourselves to this too confident security, new plots are hatched under the mask of friendship and alliance. War cries have made themselves heard from Berlin. For two months we have been provoked more and more every day.

"The same faction, the same spirit of giddiness which, under favor of our internal dissensions, conducted the Prussians fourteen years ago into the midst of the plains of Champagne, rules in their councils; if it is no longer Paris that they wish to burn and overthrow to its foundations, it is to-day their flag that they wish to plant in the capitals of our allies; it is Saxony that they wish to compel by a shameful transaction to

renounce its independence by ranging it in the number of their provinces; it is, in fine, your laurels that they wish to snatch from your foreheads. They wish us to evacuate Germany at the sight of their arms. Fools! What? Shall we then have braved the seasons, the seas, the deserts, conquered Europe several times allied against us, carried our glory from the east to the west, in order to return to-day into our country like fugitives who have abandoned their allies; to hear it said that the French eagle fled in fear at the mere sight of the Prussian armies?"

It was, in fact, a fourth continental coalition which was beginning to be formed against France. Prussia alone was then on the scene; long prudent and circumspect in its conduct, it had been drawn in this time, in spite of its weakness, by irresistible anger and indignation. Napoleon did not dread the war. "I have nearly 150,000 men in Germany," wrote he to King Joseph; "with them I can subdue Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg." The reply that he at last deigned to address to the King of Prussia from the camp of Gera breathed the most haughty confidence. A few engagements had already taken place. "Monsieur my brother," wrote Napoleon to Frederick William, "I only received on the 7th the letter of your Majesty of the 25th September. I am vexed that you have been induced to sign this sort of thing. You appoint a meeting with me on the 8th. Like a good knight, I keep faith with you, I am in the middle of Saxony; believe me I have such forces with me that all your forces cannot long prevent my victory. But why spill so much blood? To what end? Sire, I have been your friend for six years past. I do not wish to profit by that species of giddiness which animates your council, and has caused you to commit political errors, at which Europe is still astonished, and military errors of such an enormity that Europe will soon ring with them. If in your note you had asked possible things from me, I would have granted them to you; you have asked for my dishonor: you ought to have been certain of my reply. War is then made between us, the alliance broken forever; but why make our subjects kill each other? Sire, your Majesty will be conquered; you will have compromised the peace of your days and the existence of your subjects without the shadow of a pretext. I have nothing to gain against your Majesty. I want nothing, and I have wanted nothing from you. The present war is an impolitic war."

Napoleon had well estimated the forces of the enemy he was preparing to crush; he had concentrated under his hand a power superior to all the resources of the Prussians, whose soldiers were courageous and well disciplined, but for a long time little exercised in war. Napoleon's precautions were taken at every point of his vast territory; he had called new troops under his banners; everywhere he held in check his enemies, either secret or avowed. At one moment he thought of tendering his hand to Austria; he wrote to his ambassador at Vienna, M. de la Rochefoucauld: "My position and my forces are such that I have no cause to fear any one; but at length all these efforts are burdensome to my people. Of the three powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, I must have one for an ally. In any case one cannot rely on Prussia: there remains only Austria. The navy of France formerly flourished through the benefit resulting from an alliance with Austria. This power also feels the need of remaining quiet, a sentiment that I partake with all my heart. The house of Austria having often caused hints to be thrown out to me, the present moment, if it knows how to profit by it, is the most favorable."

Austria remained immovable, the uneasy spectator of the events that were preparing. The Russians had not quitted their positions on the Vistula; already the Prussians had invaded Saxony, compelling that little power to furnish them with an army of 20,000 men. The old Duke of Brunswick collected at the same time the contingent of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel, who had sought in vain to maintain his neutrality. The French army occupied Franconia; it was across these mountainous defiles that Napoleon had resolved to march against the enemy divided into two corps, under the orders of the Duke of Brunswick and the Prince of Hohenlohe. Already Marshals Davout and Bernadotte were established upon the left bank of the Saale. The troops of the Prince of Hohenlohe occupied the road from Weimar to Jena. Marshal Lannes had taken possession of the heights which commanded this last town. On the morning of the 14th October, the combat was opened against the corps of the Prince of Hohenlohe; superior in number to the troops employed by the Emperor Napoleon, but surprised by an attack of which they had not foreseen the vigor, the Prussian soldiers were soon thrown into a panic terror. The two wings of the French army, commanded by Soult and Augereau, already enveloped the enemy when Napo-

leon sent forward the guard and the reserves. The centre of the Prussian army fell back before this enormous mass; the retreat changed into a rout. At the same moment Marshal Biechel arrived by forced marches to the aid of the Prince of Hohenlohe; he brought 20,000 men, but in vain did he struggle to rally and curb the fugitives; he was drawn along and repulsed by the conquered as well as by the conquerors. French and Germans entered at the same time into Weimar; already the crowd of prisoners hindered the march of the victorious army.

At the same hour on the same day, with forces less considerable, Marshal Davout struggled alone, near Auerstadt, against the enemy's corps, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick and by King Frederick William. Marshal Bernadotte had quitted him, obeying literally the orders of the Emperor, who had enjoined him to occupy Hamburg, little careful, perhaps, of the danger to which he exposed his companion-in-arms. Davout cut the road of the Prussians in the defile of Koesen. The Duke of Brunswick, marching himself at the head of his troops, rushed upon him, violently attacking our immovable squares under a murderous fire. The old general fell, mortally wounded; the effort of Prince William and the king remained equally fruitless. Profiting by the trouble caused by his resistance, Davout threw his troops forward, and seized the heights of Eckartsberg; there, protected by his artillery, he could still defend his positions. The King of Prussia gave orders to retire on Weimar; he counted on joining the corps of the Prince of Hohenlohe, in order to renew the attack with all his forces. He had already travelled over half the distance without being harassed by Marshal Davout, whose troops were exhausted; but Bernadotte barred his passage; the confused waves of fugitives from Jena precipitated themselves into the ranks of their friends and compatriots. Behind them appeared the French soldiers, ardent in pursuit. The king turned off hastily, by way of Sommerda; the darkness was increasing, and the disorder increased with the darkness. In a single day the entire Prussian army was destroyed. "They can do nothing but gather up the *débris*," said Napoleon.

He took care to crush everywhere these sad remains of a generous and patriotic effort. Whilst his lieutenants were pursuing the wandering detachments of the Prussian army, the emperor imposed upon the nation he had just conquered a

contribution of a hundred and fifty-nine millions. He sent the elector of Hesse to Metz, announcing in a letter to Marshal Mortier his intention that the house of Hesse should cease to reign, and would be effaced from the number of the powers. The Saxon prisoners, on the contrary, were sent back free to their sovereign. Everywhere the English merchandise found in the ports and warehouses was confiscated for the profit of the army. The Prussian commerce was ruined like the state.

Napoleon advanced upon Berlin; the King of Prussia sought to reach Magdeburg, constantly accompanied by the queen, whose warlike and patriotic ardor excited the rage and the insults of the emperor. "The Queen of Prussia has been many times in view of our posts," says the 8th bulletin of the grand army; "she is in continual fear and alarms. Last night she passed her regiment in review; she continually excited the king and the generals; she craves for blood. Blood the most precious has flowed; the most distinguished generals are those upon whom the first blows have fallen." Gross insinuations aggravated these rude allusions. "All the Prussians assign the misfortunes of Prussia to the journey of the Emperor Alexander. The change which has since then taken place in the spirit of the queen, who, from being a timid and modest woman, occupied with her home affairs, has become turbulent and warlike, is quite a sudden revolution. She desired all at once to have a regiment, to go to the Council, and she has led the monarchy so well that in a few days she has conducted it to the edge of a precipice."

A few battles finally opened everywhere the roads to the conqueror; Magdeburg was besieged, Erfurt had surrendered, Marshal Davout occupied Wittemberg, and Lannes occupied Dessau; Bernadotte had thrown himself against Halle, still defended by Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg. The resistance was severe; when the emperor came to visit the battle-field, he recognized among the corpses still scattered upon the ground the uniforms of the 32nd half-brigade. "Still the 32nd!" cried he. "I have had so many of them killed in Egypt, in Italy, everywhere, that there ought to be no more of them." It was with the same accent of indifferent and cold reflection that he was to say much later, in contemplating his sleeping son, "How long it takes to make a man! I have, however, seen fourteen of them cut off by a cannon-shot!"

Napoleon was at Potsdam, in the palace of the great Frederick; the military genius of this prince had for a long time ex-

cited his admiration. "At Potsdam has been found the sword of the great Frederick, the sash of a general, which he carried in the Seven Years' War, and his cordon of the Black Eagle," says the 19th bulletin.

The emperor siezed upon these trophies with eagerness, and said, "I prefer these to twenty millions." Then, thinking a moment to whom he should confide this precious trust, "I will send it," said he, "to my old soldiers of the Hanoverian War; I will make a present of it to the governor of the Invalides; it shall remain at the Hotel."

On the 27th, for the first time in his life, Napoleon entered in triumph into an enemy's capital. For two days Berlin had been occupied by Marshal Davout. A gloomy sadness rested on all faces, but order was everywhere respected. The Prussian nation had valiantly defended itself, and there was no shame mingled with its sorrow. The dying Duke of Brunswick recommended his subjects to the emperor. The latter, in a passion, recalled bitterly to the old general the wild manifesto published in his name at the commencement of the French Revolution. "If I had the city of Brunswick demolished, and if I did not leave of it one stone on another, what would your prince say? Does not the law of retaliation permit me to do to Brunswick what he wanted to do to my capital? It is the Duke of Brunswick whom France and Prussia can accuse of being the sole cause of this war. Tell the general that he will be treated with all the respect due to a Prussian officer, but that in a Prussian general I cannot recognize a sovereign."

The same harshness characterized the reception by the emperor of the great Prussian nobles. "Do not come into my presence," said he to the Prince of Hatzfeld, who brought before him the civil magistrates of Berlin. "I have no need of your services; retire to your own estates." A letter from the prince to the King of Prussia, giving an account of the entry of the emperor, was intercepted. Napoleon saw treason in this communication, and a decree was immediately sent to Marshal Davout. "The Prince of Hatzfeld, who presented himself at the head of the deputation from Berlin, as entrusted with the civil government of this capital, and who, notwithstanding this office, and the duties which are attached to it, has made use of the knowledge which his position afforded him as to the situation of the French army, to convey intelligence respecting it to the enemy, will be tried before a military commission, in order to be judged as a traitor and a spy.

"Marshal Davout is charged with the execution of this order.

"The military commission will be composed of seven colonels of the corps of Marshal Davout, by whom he will be tried."

In vain all the most faithful servants of the emperor wasted their entreaties in order to obtain mercy for the Prince of Hatzfeld; only the wife of the accused, far advanced in pregnancy, and overwhelmed with terror, succeeded in arresting the anger of the conqueror. "This is most certainly the writing of your husband," said he to the poor woman, who could scarcely support herself. And as she dared not deny it: "Throw this letter into the fire," added Napoleon, "and I shall no longer have any power to procure his death." It was Marshal Duroc who had taken upon himself the introduction of the Princess of Hatzfeld to the palace.

The prince of Hohenlohe, hard pushed by Murat and Marshal Lannes, had capitulated before Prenzlau, on the 28th of October; General Blücher, who had seized by force the free city of Lubeck, in the hope of finding there a place of support, was constrained, on November 7th, to follow his example. On the 8th, Magdeburg surrendered to Marshal Ney. Lannes occupied Stettin, and Davout occupied Custrin. "Sire," wrote Lannes to Napoleon, "I read your proclamation to the soldiers; they all began to cry 'Long live the Emperor of the West!' I beseech your Majesty to let me know if, for the future, you wish me to address my despatches to the Emperor of the West, and I ask it in the name of my *corps d'armée*."

Napoleon did not reply; this dream of supreme glory, which he had had an idea of realizing in the footsteps of Charlemagne, doubtless appeared to him still beyond his reach. More than one sign, however, betrayed the undying hope, that he was never to realize. It is only by reason and the general good that genius is effectively sustained in extraordinary enterprises. From day to day, and from victory to victory, these great supports of the human mind became less and less visible in the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon.

Hanover and the Hanseatic towns were occupied by the French army; Prussia asked for a suspension of hostilities, in order to treat for peace. But the emperor had conceived a new project. In the ceaseless activity of his thoughts he reasonably enough looked on England as the implacable and invincible enemy who directed and excited against him the animosity of Europe. It was against England that he henceforth

directed his efforts. "I am about to reconquer the colonies over the globe," he wrote to the King of Holland. It was in the same spirit that he made his declaration to the Senate: "We have unalterably determined not to evacuate Berlin or Warsaw, or the provinces which have fallen into our hands by force of arms, until a general peace be concluded, the Spanish, Dutch, and French colonies restored, the foundations of the Ottoman power confirmed, and the absolute independence of this vast empire, the first interest of our people, irrevocably secured."

These brilliant pledges of victory, which Napoleon kept in his hand as hostages for the purpose of enforcing submission on England, did not, however, appear to him sufficient; he resolved to strike at the wealth of his enemy a mortal blow, which should exhaust its resources at the fountain-head. On the 21st of November, 1806, he sent from Berlin to Talleyrand a decree, putting England in the *Index Expurgatorius* of Europe—at least, of that part of Europe which was in submission to his rule. The continental blockade was established and regulated in the following terms:—

"The British Isles are declared in a state of blockade.

"All commerce, and all correspondence, with the British Isles are forbidden. Consequently, letters or packets addressed to England, or to an Englishman, or written in the English language, will not pass through the post, and will be seized.

"Every individual English subject, whatever may be his state or condition, who shall be found in the countries occupied by our troops, or in the countries of our allies, shall be made prisoner of war.

"Every warehouse, all merchandise, all property of whatsoever nature it may be, belonging to an English subject, shall be deemed lawful prizes.

"Commerce in English merchandise is forbidden; any ships coming directly from England or from the English colonies, or having been there since the publication of the present decree, shall not be admitted into any port."

The Emperor Napoleon was right in recognizing, in his declaration to the Senate, that it was lamentable, after so many years of civilization, to recur to the principles, the barbarism, of the first ages of nations; and the pretexts which he adduced for this necessity were as insufficient as the consequences that flowed from his policy were odious. More than once the English had replied by violent and rude proceedings to the proceed-

ings of the same nature in which Napoleon had for a long time been indulging on all seas. They had claimed to interdict the commerce of neutrals by imprudent and unjust "Orders in Council;" a still more inexcusable iniquity fettered at one stroke the commerce of Europe in all its branches, carrying annoyance into all families, and arbitrarily modifying the conditions of all existence. From henceforth, in the poorest household, no one could forget for a single day the power and the vengeance of the Emperor Napoleon, as well as the death grapple between him and England. It is a terrible undertaking for the most powerful of men to change on all sides the habits of life, and lay his hands upon the daily interests, of every one. The continental blockade was in Napoleon's hands a redoubtable weapon against his enemy; the firmness of England and the general distress, were yet cruelly to turn that weapon against his own bosom.

He was not yet satisfied, and Napoleon resolved on making an end of all his adversaries. Russia alone, silent and immovable, remained the ally of England, and its last support. Its armies occupied Poland, always quivering under the hands of its oppressors, ready to rise up against them at the first appeal. It was upon the Vistula that the emperor had resolved to go and seek the Russians, intoxicating the Poles beforehand with the hope of the reconstitution of their country, and assured of finding amongst them inexhaustible stores of provisions, ammunition, and soldiers. "A Pole is not a man," he was accustomed to say, "he is a sabre." He counted on all these sabres being ready to leap from their scabbards at his voice, for the service of Poland. To the disquietudes of the court of Vienna on the subject of the insurrections which might be produced in Galicia, Napoleon answered in advance by the promise of Silesia. "The insurrection in Poland is a consequence of my war with Russia and Prussia," wrote he to General Andréossy, recently sent to Vienna. "I have never recognized the partition of Poland; but, a faithful observer of treaties, in favoring an insurrection in Russian and Prussian Poland, I will not mix myself up with Austrian Poland. Does Austria wish to keep Galicia? Would she cede a part of it? I am willing to give her all the facilities she can desire. Does she wish to treat openly or secretly? After these manifestations I ought to say that I fear no one."

At the same time that he entered Poland, Napoleon excited the hostile sentiment of the Porte against Russia. General Se-

bastiani was charged to say to Sultan Selim: "Prussia, who was leagued with Russia, has disappeared; I have destroyed its armies, and I am master of its fortified towns. My armies are on the Vistula, and Warsaw is in my power. Prussian and Russian Poland are rising, and forming armies to reconquer their independence; it is the moment for reconquering yours. I have given orders to my ambassador to enter into all necessary engagements with you. If you have been prudent up to this time, a longer forbearance towards Russia would be weakness, and cause the loss of your empire."

The King of Prussia had refused to accept the harsh conditions of the armistice; he had resolved to struggle to the end, and to join the remains of his forces to the army of the Emperor Alexander. "Your Majesty has had me informed that you are throwing yourself into the arms of the Russians," wrote Napoleon to King Frederick William. "The future will make it apparent whether you have chosen the best and most effective part. You have taken the dice-box and thrown the dice, and the dice will decide the question." Already the French armies had entered Poland, but they were not there alone; two Russian corps, under the orders of General Benningsen and General Buxhouden, had crossed the Niemen, and advanced towards the Vistula, and soon afterwards they entered Warsaw. Marshals Davout and Lannes sent reports, apparently contradictory, but in reality identical, as to popular feeling in Poland. Davout had found at Posen an extreme enthusiasm; he could scarcely furnish with arms those who pressed forward to ask for them; the same sentiment animated the population of Warsaw, when he made his entry in pursuit of the Russians, who fell back before him. Meanwhile he wrote to the emperor, on December 1st: "Levies of men are very easily made, but there is a want of persons who can direct their instruction and organization. There is also a want of guns. The feeling of Warsaw is excellent, but the upper class are making use of their influence to calm the ardor which is prevalent in the middle classes. The uncertainty of the future terrifies them, and they leave it to be sufficiently understood that they will only openly declare themselves when, with the declaration of their independence, they can also receive tacit guarantees for its maintenance." Lannes regretted the campaign in Poland; he recommended that they should establish themselves on the Oder, and pointed out the inconveniences and dangers of the enterprise they were about to attempt in a sterile and desert

country. "They are always the same—frivolous, divided, an-archival; we shall uselessly waste our blood for their sakes, without founding anything durable."

Murat dreamed of seating himself on the throne of a restored Poland, and he was angry at the mistrust of the great nobles. Napoleon read in his correspondence a thought that the brilliant chief of the vanguard dared not express: he had said to Davout, at the beginning of the campaign, "When I shall see 40,000 Poles in the field I will declare their independence, not before." In their turn the Poles, long crushed down by harsh servitude, asked for guarantees from the conqueror, who had only delivered them in order to subjugate them afresh. "Those who show so much circumspection, and ask so many guarantees, are selfish persons, who are not warmed by the love of country," wrote the emperor to Murat, already Grand Duke of Berg for several months past. "I am experienced in the study of men. My greatness is not founded on the aid of a few thousand Poles. It is for them to profit, with enthusiasm, by present circumstances; it is not for me to take the first step. Let them display a firm resolution to render themselves independent—let them engage to uphold the king who will be given to them, and then I shall see what I shall next have to do. Let it be well understood that I do not come to beg a throne for any of my relations; I have no lack of thrones to give to my family."

In that conversation with the world which he kept up by bulletins from the grand army, Napoleon spoke of the Poles in other language; but he no longer laid bare the secret of his thoughts. "The army has entered into Warsaw," wrote he from Posen on December 1st. "It is difficult to paint the enthusiasm of the Poles. Our entry into this great city was a triumph, and the feelings that the Poles of all classes display since our arrival cannot be expressed. The love of country and the national sentiment is not only preserved in its entirety in the hearts of the people, but it has even gained new vigor from misfortune. Their first passion, their chief desire, is to become once more a nation. The richest leave their castles in order to come and demand, with loud cries, the re-establishment of the nation, and to offer their children, their fortunes, their influence. This spectacle is truly touching. Already they have everywhere resumed their ancient costume and their ancient customs."

"Shall the throne of Poland be re-established, and shall this

great nation reassert its existence and its independence? From the depths of the tomb shall it be born again to life? God alone, who holds in His hands the results of all events, is the arbiter of this grand political problem."

Under the hand of God, which in the depths of his soul he often recognized, the Emperor Napoleon believed himself to be the arbiter of the grand problem of the independence of Poland. He remained personally indifferent to it, resolved on pursuing his own interest, either in aid of, or in contempt of, the interests and aspirations of the Poles.

In spite of the generous cordiality of the population, who lavished their resources upon those from whom they hoped for deliverance, Napoleon and his troops perceived that they had entered a desert. "Our soldiers find that the solitudes of Poland contrast with the smiling fields of their own country; but they add immediately, 'They are a fine people, these Poles!'" Before establishing himself for the winter in this savage country, under a frozen sky, and on a cold and damp soil, it was necessary to push back the enemy. Napoleon only went to Warsaw, and advanced towards the Russians entrenched behind the Narew and the Ukra. Already his lieutenants, Davout, Augereau, Ney, had taken up positions for attack. Furious battles at Czarnovo, at Pultusk, at Golymin, at Soldau, obliged the Russians to fall back upon the Pregel, without disaster to their *corps d'armée*, although they had been constantly beaten. The rigor of the season had prevented those grand concentrations of forces and those brilliant strokes in which Napoleon ordinarily delighted; the troops advanced with difficulty through impenetrable forests, soaked by the rain: the men fell in great numbers without a battle. In the month of January, 1807, the emperor at last took up his winter-quarters, carefully fortifying his positions, and laying siege to the towns which still resisted him in Silesia. Breslau, Glogau, Brieg successively succumbed. The old Marshal Lefebvre was charged with the siege of Dantzic.

Meanwhile the Russians, henceforth concentrated under the orders of General Benningsen, and less affected than the French by the inclemencies to which they were accustomed, had not suspended their military operations. Soon Marshal Ney, in one of those armed reconnoitering expeditions which he often risked without orders, was able to assure himself that the enemy was approaching us by a prolonged movement, which was to bring him to the shore of the Baltic. Already

a few battles had taken place. The weather became cold; ice succeeded to the mud. Napoleon quitted Warsaw on January 30th, resolved to march against the enemy. "Since when have the conquered had the right of choosing the finest country for their winter-quarters?" said the proclamation to the army. Twice a great battle appeared imminent; twice a movement of the Russians in retreat enabled them to escape from the overwhelming forces which Napoleon had been able to collect; a few skirmishes, however, signalized the first days of February. On the seventh day's march General Benning-sen entered Eylau.

The French entered in pursuit, and dislodged them. The Russians made their bivouac outside the city whilst the battle was preparing for the morrow. The weather was cold; one half of the country upon which the armies were camped was only a sheet of ice covering some small lakes. The snow lay thick upon the ground, and continued to fall in great flakes. The two armies were composed of nearly equal forces; several French corps, detached or delayed, were about to fail in the great effort which this rough winter campaign required. The troops were fatigued and hungry. "I have wherewith to nourish the army for a year," wrote Napoleon to Fouché, annoyed at the reports current in France as to the sufferings of the soldiers, "it is absurd to think one can want corn and wine, bread and meat, in Poland." The provisions remained, nevertheless, insufficient. "I can assure you," said the Duc de Fezensac in his military souvenirs, "that with all these orders so freely given in January, our *corps d'armée* was dying of hunger in March."

Long before the dawn of a slowly breaking and cloudy day Napoleon was already in the streets, establishing his guard in the cemetery of Eylau, and ordering his line of battle. The formidable artillery of the Russians covered their two lines; presently the shells fired the town of Eylau and the village of Rothenen, which protected a division of Marshal Soult's. The two armies remained immovable in a rain of cannon-balls. The Russians were the first to move forward, in order to attack the mill of Eylau; "they were impatient at suffering so much," says the 58th bulletin of the grand army. Nearly at the same moment the corps of Marshal Davout arrived; the emperor had him supported by Marshal Augereau. The snow fell in thick masses, obscuring the view of the soldiers; the troops of Augereau turned swiftly to the left, decimated by the

Russian artillery. The marshal himself, already ill before the battle, was struck by a ball. The officers were nearly all wounded. The emperor called Murat: "Wilt thou let us be annihilated by these people?" The cavalry shot immediately in advance; only the imperial guard remained massed round Napoleon.

In a moment Murat had routed the Russian centre, but already the battalions were reforming. Marshal Soult defended with difficulty the positions of Eylau; Davout maintained a furious struggle against the left wing of the Russians: the Prussians, preceding by one hour Marshal Ney, who had been pursuing them for several days, made their appearance on the battle-field. The dead and dying formed round the emperor a ghastly rampart; gloomy and calm he contemplated the attack of the Prussians and Russians united, in great numbers, and pressing upon Marshal Davout. The latter glanced along the ranks of his troops: "The cowards will go to die in Siberia," said he, "the brave will die here like men of honor." The effort of the enemy died out against the heroic resistance of the French divisions, who maintained their positions.

The night was falling; the carnage was horrible. In spite of the serious advantage of the French troops, General Benningsen was preparing to attempt a new assault, when he learnt the approach of Marshal Ney, who was debouching towards Althof. The bad weather and the distance retarded the effect of the combinations of the emperor. He had caused much blood to be spilt; victory, however, remained with him; the Russians and Prussians were decidedly beating a retreat. The French remained masters of this most sanguinary battle-field, destitute of provisions, without shelter, in the wet and cold. Marshal Ney, who had taken no part in the action, to which, however, he assured success, surveyed the plain, covered with corpses and inundated with blood. "He turned away from the hideous spectacle," says M. de Fezensac, "crying, 'What a massacre, and without result!'" The Russians had retired behind the Pregel to cover Königsberg. Napoleon re-entered his cantonments. He established his headquarters at the little town of Osterode, directing from this advanced post the works of defence on the Vistula and Passarge, at the same time as the preparations for the siege of Dantzic. On arriving there he wrote to King Joseph: "Staff-officers, colonels, officers, have not undressed for two months, and a few of them not for four; I have myself been fifteen days

without taking off my boots. We are in the midst of snow and mud, without wine, without brandy, without bread, eating potatoes and meat, making long marches and counter-marches, without anything to sweeten existence, and fighting at bayonet-point and under showers of grape-shot, the wounded very often obliged to be removed on a sledge for fifty leagues in the open air. After having destroyed the Prussian monarchy, we are making war against the remnants of Prussia, against the Russians, the Calmucs, the Cossacks, and the peoples of the north who formerly invaded the Roman Empire; we are making war in all its energy and all its horror." Such vigorous language was not permitted to all. "The gloomy pictures that have been drawn of our situation," wrote Napoleon to Fouché on April 13th, "have for authors a few gossips of Paris, who are simply blockheads. Never has the position of France been grander or finer. As to Eylau, I have said and resaid that the bulletin exaggerated the loss; and, for a great battle, what are 2000 men slain? There were none of the battles of Louis XIV. or Louis XV. which did not cost more. When I lead back my army to France and across the Rhine, it will be seen that there are not many wanting at the roll-call."

It was against Russia and against the vigor of its resistance that Napoleon now concentrated all his efforts. Tardy hostilities had at length commenced between the Porte and Russia. For a moment the Sultan had appeared to hesitate before the demands of the English, united to those of the Russians: Admiral Duckworth forced the Dardanelles at the head of a squadron, and destroyed the Turkish division anchored at Cape Nagara. In spite of the terror which reigned in Constantinople, the energetic influence of General Sebastiani carried the day. The overtures of the English Legation were repulsed; the capital was armed all of a sudden, under the direction of French officers. When Admiral Duckworth appeared before the place, he found it in good condition of defence; thus the English squadron could not leave the Straits of the Dardanelles without sustaining serious damage. For the British navy the evil was small; the moral effect could not but have some influence.

The Emperor Napoleon sought to profit by this circumstance to enter afresh into negotiations with Austria. On the day after the battle of Eylau he sent General Bertrand to the King of Prussia, offering to surrender him his States as far as the

Elbe. The messenger was charged with the significant insinuation: "You will give just a hint that as to Poland, since the emperor has become acquainted with it, he attaches to it no value." The sacrifice of a fourth of the Prussian monarchy seemed too bitter for King Frederick William; he replied to the envoy with evasive answers. Napoleon became disdainful as regards the Prussians. It was with Austria that he determined henceforth to treat concerning the affairs of Prussia. "See now my plan, and what you must say to M. de Vincent," wrote he on March 9, 1807, to Talleyrand: "To restore to the King of Prussia his throne and his estates, and to maintain the integrity of the Porte. As to Poland, that will be found included in the first part of the sentence. If these bases of peace suit Austria, we shall be able to understand each other. As for the remark of M. de Vincent, that Prussia is too thoroughly humiliated to hope for recovery, that is reasonable. The end of all this will be an arrangement between France and Austria, or between France and Russia; for there will be no repose for the people, who need it so much, except by this union."

Austria responded to these propositions of alliance by offer of mediation; at the same time, and without ostentation, as a precautionary measure, she was getting ready for war, and was secretly preparing her armaments. The small places in the north of Prussia had fallen, one after another; Dantzic alone was still waiting for the army which was to besiege it. The Prussians had profited by this delay to put the place into a good state of defence. On all sides Napoleon collected fresh forces, as if resolved upon terrifying his secret enemies and crushing his declared ones. The conscription for 1808 was enforced in France by an anticipation of nearly two years; the Italian regiments and the auxiliary German corps were concentrated on the Vistula; the emperor even went so far as to demand from Spain the contingent which the Prince de la Paix had offered him on the day after the battle of Jena. Formerly the Spanish minister had nursed other ideas, and had counted on serving the Prussians; he, however, hastened to despatch 10,000 men to the all-powerful conqueror. An army of reserve had just been created on the Elbe; by the middle of March the town of Dantzic was completely invested.

I do not care to recount the incidents of a siege which lasted more than two months, and which was conducted in a masterly manner by Chasseloup and Lariboisière. Marshal Le-

febvre grew weary of the long and able preparations of his colleagues, and wished to begin the actual assault. Authorization for this step was asked of the emperor. "You only know how to grumble, to abuse your allies, and change your opinion at the will of the first comer," wrote Napoleon to the old warrior. "You treat the allies without any consideration; they are not accustomed to be under fire, but that will come. Do you think that we were as brave in '92 as we are to-day, after fifteen years of warfare? The chests of your grenadiers that you wish to push everywhere will not overturn walls; you must let your engineers work, and whilst waiting learn to have patience. The loss of a few days, which I should not just now know how to employ, does not require you to get several thousand men killed whose lives it is possible to economize. You will have the glory of taking Dantzic; when that is accomplished, you will be satisfied with me."

Meanwhile, the Russians and Prussians had resolved upon an attempt to raise the siege of Dantzic: a considerable body came to attack the French camp before the fort of Weichelsmunde. They were repulsed, after a furious combat, by the aid of the reinforcements which had arrived to succor Marshal Lefebvre; and the attempts of the English corvettes to re-victual the town were equally unsuccessful. A previous attack of the Swedes upon Stralsund had brought about no definite result, and their general, Essen, had been constrained to conclude an armistice. Dantzic capitulated at last, on the 26th of May, without having undergone the assault which the French soldiers loudly demanded. As early as the 22nd, Napoleon had written to Marshal Lefebvre: "I authorize Marshal Kalbreuth to go out under the ordinary regulations, wishing to give this general an especial proof of esteem; however, the capitulation of Mayence cannot be taken as a basis, as the siege was less advanced than that of Dantzic now is. I allowed, at the time, an honorable capitulation for General Wurmser, shut up in Mantua; I wish to accord one more advantageous to General Kalbreuth, taking a middle position between that of Mayence and that of Mantua."

All the French *corps d'armée* occupied entrenched camps, prudently defended against the attacks of enemies; they were suffering from the rigors of the winter, and the large stores of wine found in Dantzic were an important resource for the soldiers. The attempts at mediation by Austria had failed; the campaign of 1809 was being prepared; everywhere the

grass was springing up in the fields, affording necessary sustenance for the horses; the wild swans were reappearing in flocks upon the shores of the Passarge. The Emperor Napoleon had fixed upon the 10th of June for the resumption of hostilities.

The Russians forestalled it: Alexander had sent his guard to General Benningsen. "Brothers, uphold honor!" said the young emperor to his soldiers as they began the march. "We will do everything that is possible," cried the troops: "adieu, master!" Already Benningsen was advancing against the corps of Ney, who occupied the advanced posts, but the clever and prudent arrangements of Napoleon had prepared the retreat of his lieutenants; without disorder and without weakness, always victoriously fighting, Marshal Ney fell back upon Deppen; two other attacks upon the bridges of Lanutzen and Spanden were likewise repulsed. The concentration of the French *corps d'armée* began to be effected near Saafeldt, when General Benningsen changed all of a sudden his plan of campaign: passing from the offensive to the defensive, he decided to repossess the Alle, in order to protect the entrenched camp of Heilsberg, and by the same movement the town of Königsberg, the last refuge of the resources of Prussia. The retreat of the Russians commenced on the evening of the 7th of June.

Napoleon followed them with almost the whole of his army; the detachments of the vanguard and rearguard had more than once been engaged in partial combats when, on the evening of the 10th of June, the French army debouched before the entrenched camp of Heilsberg strongly supported by the banks of the Alle. Napoleon followed the left bank, seeking to forestall the enemy at the confluence of the Alle and the Progel, in the hope of seizing Königsberg before the place could be succored. Murat and Davout were already threatening the city.

It was the supreme feature in the genius of Napoleon, that an indomitable perseverance in wisely calculated projects did not exclude the thunderbolts of a marvellous promptitude in resolution and combinations. Uncertainty and want of foresight reigned, on the contrary, in the military councils of the Russians. General Benningsen, formerly in the attitude of attack, now compelled to engage in a defensive march, and projecting the defence of Königsberg, thought it all of a sudden necessary to protect himself against an attack in flank. He

crossed the Alle under the eyes of the French, and meeting them on the left bank of the river, he advanced towards the corps of Marshal Lannes, whom the emperor had sent against Domnau; a strong Russian detachment drove from Friedland the regiment of French hussars, who had established themselves there. The whole Russian army attacked Marshal Lannes, who had just collected a few reinforcements. It was to judge badly of the able prudence of the Emperor Napoleon, to hope to encounter a single corps of his grand army: Lannes held out till mid-day upon the field of battle with heroic skill; he sent meanwhile express after express to the emperor, who arrived at a gallop, his face radiant with the anticipation of the joys of victory. "It is the 14th of June," said he, "the anniversary of Marengo; it is a lucky day for us."

Napoleon and his staff had preceded the march of the troops; Lannes and his soldiers recovered their forces in the presence of the invincible chief who had so many times led them to victory. "Give me only a reinforcement, sire," cried Oudinot, whose coat was pierced with bullets, "and although my grenadiers can do no more, we will cast all the Russians into the water."

This was the aim of the emperor as well as of his soldiers; and the positions which General Benningsen had taken, centred in a bend of the river, rendered the enterprise practicable. The day was advanced, and a few of the generals had been wishing to put off the battle till the morrow. "No!" said Napoleon; "one does not surprise the enemy twice in such a blunder." Then sweeping with his telescope the masses of the enemy grouped before him, he quickly seized the arm of Marshal Ney. "You see the Russians and Friedland," said he; "the bridges are there—there only. March right on before you; enter into Friedland; take the bridges, whatever it may cost, and do not disquiet yourself about what shall take place on your right, or your left, or in your rear. That concerns us—the army and me."

When Marshal Ney had set out, marching to danger as to a festival, the emperor turned towards Marshal Mortier and said, "That man is a lion."

Upon the field of battle, where he had just arrived in face of the enemy, who appeared hesitating and troubled, Napoleon dictated his orders, which he caused to be delivered to all his lieutenants. The troops continued to arrive; all the corps formed again at the posts which had been assigned to them.

The emperor checked the impatience of his generals. "The action," he told them, "will commence when the battery posted in the village of Posthenen shall commence to fire." It was half-past five when the cannon at last sounded.

Ney advanced towards Friedland under a terrible fire from the Russians; extricated by the cavalry of Latour-Marbourg, and protected by the artillery of General Victor, suddenly thrown in advance, the French columns had reached a stream defended by the imperial Russian guard. The resistance of these picked troops for a moment threw disorder into our lines, who fell back; when General Dupont, arriving with his division, broke the Russian guard. The French in pursuit of their enemies penetrated into Friedland. The city was in flames; the fugitives fled towards the bridges; a very small number had succeeded in reaching them when this only means of safety was snatched from them; the bridges were cut and set on fire when Marshal Ney took possession of the burning remains of Friedland. At the same moment the corps of General Gortschakoff, pressed by Marshals Lannes and Mortier, fighting valiantly in a position without egress, sought in vain to reconquer the city, and afterwards descended the length of the river in the hope of finding fordable passages. Many soldiers were drowned, others succeeded in regaining the right shore. Almost the entire column of General Lambert succeeded in escaping. Night at length followed the long twilight; it was ten o'clock in the evening when the combat ceased. The victory was complete; the remains of the Russian army retired upon the Pregel without Napoleon being able again to encounter them. They soon afterwards gained the Niemen. Meanwhile Marshal Soult had occupied Königsberg, evacuated by Generals Lestocq and Kaminsky. The King of Prussia possessed nothing more than the little town of Memel.

The Emperor Alexander had rejoined his troops, vanquished and decimated in spite of their courage; the King Frederick William placed himself close to his ally, at Tilsit. Peace had become necessary for the Russians; for the Prussians it had long been so. Napoleon resolved on negotiating for himself. In response to the request for an armistice, he proposed an interview, with the Emperor Alexander. It was in the middle of the Niemen, upon a raft constructed for this purpose, that the two emperors met.

Alexander was young, amiable, winning, drawn along at

times by chivalrous or mystical sentiments and enthusiasms, at other times under the dominion of Oriental tastes and passions. No one could be more capable of being influenced by the charm of a superior genius and an extraordinary destiny, and the personal ascendancy of a man who knew at once how to please and how to vex.

Napoleon wished to captivate his vanquished enemy, whom he desired to make his ally; he succeeded in doing so with ease. Master of the destinies of the world—in his own idea more so than he even was in reality—he had resolved upon offering to Alexander compensations which might satisfy him, whilst distracting his attention from the conquests and encroachments which Napoleon reserved for himself. On the eve of Austerlitz, Napoleon had said to Prince Dolgorouki: “Ah well! let Russia extend herself at the expense of her neighbors!” It was the same thought that he was about to present to the young monarch, humiliated and conquered, wishing to display it before his eyes in order to blind him more completely.

The Russians and Prussians were equally irritated against England. She had granted them money, but her military efforts had not corresponded with her promises; and it was to her obstinate hatred of France that the two monarchs attributed the origin of their defeats. “If you have a grudge against England,” said Alexander, “we shall easily understand each other, for I have myself to complain of her as much as you have.” It was in this first interview the sole effort of Napoleon to develop in the mind of Alexander the sentiments of anger and weariness by which he had been inspired by the selfishness which he imputed to Great Britain and the inability and weakness which he recognized in Prussia, and to engage the Russian emperor to become friendly with the only power which could offer him a glorious and profitable alliance. In the mind of the emperor, we have already said, the necessity for a continental alliance had long since made itself felt. “Austria or Russia,” he had said to Talleyrand. Napoleon offered his hand to the Emperor Alexander.

The city of Tilsit was neutralized, and the two emperors established their quarters there. Before quitting the opposite shore of the Niemen, Alexander presented the King of Prussia to Napoleon in that floating pavilion on the river which flowed between the two nations. Honest, moderate, and dignified

even in his profound abasement, Frederick William neither experienced nor exercised in any degree the seductiveness to which the Emperor Alexander succumbed, and which he was in his turn capable of displaying. He entreated his ally to make constant and persevering efforts in his behalf, which Alexander felt himself compelled to do not without a secret ill feeling. It was with an ostentatious display of graciousness and condescension that Napoleon ceaselessly reminded the young Czar that he accorded no favor to the King of Prussia except out of regard for his entreaties.

"In the midst of the war in which Russia and France have been engaged," wrote Napoleon, on the 4th of July, 1807, "both sovereigns, enlightened as to the situation and the true policy of their empires, have desired the re-establishment not only of peace, but of a common accord, and by the force of reason and truth have wished to form an alliance, and to pass in a single instant from open war to the most intimate relations. The boundless amity and confidence which the high qualities of the Emperor Alexander have inspired in the Emperor Napoleon have caused his heart to seal that which his reason had already approved and ratified. The protection of the emperor will result in the King of Prussia being allowed to re-enter into the possession of all the countries which border on the two Haffs, extending from the sources of the Oder to the sea. Solely with a desire of pleasing the Emperor Alexander, a large number of fortified towns will be restored to the King of Prussia. The policy of the Emperor Napoleon is that his immediate influence should be bounded by the Elbe; and he has adopted this policy because it is the only one which can be reconciled with the system of sincere and constant amity which he wishes to maintain with the great empire of the north."

Under the veil of this apparent moderation the pretensions or resolutions of the Emperor Napoleon were thus summed up: King Frederick William recovered Old Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Upper and Lower Silesia; he would abandon all the provinces to the left of the Elbe, which were to constitute, with the Grand Duchy of Hesse, a kingdom of Westphalia, destined for Joseph Bonaparte. The Duchies of Posen and Warsaw, snatched from Russian Poland, were to form a Polish State under the title of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, of which the Elector of Saxony, recently elevated to the royal dignity, received the gift, on condition of maintaining a military road

across Silesia. All the States founded by Napoleon were to be recognized. Russia was charged with the mediation between France and England; France became arbitrator between Russia and the Porte.

It was much, and indeed too much, for Prussia, torn asunder without being completely destroyed, reduced to the half of its territory, and deprived of its most important towns—for Dantzic became a free city, and Magdeburg formed part of the new kingdom of Westphalia. When these hard conditions were revealed to Frederick William by the Emperor Alexander, the unfortunate king protested against a ruin so complete. He conceived, for a moment, the vain hope of obtaining from Napoleon some concessions, by bringing to bear on him the influence of the genius and beauty of Queen Louisa. This princess quitted Memel to present herself at Tilsit. "She is charming," wrote Napoleon to the Empress Josephine; but this cold appreciation of the accomplishments of the woman exercised no influence upon the resolutions of the conqueror and the politician. The queen in vain brought into play all the resources of her intellect and her charming graces; in vain presenting to the conqueror a rose which she had just plucked, she ventured to ask for Magdeburg in exchange for her flower. "It is you who have offered it to me, madame," said Napoleon, roughly. Queen Louisa quitted Memel, humiliated and sorrowful down to the very depths of her soul. Her children and her people were never to pardon us for their wrongs.

Alexander had loyally defended his friend, and felt assured of having obtained for him all that it was possible to obtain; in his secret thoughts he consoled himself for the concessions he had been constrained to make for others as well as for himself, by the dazzling prospects which Napoleon knew so well how to open brightly to his view. To the north and south the young Czar believed himself master of new territories, long objects of ambition to the Russian Empire. The Sultan Selim had just fallen at Constantinople before a revolt of the Janissaries; he was a prisoner in his own palace, and the government which was about to succeed him would naturally be hostile to French influence. Napoleon then found himself free to abandon to Russia a large part of that Ottoman Empire always coveted by her. "Constantinople! never!" Napoleon had said, in exclamation to himself, heard by one of his secretaries; "the empire of the world is at Constantinople!" But the *débris* of the Turkish power were of a character to satisfy

all the claimants; and in case Turkey should not accept the peace, the secret treaty concluded between France and Russia assured to the Czar all the European provinces, with the exception of Constantinople and Roumelia. In case of the cabinet of London refusing the mediation of Russia, Alexander engaged himself to declare war against England. Should Portugal and Sweden, equally subject to European influence, participate in the same refusal, it was agreed that the Emperor Napoleon should send an army into Portugal, and that the Emperor Alexander should enter Sweden. Finland lay very convenient for the Russian Empire. "The King of Sweden is in truth your brother-in-law and your ally," said Napoleon; "let him follow the changes in your policy, or let him undergo the consequences of his ill-will. Sweden is the geographical enemy of Russia. St. Petersburg finds itself too near to Finland. The good Russians must no longer hear from their palaces at St. Petersburg the cannon of the Swedes."

The treaty of Tilsit was concluded on the 7th of July, 1807, and was signed on the 8th. The King and Queen of Prussia departed immediately, full of bitter sorrow and discouragement. The two emperors separated on the 9th, with a cordiality at that time sincere in its ostentatious display. More than once they had together passed their troops in review; yet once again they showed themselves to the two armies. Napoleon decorated, with his own hand, a soldier of the Russian army, who had been pointed out to him by the Czar. At last he accompanied Alexander to the shores of the Niemen, waiting upon the bank until his friend and ally had reached the farther shore. Then entering his carriage, he took the road to Königsberg, and immediately afterwards that to France, charging Berthier and Marshal Kalbreuth with the regulation of the details of the evacuation of Prussia, and the payment of the war contributions with which the conquered countries were to be crushed down. On the 27th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, the emperor re-entered Paris, which he had quitted the preceding year, and which, since then, he had so many times intoxicated with the report of his victories. The military glory was brilliant and even dazzling; the political work remained precarious, by its nature as well as by its immensity. Empires founded upon conquest are necessarily fragile, even when the war has been undertaken from serious and legitimate motives. When the war is carried on through the ambition of a man or a people, in scorn of right or justice

—when it injures at once the interests, the pride, and the repose of all nations—no genius or brightness of glory can succeed in assuring its duration, or legitimatizing its success. France perceived this in the midst of the enthusiasm of victory. England repeated it with malicious confidence, in the hope of confirming the courage of its people. Once more the latter power found itself alone, in face of the ever-increasing might of France and the incomparable genius of its sovereign.

It is the mournful effect of a weakening of the moral sense in the chief of a state, to enfeeble that moral sense at the same time, and by an inevitable contagion, amongst his rivals and adversaries. In presence of the continental blockade, and of the resolution which the Emperor Napoleon had announced of imposing it upon the whole of Europe, the English cabinet, henceforth directed by the inheritors of the policy of Pitt, by Canning and Lord Castlereagh, resolved upon using violence in its turn. Fearful of seeing the maritime forces of Denmark pass into the power of Napoleon, England violated the neutrality of this little kingdom, and forestalled the secret conditions of the treaty of Tilsit. Lord Cathcart, at the head of a considerable squadron, was charged with the duty of summoning the Prince Regent to deliver to him the Danish fleet, as a pledge of the loyal intentions of his country; he offered at the same time to defend the Danish territory and all its colonies. The prince responded with bitter irony, "Your protection? Have we not seen your allies waiting for succor more than a year, without receiving it?" Copenhagen was bombarded; Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose name, for the first time, became known in Europe, effected his disembarkation with a corps of 10,000 men. The prince saw himself compelled to capitulate, and deliver to the English his fleet, with all the matériel of his arsenals. Vehemently did Europe reprobate this act of violence. The English cabinet made public the article of the Treaty of Tilsit, which had furnished the motive for its aggression. But any effort at mediation was now ridiculous. The Emperor Alexander perceived it to be so. On the 11th of November, Lord Leveson Gower, then Ambassador of England at St. Petersburg, received his passports, and the Czar haughtily adhered to the French alliance. "I deem it prudent to close one's eyes against the orders which English mercantile vessels have received to quit Russian ports," said General Savary, whom Napoleon had accredited to the Emperor Alexander. The latter treated the French envoy with distinction, but the

court and world of St. Petersburg had not forgotten the part that Savary had taken in the murder of the Duke d'Enghien; he remained isolated in his palace, and even in the saloons of the emperor. The Russian declaration of war was responded to by the manifesto of England. "Publish the treaty of Tilsit, with the secret articles," said Canning; "they have not been communicated to England, but we are acquainted with them, nevertheless; they will explain to Europe our conduct and our fears, as well as the change of attitude on the part of Russia." The Emperor Napoleon was already regretting the magnificent prospect which he had opened before the Czar on the side of Turkey; the government of the Sublime Porte had adroitly accepted the mediation of France. Napoleon sought to excite the covetousness of the Russians towards the north; M. de Caulaincourt, who had replaced Savary at St. Petersburg, pushed forward with ardor the war against Sweden, and the conquest of Finland. As a consequence of the English aggression, Denmark had cast itself into the arms of France; it accordingly became easy to close against England the passage of the Sound. The Czar and his favorite counsellor, M. de Romanzoff, returned ceaselessly to the hopes that Napoleon had led them to conceive. "The ancient Ottoman Empire is played out," said the Russian minister; "unless the Czar lays his hand on it, the Emperor Napoleon will be soon obliged to announce in the *Moniteur* that the succession of the Sultans is open, and the natural heirs have only to present themselves."

In the meantime, and as a constant menace against an ally whom he was not completely satisfying, Napoleon was prolonging his occupation of the Prussian territory, under the pretext of the alleged slowness of payment of the war contributions; he was organizing provisionally the government of Hanover, which he had reserved as a future bait for the English government; and he was treating with Spain for the passage of troops necessary for the invasion of Portugal. This power, constantly faithful to the English alliance, having refused to give in its adhesion to the continental blockade, the emperor had sent against it General Junot with 26,000 men. The negotiations with Madrid had not been completed, and the French soldiers had already entered Spanish territory. A second army was preparing to follow them. Austria remained disquieted, and ready to take offence; a convention favorable to her was signed at Fontainebleau, on October 10th. On the 27th the eventual and provisional partition of Portugal was

accepted by the Spanish envoy, Yzquierdo. A kingdom of Southern Lusitania was assigned to the Queen of Etruria, who renounced her Italian possessions; the independent principality of Algarve was to be constituted for the Prince de la Paix; the emperor reserved for himself the centre of the country, conquered by anticipation. A Spanish corps was to join the French troops for the invasion of Portugal. General Junot marched upon Lisbon. Vast projects, unjustifiable in their nature, were linked with this invasion of the Peninsula, necessarily entailing blunders and crimes as dangerous as lamentable. Napoleon had resolved upon driving the Bourbons from all the thrones of Europe, in order to replace them with Bonapartes. He set out for Italy with the view of completing one part of his work before laying his hand on Spain.

Quitting Paris on November 16th, the Emperor surprised Eugene Beauharnais (whom he was about solemnly to adopt) by assuring to him the succession of the crown of Italy. He ran through the north of the Italian peninsula, reorganizing at Venice the public services, which had fallen into desuetude; decreeing the creation of a commune on Mont Cenis; and providing for the needs of travellers by the new route which he had opened. At Mantua he had an interview with his brother Lucien, whom he would have wished to place upon the throne of Portugal, but that the latter remained obstinately rebellious against the authority of his all-powerful brother, who required of him the rupture of an already old union with Madame Jouberton. Having returned to Milan on the 13th of December, Napoleon published there, on the 17th, a decree destined to aggravate the rigors of the continental blockade. By reprisals as unjust as awkward, directed against decrees of Berlin, the English Cabinet had promulgated, on the 11th of November, 1807, an Order in Council which compelled the ships of all neutral nations to touch at an English port to import or export merchandise, paying custom-house dues averaging 25 per cent. The ships which neglected this precaution were to be declared lawful prizes. In response, the Emperor Napoleon decreed that any vessel touching at an English port, or submitting to inspection from an English ship, should be by that very fact deneutralized, and become in its turn a lawful prize. In this insensate rivalry, which ruined at the same time the commerce of England and of the world, the Cabinet of London had taken no care to modify, in favor of the United States, the rigor of its ordinances. This was for England the occasion of grave

difficulties, and of a war at one time dangerous. Arbitrary interference and violence were the rule on all the seas.

Through difficulties and sufferings which threatened to destroy the army placed under his orders, General Junot arrived at the gates of Lisbon. He had to struggle with no other enemy than the bad roads and the want of provisions. Terror had seized upon the royal house of Portugal. The *Moniteur* of November 13th already contained an article upon the fall of the illustrious house of Braganza. "The Prince Regent of Portugal loses his throne," said the official journal; "he loses it influenced by the intrigues of the English; he loses it for not having been willing to seize the English merchandise at Lisbon. What does England do,—this ally so powerful? She regards with indifference all that is passing in Portugal. What will she do when Portugal shall be taken? Will she go to seize Brazil? No; if the English make this attempt the Catholics will drive them out. The fall of the House of Braganza will remain another proof that the fall of whatever attaches itself to the English is inevitable."

The Prince Regent of Portugal had thought it possible to arrest the march of General Junot by sending to him emissaries charged to make all the submissions required by Napoleon. The envoys had not been able to meet the French army, scattered and decimated by the ills it had undergone; it advanced, however, and the news of its approach drove the Court of Portugal on board the ships which were still to be found at the mouth of the Tagus. On November 27th the mad queen, her son the prince regent, her daughters, and nearly all the families of distinction in Lisbon, accompanied by their servants, crowded on board the Portuguese fleet, resolved to take their flight to Brazil. From seven to eight thousand persons, with all their portable property, thus obstructed the mouth of the Tagus, protected by the English fleet; on the 28th a favorable wind permitted them to sail. When General Junot entered Lisbon, on the 30th of November, at eight o'clock in the morning, the treasures which he was charged to seize were beyond his reach. He established himself without resistance in the capital, soon overwhelmed with confiscations and war contributions. "Everything is more easy in the first moment than afterwards," wrote the Emperor to Junot on the 13th of December, 1807. "Do not seek for popularity at Lisbon, nor for the means of pleasing the nation; that would be failing in your aim, emboldening the people, and preparing

misfortunes for yourself. The hope that you conceive of commerce and prosperity, is a chimera with which one is lulled asleep."

Jerome Bonaparte had been declared King of Westphalia on the 8th of December. On the 10th the act announced by the treaty of Fontainebleau was consummated. The Queen Regent of Etruria, Maria Louisa of Bourbon, declared to her subjects, in the name of her son, that she was called upon to reign over a new kingdom. Tuscany then fell directly into the hands of the Emperor Napoleon, who confided its government to his sister, Eliza Baciocchi, to whom he had already given the principality of Lucca and Piombino.

Submission or flight! such was the only alternative that seemed to remain to continental sovereigns in presence of the exactions and the imperious will of Napoleon. The Pope alone, as already for two years past, was still resisting his demands, and was evincing an independence with regard to him which was every day irritating more and more the all-powerful master of Europe. Sadly disabused of the illusions and the hopes which had drawn him to Paris for the coronation of Napoleon, Pius VII. had preserved in his personal communications with the emperor a paternal and tender graciousness. He had much to obtain and much to fear on the part of the conqueror. Returning to Italy in the month of June, 1805, he said, in his allocution to the cardinals: "We have clasped in our arms at Fontainebleau this prince, so powerful and so full of love for us. Many things have already been done, and are only the earnest of that which is yet to be accomplished."

Meanwhile, the Code Napoleon had been applied to Italy, authorizing divorce, and taking the place of the Italian Concordat, which declared the Catholic religion to be the religion of the State. The Pope had complained of it, not without warmth, and had received on the part of the emperor assurances which were as vain as they were futile. But already the conflict was becoming personal and more pressing; the refusal of the Holy Father to dissolve the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte with Miss Paterson (June, 1805), at once produced antagonism between the conscience of the Pope and the views of Napoleon as to the elevation of his family to the new or ancient thrones which he destined for them in Europe. Pius VII. had long studied canonical interdictions; he consulted neither his ministers nor his doctors; it was a personal reply which he addressed to the emperor. "It is out of our power,"

said he, "to pronounce the judgment of nullity; if we were to usurp such an authority that we have not, we should render ourselves culpable of an abominable abuse before the tribunal of God; and your Majesty yourself, in your justice, would blame us for pronouncing a sentence contrary to the testimony of our conscience and to the invariable principles of our Church."

Napoleon's anger remained warm, but he had surmounted the difficulty by dissolving by an imperial decree the marriage of his brother, and by causing him soon after to marry a princess of Wurtemberg. The disagreement with the Court of Rome, which was soon to break forth, depended on his all-powerful will, and caused him no care. In the movement of the troops, necessitated in October, 1805, by his campaign against Austria, the emperor had charged General Gouvion St. Cyr to traverse the States of the Church in order to take up a position in Lombardy. Upon the route lay the town of Ancona. The French troops received an order to seize the place and establish a garrison there, an order which was immediately executed.

In spite of the difficulties which had recently arisen between the emperor and himself, the Pope thought that Napoleon and the French Revolution were much indebted to him personally. Europe took this view, and frequent reproaches had been addressed to the Court of Rome by the powers who were enemies or rivals of France. It was, then, with astonishment, mingled with indignation, that Pius VII. learnt the news of the occupation of Ancona; he wrote, on the 13th November, 1805, a personal and secret letter to the emperor:—"We avow frankly to your Majesty the keen chagrin that we experience in seeing ourselves treated in a way that we do not think we have in any degree merited. Our neutrality has been recognized by your Majesty, as by all other powers. The latter have fully respected it, and we had especial motives for thinking that the sentiments of amity which your Majesty professed with regard to us would have preserved us from such a cruel affront. We will tell you frankly, since our return from Paris we have experienced only bitterness and trouble, and we do not find in your Majesty a return of those sentiments which we think ourselves warranted in justly expecting from you. That which we owe to ourselves is to ask from your Majesty the evacuation of Ancona, and, if met with a refusal, we should not see how to reconcile therewith a continuation of a good understanding with the French minister."

It was from Munich, on the morrow of the battle of Austerlitz and of the peace of Presburg, that Napoleon at length responded, on the 7th of January, 1806, to the letter of the Pope, in the midst of the concert of adulations and transports which were lavished on him by the vanquished as well as by his courtiers. The protest of Pius VII. recalled to him the disagreeable remembrance of an independent authority, and one which he had not been always able to submit to his will; the anger of the despot broke forth with violence at once spontaneous and measured: "Your Holiness complains that since your return from Paris you have had nothing but causes of sorrow. The reason is, that since then all those who were fearing my power and testifying their friendship have changed their sentiments, thinking themselves authorized to do so by the power of the coalition; and that since the return of your Holiness to Rome I have experienced nothing but refusals to all my designs, even those that were of the utmost importance to religion; as, for example, when it was a question of hindering Protestantism from raising its head in France. I look upon myself as the protector of the Holy See, and by this title I have occupied Ancona. I look upon myself, like my predecessors of the second and third dynasty, as the eldest son of the Church, as alone bearing the sword to protect it and to shelter it from being defiled by Greeks and Mussulmans. I should ever be the friend of your Holiness, if you would only consult your heart and the true friends of religion. If your Holiness wishes to send away my minister, you are free to do so. You are free to receive in preference the English and the Caliph of Constantinople. God is the judge who has done most for the religion of all the princes who reign."

Napoleon had excluded his brother Jerome from the succession to the Empire, but he affected to dread for France the possibility of a Protestant sovereign. It was with an increase of coarse violence that he wrote on the same day to his uncle, Cardinal Fesch: "Since these imbeciles think there will be no inconvenience in a Protestant occupying the throne of France, I will send them a Protestant ambassador. I am religious, but I am not a bigot. Constantine separated the civil from the military, and I also may appoint a senator to command in my name at Rome. Tell Consalvi—tell even the Pope himself—that since he wishes to drive my minister from Rome, I should be well able to re-establish him there. For the Pope, I am Charlemagne, because, like Charlemagne, I unite the crown of

France with that of the Lombards, and my empire borders on that of the East. I expect then that his conduct towards me shall be regulated from this point of view. Otherwise I shall reduce the Pope to the position of Bishop of Rome."

The French troops did not evacuate Ancona, and the French minister remained at Rome. But soon new subjects of disagreement arose between Napoleon and the Pope, always a scrupulous observer of the neutrality which he thought due from him to all the powers. The emperor had already required that all the ports of his allies should be closed against English commerce; in proportion as his enemies became more numerous and his arbitrary power more oppressive, he extended his pretensions even over the countries neutral by situation and by state obligations. Joseph Bonaparte had just been proclaimed King of Naples; the house of Bourbon occupied in Italy only the ridiculous throne of Etruria, already on the point of being taken from them. Napoleon wished to exact from the Pope an interdiction of his ports and his territory to the exiles or the refugees who had from time immemorial been accustomed to seek an asylum in Rome. "Your Holiness would be able to avoid all these embarrassments by going forward in a straight road," wrote Napoleon to Pius VII., on February 22, 1806. "All Italy will be subject to my laws. I will not touch in any way the independence of the Holy See; I will even repay it for the injuries which the movements of my armies may occasion to it; but it must be on the condition that your Holiness will show the same regard for me in temporal affairs as I show for you in spiritual ones, and that you will cease your useless consideration for the heretical enemies of the Church, and for the powers who can do nothing for you. Your Holiness is sovereign of Rome, but I am its emperor. All my enemies ought to be yours. It is not proper then that any agent of the King of Sardinia, any Englishman, Russian, or Swede, should reside at Rome or in your states, neither that any ship belonging to these powers should enter your ports. Those who speak any other language to your Holiness deceive you, and will end by drawing down upon you misfortunes that will be disastrous." He added in his letter to Cardinal Fesch: "Say plainly that I have my eyes open, that I am not deceived any more than I choose to be; that I am Charlemagne, the sword of the Church, the emperor; and that they ought not to know that there is an empire of Russia. I make the Pope acquainted with my intentions in a few words. If he does not agree, I shall reduce

him to the same position which he occupied before Charlemagne."

It was against Cardinal Consalvi, formerly the clever and firm negotiator of the Concordat, that the emperor, assisted by Cardinal Fesch, nursed his suspicions and his anger; he regarded him as systematically hostile to France; but the attachment of the Pope for his minister remained unshakable; it was from Consalvi alone that a voluntary submission might be hoped for. "If he loves his religion and his country, tell Consalvi, plainly," wrote the emperor to his uncle, "that there are only two courses to select from—either to do always what I wish, or to quit the ministry."

The moderation and prudent resolutions of the Roman ministry showed itself in the response of the Pope to the requirements of Napoleon. Already an obscure Englishman—Mr. Jackson, for a long time accredited to the King of Sardinia—had excited the mistrust of Napoleon, who insulted him in official documents. "An English minister, the disgrace of his country, found in Rome an asylum. There he organized conspiracies, subsidized brigands, hatched perfidies, bribed assassins; and Rome protected the traitor and his agents—becoming a theatre of scandal, a manufactory of libels, and an asylum of brigandage." The only crime of Jackson had been to keep his court *au courant* with the state of affairs in Rome. Quietly, and with all the respect his character merited, Cardinal Consalvi prevailed on Mr Jackson to quit Rome. The cardinals were assembled in secret Consistory. Cardinal Fesch was not summoned; he was informed that they were aware of his opinions, and that his station as ambassador disqualified him for the Council of the holy father.

The Consistory did not deceive itself for a single instant as to the consequences that the concessions demanded by Napoleon would forcibly draw in their train. "We all saw," says Cardinal Consalvi in his memoirs, "that far from admitting the neutrality of the Holy See, Bonaparte expected it in the capacity of feudatory and vassal to take up the quarrels of France in no matter what war the latter might subsequently be engaged. The Holy See might then see itself, any morning or evening, attacked by Austria or Spain, or by all the Catholic or non-Catholic powers. What! the sole ambition or greed of France was to have the right of despoiling the holy father of his title of the common father of the faithful, and of compelling the representative of a God of Peace and the head

of the religious world, to sow everywhere desolation and ruin, by keeping in a perpetual state of war the nations owing fealty to the tiara."

So many reasons, human and divine, as evident to common sense as to conscience, decided the response of the Pope. He was moderate, tender, prudent; but he replied categorically to the requirements of the emperor. Pius VII. wished to remain neuter, and not to drive from his states the English or the Russians; he did not admit the claim of the emperor to exercise over Rome a supreme protectorate. "The Pope does not recognize, and never has recognized, any power superior to himself. Your Majesty is infinitely great; you have been elected, crowned, consecrated, recognized emperor of the French, but not emperor of Rome. There exists no emperor of Rome."

There was a good deal of boldness in repelling so haughtily the imperial pretensions; the Pope and Cardinal Consalvi were soon involved in a still more dangerous course. The accession of the new King of Naples had been announced to the court of Rome, by Cardinal Fesch, in arrogant terms: "The throne of Naples being vacant by a penalty incurred by the most scandalous perfidy of which the annals of nations have ever made mention, and his Majesty having found himself under the necessity of shielding this country, and the whole of Italy, from the madness of an insensate court, has judged it suitable to his dignity to confide the destinies of this country, which he loves, to a prince of his own house. The undersigned doubts not but that the Pontifical Government will see in this happy event a new guarantee of the system of order, justice, and consistency, which he has always had at heart to establish in all the places which have submitted to his influence."

To this circuitous demand for the recognition of Joseph Bonaparte, the Pope replied by urging his ancient feudal rights over the kingdom of Naples—"agreements," said Cardinal Consalvi, "which have always been observed, especially in the case of conquests; not only at the establishment of a new dynasty, but also at the commencement of each new reign."

It was going very far back into history to reclaim doubtful rights. Napoleon keenly criticised the pretension: "His Majesty needs to make no researches to become aware of the fact that in times of ignorance the court of Rome usurped the right of giving away crowns and temporal rights to the princes

of the earth; but if we found that in other ages the court of Rome dethroned sovereigns, preached crusades, and laid entire kingdoms under interdict, we should also discover that the Popes have always considered their temporal power as springing from the French emperors; and the court of Rome, without doubt, does not claim that Charlemagne received from it the investiture of his kingdom. If this is to go on," added Napoleon, brusquely abandoning his historic researches, "I shall cause Consalvi to quit Rome, and make him responsible for what he is trying to do, because he is evidently bought by the English. He will see whether or not I have the power to maintain my imperial crown. Lay stress on that word *imperial*, and not royal, and upon the fact that the relations of the Pope with me must be those of his predecessors with the emperors of the west."*

At the same time, and as the thunder follows the lightning, the court of Rome learnt that the threat had been followed by performance. Upon the express order of the Emperor Napoleon, Civita Vecchia had been occupied by two regiments of the Neapolitan army. The districts of Benevento and Ponte-Corvo, surrounded by the kingdom of Naples, and belonging to the Holy See, were erected into principalities in favor of Talleyrand and Marshal Bernadotte. Cardinal Fesch was recalled. He quitted Rome after a warm altercation with the Pope. A few days later, and in the vain hope of ameliorating political relations becoming more and more difficult, Cardinal Consalvi gave in his resignation. He wrote to Cardinal Caprara, perpetual papal legate at Paris and completely subject to the imperial authority: "If any one had told me when I was negotiating the Concordat that in a short time I should appear to the French Government in the light of an enemy, I should have thought I was dreaming. But I am too much attached to the Holy See, to my sovereign, to my benefactor, and to my country, not to consider myself as compelled to dispel by my retirement the evils which might result from my presence. His Holiness consents to my resignation. His object has been to satisfy the emperor, and give him a proof of his desire to preserve harmony with his government by removing everything that might compromise it."

The sacrifice of Cardinal Consalvi was useless, and passed unnoticed. Napoleon required from the Holy See not only sub-

* Draft of a note sent to Talleyrand by the emperor.

mission to his will, but the acceptance of his principles. The caution of the court of Rome irritated him more and more. He frightened Cardinal Caprara with a violent scene: "Write that I demand from his Holiness a declaration without ambiguity, stating that during the present war, and any other future war, all the ports of the pontifical states shall be closed to all English vessels, either of war or commerce. Without this I shall cause all the rest of the pontifical states to be occupied, I will have the eagles fixed up over the gates of all its cities and domains, and, as I have done for Benevento and Ponte Corvo, I shall divide the provinces possessed by the Pope into so many duchies and principalities, which I shall confer upon whomsoever I please. If the Pope persists in his refusal, I will establish a senate at Rome; and when once Rome and the pontifical states shall be in my hands, they will never be out of them again." Already the revenues of Civita Vecchia had been seized by Generals Lemarrois and Duhesme. "By what right do you do this?" demanded an employé of the pontifical treasury. "You serve a little prince and I serve a great sovereign," replied the officer; "in that you can see all my right." Such was throughout Europe the foundation of the right of the Emperor Napoleon. The governor of Civita Vecchia, Mgr. Negreta, had been seized by force in his residence, and sent back to Rome without an escort. Personal communication no longer existed between the Pope and the emperor. The letter of Pius VII., sent by the hands of Cardinal Caprara, remained unanswered. Alquier alone, who had succeeded Cardinal Fesch at Rome, still informed Napoleon as to the state of feeling there. An old Conventional, intelligent and moderate, the Minister of France, reported to Talleyrand, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, "People are strangely mistaken as to the character of the sovereign pontiff, if they have thought his apparent flexibility was yielding to all that they were striving to impress upon him. In all that pertains to the authority of the head of the Church, he takes counsel with himself alone. The Pope has a mild character, but very irritable, and susceptible of displaying a firmness proof against any trial; already they are openly saying, 'If the emperor overturns us, his successor will re-establish us.'"

On the morrow of the battle of Jena, when the ruin of the Prussian monarchy had added new lustre to the splendor of Napoleon's victories, the emperor wished to make one last effort in order to establish an absolute dominion over that

little corner of Italy which still preserved an independent sovereignty. For more than a year he had not accepted any direct communication with the court of Rome: he commanded the attendance of Mgr. Arezzo, Bishop *in partibus* of Seleucia, formerly papal nuncio in Russia, and who then happened to be at Dresden. The prelate was admitted to the emperor at Berlin, in the cabinet of the great Frederick: he has preserved a textual account of his conversation with Napoleon. "What did you have to do with Russia?" "Your Majesty is aware that there are in Russia 4,000,000 of Catholics. It is for that reason that the Pope maintains a representative there." "The Pope ought not to have a minister at St. Petersburg; the Greeks have always been the enemies of Rome, and I do not know by what spirit of madness Rome can be possessed to desire the good of its enemies rather than of its friends. You are about to quit Dresden, and repair to Rome. You are my enemy. In the first place, you are not a Sicilian for nothing. I do not mean by that that you have spoken abusively of me, but you have desired that I should come to nothing, that my armies should be beaten, and that my enemies should triumph. You are not the only one to wish me evil; at Rome people think no better than elsewhere. The Pope is a holy man, whom they make believe whatever they please. They represent my demands to him under a false aspect, as Cardinal Consalvi has done, and then the good Pope is roused up to say that he will be killed rather than yield. Who thinks of killing him, *bon Dieu*? If he will not take the course I wish, I will certainly deprive him of his temporal power at Rome, but I shall always respect him as the head of the Church. There is no necessity that the Pope should be sovereign of Rome. The most holy Popes were not so. I shall secure him a good appanage of three millions, upon which he can properly keep up his position; and I shall place at Rome a king or a senator, and I shall divide his states into so many duchies. In reality, the main point of the matter is, that I wish the Pope to accede to the confederation; I expect him to be the friend of my friends, and the enemy of my enemies. In fifteen days you will be at Rome, and will peremptorily signify this to him." "Your Majesty will permit me to repeat to him that which has been already said to him so many times: that the Pope, being the common father of the faithful, cannot separate himself from some to attach himself to others; and his ministry being a ministry of peace, he cannot make war against anybody, nor declare

himself the enemy of any one whatever without failing in his duties and compromising his sacred character." "But I do not claim at all that he should make war against anybody. I wish him to shut his ports against the English, and that he should not receive them into his states, and that not being able to defend his ports and fortresses he should permit me to defend them. Rest assured that at Rome they have lost their heads. They have no longer there the great men of the time of Leo X. Ganganelli would not have conducted himself in this style. I wish to be in safety in my own house. The whole of Italy belongs to me by right of conquest. Let the Pope do what I wish, and he will be recompensed for the past and for the future. I only forewarn you that all must be completed before the 1st of January: if the Pope will consent, he will lose nothing; if he will refuse, then I shall take away his states. Excommunications are no longer in fashion, and my soldiers will not refuse to march wherever I send them. Call to mind Charles V., who kept the Pope prisoner, and who made him recite prayers for him at Madrid. I shall take the same course if I am brought to bay."

Mgr. Arezzo having asked for some prolongation of the delay: "Ah well! I give you till February," replied the emperor; "but let everything be finished before February." "And where will it be necessary to send the ambassador of the Pope? to Berlin, to Warsaw, to St. Petersburg? Your Majesty moves so quickly!" Napoleon began to laugh. "No, to Paris," said he.

It was in fact at Paris, in the month of October, 1807, when the victory of Friedland had delivered Russia, like Prussia, to the influence of Napoleon, that the envoy of the Pope succeeded in obtaining an audience—not of the emperor, but of Champagny, his new Minister of Foreign Affairs. New difficulties had aggravated the bitterness of the relations between France and Rome. Pius VII., however, had perceived that the requirements of the emperor, so absolute in their harshness, would not yield to his moderate and passive resistance. He had authorized his French representative, the Cardinal de Bayanne, to make an important concession. "The last demands of his Imperial Majesty," wrote Cardinal Casoni, Minister of State, on the 14th of October, "are limited as regards the English to the closure of the ports. The holy father has every reason to think that his adherence ought to be limited to this closure; but if anything else is required of him he will

consent to it, provided that it does not compel him to engage in actual war, and that it does not injure the independence of the pontifical sovereignty. It will be desirable then that your Eminence and the cardinal legate, to whom this despatch is common, should be on your guard, to concert the explanation and import of these words in order to satisfy his Imperial Majesty as the holy father desires, but at the same time not to impose upon his Holiness an obligation opposed to his duties and his honor."

This was a good deal to grant, and it curtailed considerably the formal declarations of neutrality so often repeated by the court of Rome. Napoleon required still more, and his secret thoughts were not in accord with his public declarations. The obstacles to the free choice of an ambassador; the requirements with regard to the full powers which were to be conferred on Cardinal de Bayanne; the forcible hindrance to the journey of the latter, arbitrarily detained at Milan; the systematic neglect of his requests for an audience—clearly proved the decision taken to obtain all or nothing—to subjugate or break the pontifical power. The last offers of the Pope fully satisfied the demands of the emperor, as expressed by Cardinal Fesch, Talleyrand, and Napoleon himself again and again. Champagny declared that these concessions were no longer sufficient. The Pope was to engage himself to make common cause with the Emperor Napoleon, and to unite his land and sea forces with those of France in all wars against England. The ports closed against the English; the care of the ports of Ostia, Ancona, and Civita Vecchia confided to France; 2000 men of the French troops maintained at Ancona at the cost of the Holy See; and concessions without reserve on the subject of the number of French cardinals, as of the consecration of Italian bishops—such were the conditions of the convention presented to the Cardinal de Bayanne by Champagny. A few other articles, treating of the spiritual power, and which had been abandoned at the request of Cardinal Fesch, remained as a menace suspended over the head of the negotiator, in case his submission should not be sufficiently prompt and complete. General Lemarrois had already taken possession of the duchy of Urbino, of the province of Macerata, of Fermo, and Spoleto. The Cardinal de Bayanne was still negotiating, but the order for his recall had been sent from Rome (9th of November, 1807). "God and the world will do us justice against the proceedings of the emperor, let them be what they may," wrote Pius VII.

The exactions of Champagne had heaped up a measure which was already overflowing. In full Consistory, and without any hesitation on the part of either Pope or cardinals, the proposals were unanimously rejected. "This is the fruit of our journey to Paris, of our patience, of the forbearance which has led us to make so many sacrifices, to suffer so many humiliations. If such pretensions are persisted in, you must immediately demand your passport, and come away." Such were the instructions sent on the 2nd of December to the Cardinal de Bayanne by the holy father. The orders sent by the emperor to his agents did not wait long for a response. Already for some time past very considerable forces had been grouped to the north and south of the pontifical states, under the orders of General Miollis. Six thousand Frenchmen were destined for this expedition. A Neapolitan column of 3000 men was to occupy Terracina. All the movements of the troops had been carefully calculated and foreseen; the care of watching over their execution was confided to Prince Eugene and the King of Naples. The emperor wrote to Champagne on the 22nd of January, 1808:

"On the 25th of January the French army will be at Perugia; on the 3rd of February it will be at Rome. The express, setting out on the 25th, will arrive at Rome on the 1st of February, and will thus carry your orders to Signor Alquier two days before the troops arrive. You ought to make known to Signor Alquier that General Miollis, who commands my troops, and who appears to be directing his course towards Naples, will stay at Rome and take possession of the castle of St. Angelo. When Signor Alquier shall become aware that the troops are at the gate of Rome, he shall present to the Cardinal Secretary of State the subjoined note: 'The arrival of General Miollis has for its aim the protection of the rearguard of the army of Naples. On his way, he presents himself at Rome to give force to the measures which the emperor has resolved on taking to purge this city of the scoundrels to whom it has given asylum, and consequently to all the enemies of France.' You will put in cipher in your despatch the following paragraph: 'The intention of the emperor is to accustom by this note, and by these proceedings, the people of Rome and the French troops to live together, in order that if the court of Rome should continue to show itself as insensate as it now is, it might insensibly cease to exist as a temporal power without any notice being taken of it.' Nevertheless, whilst desiring to

avoid disturbance, and to leave things *in statu quo*, I am prepared to take strong measures the first time the Pope indulges in any bull or manifesto; for a decree shall be immediately published, revoking the gift of Charlemagne, and reuniting the states of the Church to the kingdom of Italy, furnishing proofs of the evils that religion has suffered through the sovereignty of Rome, and making apparent the contrast between Jesus Christ dying on the cross and His successor making himself a king!"

It was not without a certain uneasiness that the emperor was preparing thus to use violence against an unarmed sovereign, and historical decrees were not the only arms on which he expected to rely. "The slightest insurrection that may break out," wrote he to Prince Eugene (February 7th, 1808), "must be repressed with grape-shot, if necessary, and severe examples must be made."

No insurrection broke out; the Pope and his followers had resolved upon giving to the world a startling demonstration of the material powerlessness of the Holy See in presence of brute force. Whilst General Miollis was entering Rome, on February 2nd, 1808, at eight o'clock in the morning, disarming the pontifical troops in order to seize upon the Castle of St. Angelo, the Pope was officiating in the chapel of the Quirinal, surrounded by the Sacred College. The palace was invested by the troops, and cannon were pointed at the walls; the cardinals went forth without tumult or protest. The French officers were not a little surprised to see them get into their carriages and retire without letting any trace of annoyance be visible on their countenances.*

Only a protest by the holy father, conceived in the most moderate terms, was affixed to the walls of Rome: "Not having been able to comply with all the demands which have been made to him on the part of the French Government, because the voice of his conscience and his sacred duties forbade it, his Holiness Pius VII. has believed it his duty to submit to the disastrous consequences with which he has been threatened as the result of his refusal, and even the military occupation of his capital. Resigned in the humility of his heart to the unsearchable judgments of heaven, he commits his cause into the hands of God; but at the same time, unwilling to fail in his essential obligations to guarantee the rights of his sovereignty,

* Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca.

he has given orders to protest, as he protests daily, against every usurpation of his dominions, his will being that the rights of the Holy See should be and remain always intact."

The times of supreme violence had not yet come, and the emperor himself had not perhaps foreseen to what extremities he would be led, by the aggression he had just committed, and the underhand struggle he had been maintaining for three years against the conscientious will of an unarmed old man. However, the habitual roughness of his arbitrary proceedings did not fail to manifest themselves from the beginning. Champagny had been ordered to declare to the Cardinal de Bayanne that the French soldiers established at Rome would remain there until the Pope should have entered into the Italian Confederation, and should have consented to make common cause with the powers composing it, in every case and against all enemies. "This condition is the *sine qua non* of his Majesty's proposal. If the Pope does not accept it, his Majesty will not know how to recognize his temporal sovereignty. He has decided to transfer the power of Rome into secular hands."

At the same time, and as a necessary commentary on these imperious injunctions, the foreign cardinals in the pontifical states received orders from Napoleon to quit Rome. The Neapolitan cardinals, to the number of seven, had up to that time refused to take an oath to King Joseph. At the first news of the measure which threatened them, the Pope ordered them to remain near himself, "for the service of the Holy See;" they were seized in their houses, and conducted to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples by gendarmes. On March 10th the same order was addressed by the emperor to the vice-King of Italy for fourteen new members of the Sacred College. "Let Litta return to Milan; let the Genoese return to Genoa, the Italians to the kingdom of Italy, the Piedmontese to Piedmont, the Neapolitans to Naples. This measure is to be executed by fair means or foul. Since it is the cardinals who have lost the states of the Church by their evil counsels, let them return every one to his own place." Cardinal Casoni, till recently Secretary of State to the Pope, and Cardinal Doria Pamphili, now officiating—the one born at Sarzana, the other a Genoese—were prevented by this interdiction from living in the Roman States. Alquier, the minister of France, was quietly recalled to Paris; a simple secretary of legation remained at Rome to represent the diplomatic service. General

Miollis well seconded the intentions of the emperor with regard to the Holy See. Against the advice of his counsellors, the Pope sent to Cardinal Caprara an order to quit Paris. "Violence has been resorted to," wrote Pius VII. to his easy-going legate, "even to laying hands on four of our cardinals and conducting them to Naples in the midst of an armed force; an excess which only requires the violation of our own personal freedom for the scandal to be complete. We cannot, by the residence of our representative with the French Government, give occasion for thinking any longer that we are not deeply wounded by the persecution we have been made to suffer, and the oppression manifested towards the Holy See. Our intention is, then, if our capital is not without delay evacuated by the French troops, that you should demand your passports, and that you should set out with the Cardinal de Bayanne, our legate extraordinary, in order to come and share with us and your brothers the lot which is reserved for us."

I wished to tell in some detail the relations of Napoleon with the court of Rome, because they clearly point out the first steps decidedly taken along a path that grew more and more daring. Conquest had for a long time borne its bitter fruits. Conquered sovereigns had submitted to the yoke and to the haughty requirements of the conqueror; such was the absolute right of victory, and those who suffered from it recognized a power which in all time had belonged to the conqueror. The emperor henceforth went much further than this; he did not confine himself to fighting, conquering, and dispossessing those he had vanquished, and dividing their spoils. He began at Rome to impose his arbitrary caprices upon a prince who had never taken up arms against him. At the same time, and by a manoeuvre concocted in the most masterly manner, and yet most inexcusable, he was about to dethrone a king, his ally, humbly submissive to his power and his exactions. The throne of Spain was the only one still occupied by a prince of the house of Bourbon. Napoleon had resolved upon seating a Bonaparte upon it. Already the troops destined for this enterprise were quitting Paris, marching, without knowing it, towards long disasters. Yielding to the irresistible impulses of absolute power without limits and without a curb, Napoleon was led into having recourse to every description of violence, and making use of every kind of perfidy. He wished to be everywhere and always obeyed. For six years past no one had resisted his will without being crushed; he was at last

about to meet with a check—at Rome, in the conscience of the Pope; in Spain, in the passions of an aroused people.

The situation of Spain had for a long time been sad and wretched. Governed by a favorite, whose crimes he ignored, King Charles IV. had abandoned power into the hands of the Prince de la Paix. At his side, and in a condition of suspicion which resembled captivity, the heir to the throne, Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, had become the idol of the people, as a consequence of the scorn and aversion inspired by the favorite. The young prince, weak and cunning, submissive in his turn to his old tutor, the Canon Escoiquiz, was carrying on under-hand intrigues with a few great lords who were devoted to him. He had attached to himself Beauharnais, the ambassador of France, an upright and sincere man, with no great political penetration. The little council of the prince had thought themselves capable of concluding an alliance between Ferdinand and the all-powerful sovereign of France. On the 11th of October, 1807, the Prince of Asturias sent by Beauharnais a letter addressed to the "hero who threw into the shade all those who had preceded him;" Ferdinand solicited the hand of a princess of the imperial house.

It was the moment of the negotiation of the treaty of Fontainebleau and the anticipated partition of Portugal. On the same day on which the signatures were exchanged (October 27th, 1807) the Prince of Asturias, for a long time suspected of criminal intrigues, was arrested at Madrid, as well as his accomplices. On the 29th, King Charles IV. wrote to the emperor, in order to make him acquainted with the sad discovery which had just wounded all his paternal sentiments. "I pray your Majesty," added the unfortunate monarch, "to aid me with your knowledge and advice."

The troops that were to enter Spain were ready, and the first movement of Napoleon was to march them forward immediately. The trouble existing in the royal house afforded a ready excuse for an intervention entreated at once by both father and son. The King of Spain himself invoked assistance. The army of the Gironde was immediately reinforced and provisioned. A second corps was already preparing, but the Prince de la Paix discovered in the correspondence of Ferdinand the proof of his relations with Beauharnais. He did not wish to compromise his principality of Algarve by exciting the anger of Napoleon: the Prince of Asturias was exempted from the law, and his pardon solemnly proclaimed in an official decree

by Charles IV. Only his accomplices were prosecuted, but the tribunals acquitted them. Meanwhile the army of the Gironde, under General Dupont, had entered Spain. The corps for watching the sea coasts, commanded by Marshal Moncey, followed in the same direction. Other detachments seized upon the fortresses of the frontiers. "On arriving at Pampe-luna, General Duhesme will take possession of the town," wrote the emperor to General Clarke, Minister of War (January 28th, 1808), and without making any show he will occupy the citadel and the fortifications, treating the commandants and the inhabitants with the greatest courtesy, making no movement, and saying that he is expecting further orders."

The orders were not long in arriving; 100,000 men of the grand army were effecting a backward movement, approaching France, and consequently Spain. At the same time, Joachim Murat, the living hero of hazardous and doubtful enterprises, had just been appointed general-in-chief of the armies in Spain. His instructions were all military. "Do not disturb in any manner the division of Duhesme," wrote the emperor to his lieutenant, on the 16th of March, 1808; "leave that where it is. It guards Barcelona and holds that province, and fulfils its purpose sufficiently. When the 6000 men of the reinforcement who are about to rejoin this division, and who will be at Barcelona towards the 5th or 6th of April, shall have arrived, it will be another thing. Then he will have an army capable of carrying him anywhere. At the moment when you receive this letter, the head of General Verdier's corps will touch the borders of Spain, and General Merle ought to find himself at Burgos. Continue to speak smooth words. Reassure the king, the Prince de la Paix, the Prince of Asturias, and the queen. The great thing is to arrive at Madrid, and there let your troops rest, and replenish their stores of provisions. Say that I am soon coming in order to reconcile and arrange matters; above all, do not commit any hostilities, if it can possibly be helped. I hope that everything may be arranged, and it would be dangerous to scare these folks too much."

Murat had conceived intoxicating hopes which did not tend to the tranquillity of the Spanish court. He had asked for political instructions, which were refused to him. "What I do not tell you is what you ought not to know," wrote Napoleon to his lieutenant. Uneasiness and fear reigned in the household of the king, under the outside show of welcome lavished on the French soldiers. Already the Prince de la Paix was

preparing for the flight of the royal family. That which the house of Braganza had done by setting out for Brazil, the house of Bourbon could do by taking refuge in Peru. The departure of the court for Seville was announced; it was the first step in a longer journey, of which the project had not yet been revealed to Charles IV. The royal family were besides profoundly divided. The Prince of Asturias swore that he would not quit Aranjuez; his uncle Don Antonio supported him in resistance. A few of the ministers were seemingly throwing off the yoke of the Prince de la Paix. The Marquis of Caballero, the Minister of Justice, refused to sign the orders necessary for the departure. "I command it," said the Prince de la Paix imperiously. "I only receive orders from the king," said the Spanish nobleman in a tone to which the favorite was not accustomed.

Meanwhile the population of Madrid, and the peasants in the environs of Aranjuez, were stirred up by the reports of the departure which circulated in the country; the preparations carried on by the confidants of the Prince de la Paix, excited much anger and uneasiness. An agitated and inquisitive crowd ceaselessly surrounded the palace, carefully watching all the movements of the inmates: a proclamation of the King, promising not to withdraw, did not suffice to allay suspicion. On the night of March 17th, a veiled lady came forth from the house of the Prince de la Paix to a carriage which was waiting for her. The multitude thought they had discovered a prelude to the departure; all hands were extended to stay the fugitive. In the struggle a shot was fired; the crowd immediately rushed forward, forcing the gates, and overturning the guards who protected the palace of the favorite. In an instant his dwelling was pillaged, his art treasures destroyed, his tapestries torn up and scattered to the winds. We have been witnesses of the sorrowful results of popular fury. The Princess de la Paix alone, trembling for her life in the palace where her just pride had so often suffered, was spared by the vengeance of the multitude; they brought her in triumph to the house of the king. "Behold innocence!" cried the people. The Prince de la Paix had disappeared.

They were seeking for him thirty-six hours, and the anxiety of the king and queen was becoming insupportable; both loudly demanded their favorite. With a view of turning away the anger of the people from his head, Charles IV. issued an edict depriving Emanuel Godoy, Prince de la Paix, of all his offices

and dignities, and authorizing him to choose for himself the place of his retreat. The favorite had more correctly estimated the hatred excited against himself; he had sought no other retreat than a loft in his palace. There, rolled up in a mat, with a few pieces of gold in his hands, he waited for the moment to take his flight. On March 19th, at ten o'clock in the morning, as he attempted to escape secretly, he was perceived by a soldier of that guard to which he had formerly belonged; immediately arrested, he was dragged to a guard-house. When he at length reached this sad refuge he was bruised and bleeding, from the blows showered upon him by all those who could reach him through the crowding ranks of the multitude and the barriers formed by the soldiers. At the barracks where the Prince de la Paix lay on the straw, the Prince of Asturias came to seek him out in the name of his parents, and to promise him his life. "Art thou already king, that thou canst thus dispense pardon?" asked Godoy, with a bitter perception of the change which had been effected in the position of the prince as in his own. "No," replied Ferdinand, "but I soon shall be."

The royal uneasiness did not permit them long to leave the favorite in a guard-house, a prey to the insults and ill-usage of the populace; the king and queen remained obstinately faithful to their friend. A coach was got ready to take him away to a place of safety; as soon as it appeared, the people threw themselves upon the carriage and broke it up. When the noise reached the palace the old king burst into tears: "My people no longer love me!" cried he; "I will no longer reign over them. I shall abdicate in favor of my son." The queen's mind was occupied with no other thought than the safety of Godoy; she thought it assured by this renunciation of the throne, and willingly set her hands to it. The act of abdication was immediately made public, and saluted, at Madrid as at Aranjuez, by the transports of the multitude. Henceforth King Ferdinand VII. was alone surrounded by the courtiers; his aged father remained abandoned in the palace of Aranjuez. Murat was already approaching Madrid, and all eyes were turned towards him as towards the forerunner of the supreme arbiter. Ferdinand VII. hastened to send emissaries to him. The Queen of Etruria, who had only just reached her parents, wrote to him conjuring him to come to Aranjuez, to judge for himself of the situation. On March 25th, 1808, the French army made its entry into the capital.

The popular insurrection which had overthrown the Prince

de la Paix and provoked the abdication of Charles IV., had thwarted the plans of Napoleon so far as his lieutenant was able to divine them. The flight of the royal family would have left the throne of Spain vacant, and Murat had cherished the hope of posing as a liberator of the Spanish nation, delivered from the yoke so long imposed on it by a miserable favorite. In the presence of a new and popular royalty, born of a patriotic sentiment, Murat comprehended for the first time the necessity of reserve and prudence. The distrust of the new monarch as regards fallen royalty, the anger and ill-will of the parents as regards the son who had dethroned them, were to bring both parties before the powerful protector who had been wise enough beforehand to effect a military occupation of their country. It was important to remain free, and to prepare for war with King Ferdinand VII. The popular passion naturally offered a point of support against Charles IV., his wife, and his favorite. Montyon, aide-de-camp to Murat, repaired to Aranjuez, counselling the old king to draw up a protest against the violence of which he had been the victim. Until then, the queen in the letters which she had addressed to Napoleon and to Murat, had only asked for a place in which to lay her head: "Let the grand duke prevail upon the emperor to give to the king my husband, to myself, and to the Prince de la Paix, sufficient for all three to subsist upon in a place good for our health, free from oppression or intrigues." At the instigation of Murat, and not without some hesitation, Charles IV. declared that he had only abdicated in order to avoid greater evils, and to prevent the effusion of the blood of his subjects, "which rendered the act null and of no effect." Murat at the same time made use of the friendship and confidence which had long existed between Beauharnais and Ferdinand VII., to suggest to this prince the idea of presenting himself before the emperor and asking sanction for his royal authority. The Spanish troops received orders to effect a retrograde movement, and the new monarch solemnly entered into Madrid on the 24th of March, amidst impassioned cries of joy from the populace.

The lieutenant had well divined the idea of the imperious master from whom he was separated by a distance that perilously retarded his orders. The emperor had heard the news of the royal departure for Seville and for America. He had written, on March 23rd, the same day upon which Murat had entered Madrid in the footprints of the revolution: "I suppose

I am about to receive the news of all that will have taken place at Madrid on the 17th and 18th of March." Unforeseen events having occurred, he wrote to Murat on the 27th: "You are to prevent any harm from being done, either to the king or queen or to the Prince de la Paix. If the latter is brought to trial, I imagine that I shall be consulted. You are to tell M. de Beauharnais that I desire him to intervene, and that this affair should be hushed up. Until the new king is recognized by me you are to act as if the old king was still reigning; on that point you are to await my orders. As I have already commanded you, maintain good order at Madrid; prevent any extraordinary warlike preparations. Employ M. de Beauharnais in all this until my arrival, which you are to declare to be imminent. You are always saying that you have no instructions; I give you them every time; I tell you to keep your troops well rested, to replenish your commissariat, and not to prejudice the question in any way. It seems to me that you have no need to know anything more."

The political instructions were to reach Murat through the agency of General Savary, often charged by the emperor with delicate missions requiring absolute and unscrupulous devotion. On seizing by stratagem the fortress of Pampeluna, General Darmagnac had frankly said, "This is dirty work." General Savary obeyed without reserve, always absorbed in the enterprise confided to him, and never letting himself be turned aside by any obstacle. The emperor wrote on the 30th of March to the Grand Duke of Berg:—

"I received your letters with those of the King of Spain. Snatch the Prince de la Paix from the hands of these people. My intention is that no harm shall be done to him, since he is two leagues from Madrid and almost in your reach; I shall be much vexed to hear that any evil has happened to him.

"The king says that he will repair to your camp; I wait to know that he is in safety, in order to make known to you my intentions.

"You have done well in not recognizing the Prince of Asturias.

"You are to place King Charles IV. at the Escorial, to treat him with the greatest respect, to declare that he continues always to rule in Spain, until I shall have recognized the revolution.

"I strongly approve your conduct in these unforeseen circumstances. I suppose you will not have allowed the Prince

de la Paix to perish, and that you will not have permitted King Charles to go Badajoz. If he is still in your hands, you must dissemble with Beauharnais, and say that you cannot recognize the Prince of Asturias, whom I have not recognized; that it is necessary to let King Charles come to the Escorial; that the first thing I shall require on my arrival will be to see him. Take all measures not to have his life in jeopardy. I hope the position in which you find yourself will have led you to adopt a sound policy."

On the 27th of March, three days before ordering Murat to hold the balance suspended between father and son, Napoleon had written to the King of Holland, Louis Bonaparte: "My brother, the King of Spain has just abdicated; the Prince de la Paix has been thrown into prison. The commencement of an insurrection has broken forth at Madrid. On that occasion my troops were forty leagues away from Madrid. The Grand Duke of Berg was to enter on the 23rd with 40,000 men. Up to this time the people loudly call for me. Certain that I should have no solid peace with England except by effecting a great change on the continent, I have resolved to place a French prince upon the throne of Spain. The climate of Holland does not suit you. Besides, Holland would never know how to emerge from its ruins. In this whirlwind of the world, whether we have peace or not, there are no means by which Holland can sustain herself. In this state of things, I think of you for the throne of Spain. You will be the sovereign of a generous nation, of 11,000,000 of men, and of important colonies. With economy and activity, Spain could have 60,000 men under arms and fifty vessels in her ports. You perceive that this is still only a project, and that, although I have 100,000 men in Spain, it is possible, according to the circumstances that may arise, either that I may march directly, and that all may be accomplished in a fortnight, or that I may march more slowly, and that this may be a secret during several months of operations. Answer me categorically. If I appoint you King of Spain, do you agree? Can I count upon you? Answer me only these two words: 'I have received your letter of such date; I answer Yes;' and then I shall conclude that you will do what I wish; or, otherwise, 'No,' which will give me to understand that you do not agree to my proposition. Do not take anyone into your confidence, and do not speak to anyone whatever as to the purport of this letter, for a thing must be done before we confess to having thought of it."

Full of these resolves, which he had not yet completely revealed to his most intimate confidants, the emperor quitted Paris on the 2nd of April. He was expected in Spain, and he had announced his arrival over and over again, but his purpose was not to push forward his journey so far. Already, at the instigation of General Savary, who knowingly seconded the advice innocently given by Beauharnais, the new king had resolved upon presenting himself before Napoleon. The latter was equally expecting the arrival of the Prince de la Paix, the bearer of messages from the king, Charles IV., and the queen. The emperor had written on his behalf to Marshal Bessières, recommending him to protect the progress of the formerly all-powerful favorite. "I have not to complain of him in any way," said he; "he is only sent into France for his safety; reassure him by all means." The counsellors of Ferdinand VII. refused to allow the Prince de la Paix to set out; he was regarded as a hostage. The young king had vainly solicited from his father a letter of introduction to Napoleon. "In this letter," said he, "you will felicitate the emperor on his arrival, and you bear witness that I have the same sentiments with regard to him that you have always shown." Anger and distrust remained very powerful in the little court of Aranjuez. Ferdinand VII. set out on the 10th of April, accompanied by General Savary, who lavished upon him the royal titles rigorously refused by Murat. The emperor had given similar instructions to Bessières. "Without entering into the political question, on those occasions on which you will be compelled to speak of the Prince of Asturias do not call him Ferdinand VII.; evade the difficulty by calling those who rule at Madrid the government." A junta, or Council of State, had been formed at Madrid, under the presidency of the Infanta Don Antonio, in order to direct affairs in the absence of the new monarch. The latter had already arrived at Burgos.

Napoleon had not yet passed Bordeaux, where he remained a few days, designedly vying in delay with the Spanish court. He wrote on the 10th of April to Murat: "If the Prince of Asturias presents himself at Burgos and at Bayonne, he will have kept his word. When the end that I propose to myself, and with which Savary will have made you acquainted, is accomplished, you will be able to declare verbally and in all conversations that my intention is not only to preserve the integrity of the provinces and the independence of the country, but also the privileges of all classes, and that I will pledge my-



KING JOSEPH



CHARLES IV. OF SPAIN.



MURAT



MASSENA.

self to do that; that I am desirous of seeing Spain happy, and in such circumstances that I may never see it an object of dread to France. Those who wish for a liberal government and the regeneration of Spain will find them in my plan; those who fear the return of the queen and the Prince de la Paix may be reassured, since those individuals will have no influence and no credit. The nobles who wish for consideration and honors which they did not have in the past administration, will find them. Good Spaniards who wish for tranquillity and a wise administration, will find these advantages in a system which will maintain the integrity and independence of the Spanish monarchy."

Perhaps some provision of the *system* that the Emperor Napoleon was projecting had crossed the mind of Ferdinand VII. and of his counsellors; perhaps the Spanish pride was wounded by the little eagerness to set foot in Spain shown by the all-powerful sovereign of the French. Certain it is that General Savary, who had had much difficulty in persuading Ferdinand VII. to decide on pursuing his journey beyond Burgos, failed in his efforts to induce him to quit Vittoria. The behavior of the general became rude and haughty. "I set out for Bayonne," said he; "you will have occasion to regret your decision." Napoleon arrived, in fact, at Bayonne a few hours after his envoy.

Two days later General Savary retook the road to Vittoria, the bearer of a letter from the emperor for the *Prince of Asturias*.

"My brother, I have received the letter of your Royal Highness. You ought to have found proof, by the papers which you have had from the king your father, of the interest I have always taken in him. You will permit me, under the circumstances, to speak to you freely and faithfully. On arriving at Madrid I was hoping to induce my illustrious friend to accept a few reforms necessary in his states, and to give some satisfaction to public opinion. The dismissal of the Prince de la Paix appeared to me necessary for his happiness and that of his subjects. The affairs of the north have retarded my journey. The events of Aranjuez have taken place. I am not the judge of what has passed, and of the conduct of the Prince de la Paix; but I know well that it is dangerous for kings to accustom their people to shed blood and do justice for themselves. I pray God that your Royal Highness may not one day have to make the experiment. How could you bring

the Prince de la Paix to trial without including with him the queen, and your father the king? He has no longer any friends. Your Royal Highness will have none if ever you are unfortunate. The people willingly avenge themselves for the honor they render to us. I have often manifested a desire that the Prince de la Paix should be withdrawn from affairs; the friendship of King Charles has as often induced me to hold my tongue and turn away my eyes from the weakness of his attachment. Miserable men that we are! feebleness and error are our mottoes. But all this can be set right. Let the Prince de la Paix be exiled from Spain, and I will offer him a refuge in France. As to the abdication of Charles IV., it took place at a moment when my armies covered Spain, and in the eyes of Europe and of posterity I should appear to have despatched so many troops only to precipitate from the throne my ally and friend. As a neighboring sovereign it is permitted me to wish to become fully acquainted with this abdication before recognizing it. I say to your Royal Highness, to the Spaniards, to the entire world, If the abdication of King Charles is a spontaneous movement, if it has not been forced upon him by the insurrection and the mob of Aranjuez, I make no difficulty about admitting it, and I recognize your Royal Highness as King of Spain. I desire then to talk with you on this point. When King Charles informed me of the occurrence of October last I was sorrowfully affected by it.

“Your Royal Highness has been much in the wrong: I did not require as a proof of it the letter you wrote to me, and which I have always wished to ignore. Should you be a king in your turn you would know how sacred are the rights of the throne; any application to a foreign sovereign on the part of an hereditary prince is criminal. As regards the marriage of a French princess with your Royal Highness, I hold it would be conformable to the interests of my people, and above all a circumstance which would attach me by new bonds to a family that has won nothing but praises from me since I ascended the throne. Your Royal Highness ought to mistrust the outbreaks of popular emotions; they may be able to commit a few murders on my isolated soldiers, but the ruin of Spain would be the result of it. Your Highness understands my thoughts fully; you see that I am floating between diverse ideas, that require to be fixed. You may be certain that in any case I shall comport myself towards you as towards the king your father.”

On receiving this letter, by turns menacing and caressing, and on listening to the commentaries with which General Savary accompanied it, the prince and his followers still hesitated to advance beyond the frontiers. The repugnance manifested by the population became every day more intense. Urquijo, one of the oldest and wisest counsellors of King Charles IV., insisted upon the advantages that Napoleon would realize by counterbalancing the claims of the son by those of the father, and by thus placing the peninsula under the laws of the general system of the French Empire. He asserted that the intention was already apparent under the words used, official and private, and that Ferdinand would lose himself, and lose Spain, in repairing to Bayonne. "What!" cried the Duc de l'Infantado, for a long time an accomplice in all the intrigues of the Prince of Asturias, "what! would a hero surrounded with so much glory descend to the basest of perfidies?" "You do not understand heroes," replied Urquijo, bitterly. "You have not read Plutarch. The greatest amongst them have raised their greatness upon heaps of corpses. What did our own Charles V. do in Germany and Italy, and in Spain itself? I do not go back to the most wicked of our princes. Posterity takes no account of means."

This counsel was too prudent and wise to prevail with minds at once headstrong and feeble. Ferdinand resolved to trust to the hopes that Napoleon caused to gleam before his eyes; he knew not that his retreat was cut off. "If the prince comes to Bayonne," the emperor had written to Marshal Bessières, "it is very well; if he retires to Burgos, you will have him arrested, and conducted to Bayonne. You will inform the Grand Duke of Berg of this occurrence; and you will make it known at Burgos that King Charles has protested, and that the Prince of Asturias is not king. If he refuses the interview that I propose, it is a sign of his belonging to the English party, and then there will be nothing more to arrange." On the 20th of April the prince and his suite crossed the little river of the Bidassoa. As he was leaving Vittoria, the crowd assembled in the streets became violent, and cut the traces of the horses. In order to avoid a popular riot, the squadrons of the imperial guard had to surround the carriage of the prince; he set out from his states as if already a prisoner.

It was as a suppliant that he arrived at Bayonne, and the sorrowful impression he had experienced on passing the frontier increased as he drew nigh to the end of his journey.

There was no one on his road to meet him or compliment him, save the three Spanish noblemen whom he had himself sent to Napoleon, and who returned to their prince troubled with the gloomiest presentiments. Marshals Duroc and Berthier received him, however, with courtesy when he arrived at Bayonne, and the emperor soon had him brought to the chateau of Marac, in which he himself was installed. Carrying out his previous declaration, Napoleon would give to his visitor no other title than that of Prince of Asturias. At the end of the day, General Savary escorted Ferdinand to his apartment; the emperor kept beside himself Canon Escoiquiz.

The hour for revelations had arrived. Napoleon took the trouble to develop to the canon preceptor his reasons for depriving the house of Bourbon of the throne, and for placing upon it a prince of the Bonaparte family. "I will give Etruria to Prince Ferdinand in exchange," said he; "it is a fine country; he will be happy and tranquil. The populace will perhaps rebel on a few points, but I have on my side religion and the monks. I have had experience of it, and the countries where there are plenty of monks are easy to subjugate."

Napoleon paced to and fro in his room, sometimes stopping in front of the canon, whom he terrified by his flashing glances and by the extreme animation of his language, sometimes according to him one of those familiar and waggish gestures which were the signs of his favor. The unfortunate Escoiquiz sought in vain to defend the cause of his prince, making the most of his merits and his personal attachment to the emperor, and pledging his submission if he became sovereign of Spain and an ally of the imperial family. "You are telling me stories, canon," replied Napoleon. "You are too well informed to be ignorant of the fact that a woman is too feeble a bond to determine the political conduct of a prince: and who will guarantee that you will be near him in six months' time. All this is only bad politics. Your Bourbons have never served me except against their will. They have always been ready to betray me. A brother will be worth more to me, whatever you say about it. The regeneration of Spain is impossible in their hands; they will be always, in spite of themselves, the support of ancient abuses. My part is decided on; the revolution must be accomplished. Spain will not lose a village, and I have taken my precautions as to the colonies. Let your prince decide before the arrival of

King Charles relative to the exchange of his rights against Tuscany. If he accepts, the treaty will be concluded; if he refuses, it is of little consequence, for I shall obtain from his father the cession that I require, Tuscany will remain in possession of France, and his royal highness will receive no indemnity."

The canon covered his face with his hands. "Alas!" cried he, "what will be said of us who counselled our prince to come hither?" The emperor again reassured him. "Do not annoy yourself, canon," said he; "neither you nor the others have any cause to afflict yourselves. You could not divine my intentions, for nobody was acquainted with them. Go and find your prince."

General Savary displayed less eloquence and power of persuasion in announcing to the unfortunate Ferdinand the intentions of the emperor, whom he had on his part so adroitly served. The prince was utterly astounded when his old preceptor entered his room. The intimate counsellors were convoked; they persisted in seeing in the declaration of Napoleon a daring manœuvre intended to terrify the house of Spain into some important cession of territory. The prince formally refused to accept the kingdom of Etruria: he maintained that the rights of the crown of Spain were unalienable; he possessed them by consent of his father Charles IV., who alone could dispute the throne with him. Two negotiators were successively commissioned to carry this reply to Champagny, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The latter had just drawn up a report for the emperor, deciding upon taking possession of Spain. "We must recommence the work of Louis XIV.," it said. "That which policy counsels, justice authorizes. The present circumstances do not permit your Majesty to refrain from intervention in the affairs of this kingdom. The King of Spain has been precipitated from his throne. Your Majesty is called upon to judge between the father and son: which part will you take? Would you sacrifice the cause of sovereigns and of all fathers, and permit an outrage to be done to the majesty of the throne? Would you leave upon the throne of Spain a prince who will not be able to preserve himself from the yoke of the English, so that your Majesty will have constantly to maintain a large army in Spain? If, on the contrary, your Majesty is determined to replace Charles IV. on the throne, you know that it could not be done without having to overcome great

resistance, nor without causing French blood to flow. Lastly, could your Majesty, taking no interest in these great differences, abandon the Spanish nation to its doom, when already a violent fermentation is agitating it, and England is sowing there the seeds of trouble and anarchy? Ought your Majesty then to leave this new prey to be devoured by the English? Certainly not. Thus your Majesty, compelled to undertake the regeneration of Spain, in a manner useful for her and useful for France, ought neither to re-establish at the price of much blood a dethroned king, nor to sanction the revolt of his son, nor to abandon Spain to itself; for in these two last cases it would be to deliver it to the English, who by their gold and their intrigues have succeeded in tearing and rending this country, and thus you would assure their triumph.

"I have set forth to your Majesty the circumstances which compel you to come to a great determination. Policy counsels it, justice authorizes it, the troubles of Spain impose it as a necessity. Your Majesty has to provide for the safety of your empire, and save Spain from the influence of the English."

Even the most resolute and scrupulous men love to be bolstered up with words, and to surround themselves with vain pretexts. The Emperor Napoleon, resolved on robbing the house of Bourbon of a throne which had become suspected by him, had asked from Champagny an explanatory memoir, and took care to pose as an arbitrator between King Charles IV. and his son, in order to cover his perfidy with a mantle of distributive justice. He had already apprised Murat of his desire to see the old sovereign of Spain before him: the request of Charles IV. and his queen forestalled this proposal. The lieutenant-general had at last snatched away the Prince de la Paix from the hands which detained him. The favorite had taken refuge under the wing of Murat, in the most pitiable condition. "The Prince de la Paix arrives this evening," wrote Napoleon to Talleyrand on the 25th of April: "he has been for a month between life and death, always menaced with the latter. Would you believe it that, in this interval, he has never changed his shirt, and has a beard seven inches long? The most absurd calumnies have been laid to his charge. Cause articles to be written, not justifying the Prince de la Paix, but depicting in characters of fire the evils of popular insurrections, and drawing forth pity for this unfortunate man. It will be as well for him not to delay his arrival in Paris." On the 1st of May, after the arrival of the entire

royal family: "The Prince de la Paix is here. King Charles is a brave man. I know not whether it is his position or circumstances, but he has the air of a frank and good patriarch. The queen has her heart and history on her countenance; that is enough to say to you; it surpasses everything that it is permitted to imagine. The Prince de la Paix has the air of a bull. He is beginning to feel himself again; he has been treated with unexampled barbarity. It will be well for him to be discharged from all false imputations, but it will be necessary to leave him covered by a slight touch of contempt.

"The Prince of Asturias is very stupid, very evilly disposed, very much the enemy of the French. You readily perceive that with my practice in managing men his experience of twenty-four years has not been able to impose upon me; and this is so evident to me, that it would take a long war to bring me to recognize him as King of Spain. Moreover, I have had it notified to him that I ought not to hold communications with him, King Charles being upon my frontiers. I have consequently had his couriers arrested. One of them was the bearer of a letter to Don Antonio: 'I forewarn you that the emperor has in his hands a letter from Maria Louisa (the Queen of Etruria, his sister), which states that the abdication of my father was forced. Act as if you did not know this, but conduct yourself accordingly, and strive to prevent these accursed Frenchmen from gaining any advantage by their wickedness.'" All the correspondence of the Prince of Asturias passed under the eyes of Napoleon.

On their arrival at Bayonne on the 30th of April, King Charles IV. and his queen were received with all royal honors. The emperor had himself regulated the ceremonial. "All who are here, even the Infantado and Escoiquiz, came to kiss the hand of the king and queen, kneeling," wrote Napoleon to Murat on May 1st. "This scene roused the indignation of the king and queen, who all the time regarded them with contempt. They proceeded to their apartments ushered by Marshal Duroc, when the two princes wished to follow them; but the king turning towards them, thus addressed them: 'Princes, you have covered my gray hairs with shame and sorrow; you come to add derision also. Depart, that I may never see you again.' Since this occurrence the princes appear considerably stunned and astonished. I know not yet upon what they have resolved."

On arriving at the gate of the chateau of Marac the old

king, Charles IV., fell weeping into the arms of Napoleon. "Lean upon me," said the emperor; "I have strength enough for both." "I know it well!" replied Charles: it was the genuine expression of his thoughts. The Prince de la Paix was not long in coming to the conclusion that all hope of his master's restoration was lost. Repose, with an ample competency, was promised to him; Napoleon also enabled him to get a taste of the pleasure of vengeance. Charles IV. had given command to his son, requiring from him a pure and simple renunciation of the crown which he had usurped: the prince peremptorily refused. The old king rose up with difficulty, brandishing his cane above his head: "I will have you treated like the rebel emigrants," cried he, "as an unnatural son who wished to snatch away my life and my crown." They had to restrict themselves to written communications. A letter from Charles IV. reclaimed the crown, and presented to his son's notice a mournful picture of his proceedings. "I have had recourse to the Emperor of the French," said he, "no longer as a king, at the head of his army and surrounded with the splendor of a throne, but as an unfortunate and forsaken monarch. I have found protection and refuge in the midst of his camp. I owe him my life and that of my queen and of my First Minister. All now depends on the mediation and protection of this great prince. I have reigned for the happiness of my subjects; I do not wish to bequeath them civil war, rebellions, and the popular assemblies of revolution. Everything ought to be done for the people, and nothing for one's self. All my life I have sacrificed myself for my people; and it is not at the age at which I have now arrived that I should do anything contrary to their religion, their tranquillity, and their happiness. When I shall be assured that the religion of Spain, the integrity of my provinces, their independence and their privileges, will be maintained, I shall descend into the tomb pardoning you the bitterness of my last years."

The king had already invested Murat with supreme power in the capacity of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. Ferdinand continually resisted—proposing, indeed, to make an act of renunciation, but only at Madrid, in presence of the Cortes, and under the condition that the king, Charles IV., should himself resume possession of the throne. The preliminary negotiations became each day more bitter. Napoleon pursued his aim without disturbing himself at the refusals of the prince, who, however, provoked in him some ill-humor. He

had by a single stroke destroyed the illusions and hopes of Murat by writing to him on the 2nd of May, "I intend the King of Naples to reign at Madrid. I wish to give you the kingdom of Naples, or that of Portugal. Answer me immediately what you think of it, for it is necessary for this to be done in a day." The very day on which Napoleon thus inflicted on his brother-in-law a stroke for which Murat never consoled himself, the insurrection which broke out at Madrid rendered impossible the elevation to the throne of Spain of the man whose duty it was so roughly to repress it. For a fortnight the excitement in the capital had been intense, carefully kept up by the reports which Ferdinand and his friends found the means of freely spreading amongst the population. An order had been sent to Murat to make all those princes of the royal house who were still at Madrid set out for Bayonne; when the Junta had been induced with great difficulty to give its consent to this measure, the populace opposed the departure. A certain number of soldiers were massacred, an aide-de-camp of Murat escaping by a miracle from the popular anger. The troops had for a long time been posted as a precaution against an insurrection, and all the streets were soon swept by charges of cavalry; cannon resounded in all directions. The Spanish troops, consigned to their quarters, only took part in the struggle at one point; a company of artillery gave up its pieces to the people. When the insurrection was suppressed a hundred insurgents were shot without any form of trial.

This was, in the capital, the last and feeble effort of a resistance which had not yet had time to become a patriotic passion. Henceforth Murat felt himself master of Madrid; he became President of the Junta. Don Antonio had accompanied to Bayonne his nephew, François de Paule, and his niece, the Queen of Etruria.

"Your Majesty has nothing more to do than to designate the king whom you destine for Spain," mournfully wrote the lieutenant-general on the morning of the 3rd; "this king will reign without obstacle." But lately he had repeated this proposal, heard on several occasions amongst the inhabitants of Madrid: "Let us run to the house of the Grand Duc de Berg, and proclaim him king."

The news of the insurrection of Madrid precipitated at Bayonne the *dénouement* of the tragi-comedy in which for several days the illustrious actors had been playing their parts. The

emperor feigned great anger, and the terror of the old Spanish sovereigns was real.

It is thou who art the cause of all this!" cried the king, Charles IV., violently apostrophizing his son. "Thou hast caused the blood of our subjects and of our allies to flow, in order to hasten by a few days the moment of bearing a crown too heavy for thee. Restore it to him who can sustain it." The prince remained taciturn and sombre, limiting himself to protesting his innocence. His mother threw herself upon him. "Thou hast always been a bad son," she cried with violence; "thou hast wished to dethrone thy father, to cause thy mother's death; and thou art standing there before us insensible, without replying either to us or to our friend the great Napoleon: speak, justify thyself, if thou canst." The emperor, who was present at this sorrowful scene, intervened: "If between this and midnight you have not recognized your father as the lawful king, and have not sent word to Madrid to that effect, you shall be treated as a rebel."

This was too much for the courage of Ferdinand; he was in the hands of an irritated master, who had drawn him and his into a snare which was at this time impossible to be broken through. Weakness and cowardice in the present did not forbid far-off hopes; the prince yielded, counting on the future. "For any one who can see it, his character is depicted by a single word," Napoleon had said; "he is a sneak."

The treaty was concluded the same evening, through the mediation of the Prince de la Paix. King Charles IV., recognizing that he and his family were incapable of assuring the repose of Spain, of which he was the sole lawful sovereign, surrendered the crown to the Emperor of the French, for him to dispose of it at his will. Spain and her colonies were to form an independent state. The Catholic religion was to remain dominant, to the exclusion of all others. King Charles IV. was to enjoy during life the castle and forest of Compiègne; the castle of Chambord was to belong to him in perpetuity; a civil list of 7,500,000 francs was assured to him from the French Treasury. A particular convention accorded the absolute property of the castle of Navarre to Prince Ferdinand, with a revenue of 1,000,000 francs, and 400,000 livres income for each of the Infantas. When the emperor notified to Count Mollien, then Minister of the Treasury, the tenor of the treaty, he added: "That will make 10,000,000. All these sums will be reimbursed by Spain." The Spanish nation was to pay for

the fall of its dynasty and the pacific conquest upon which Napoleon counted. She reserved for him another price for his perfidious manœuvres.

Already the Spanish princes were on the way to their retreats. Compiègne and Navarre not being ready for their reception, the old king was to inhabit Fontainebleau provisionally. The emperor ordered Talleyrand to receive the Infantas at Valençay, thus confiding to his vice-grand-electeur the honorable functions of a jailer. "I desire," he wrote to him on the 9th of May, "that the princes may be received with no external ceremony, but with respect and care, and that you do everything possible to amuse them. Be on Monday evening at Valençay. If you have a theatre there, and could get a few comedians to come, it would not be a bad idea; you might bring Madame de Talleyrand there, with four or five ladies. I have the greatest interest in the Prince of Asturias being prevented from taking any false steps. I desire, then, that he may be amused and occupied. Harsh policy would lead one to put him in the Bicêtre, or in some strong castle; but as he has thrown himself into my arms, and has promised me to do nothing without my orders, and as all goes on in Spain as I desire, I have decided to send him into a country place, surrounding him at the same time with pleasures and keeping him under strict surveillance. Let this last during the month of May and part of June; the affairs of Spain will have taken a turn, and I shall then see what part I shall take.

"As to you, your mission is honorable enough; to receive at your house these three illustrious personages, in order to amuse them, is altogether worthy of the nation and of your rank."

The captivity of the Spanish princes was to be much longer and less cheerful than the Emperor Napoleon was depicting it beforehand. He had already provided for the government of Spain. Sorrowfully and with great difficulty, Murat had prevailed upon the Grand Council of Castile and the Indies to indicate a preference for the King of Naples. The Junta had absolutely refused to take part in any manifestations of this nature. On the 10th of May, Napoleon wrote to King Joseph, "King Charles, by the treaty I have made with him, cedes to me all the rights of the crown of Spain. The nation, through the medium of the Supreme Council of Castile, asks from me a king. It is for you that I destine this crown. Spain is not like the kingdom of Naples: it has 11,000,000 of inhabitants, more

than a hundred and fifty millions of revenue, without counting the immense revenues and possessions of all the Americas. It is, besides, a crown which places you at Madrid, within three days of France, which entirely covers one of its frontiers. At Madrid you are in France; Naples is at the end of the world. I desire, then, that immediately you have received this letter you should confide the regency to whoever you will, and the command of the troops to Marshal Jourdan, and that you should set out for Bayonne by way of Turin, Mont Cenis, and Lyons. You will receive this letter on the 19th, you will set out on the 20th, and you will be here on the 1st of June. Withal, keep the matter secret; people will perhaps suspect something, but you can say that you have to go to Upper Italy in order to confer with me on important affairs."

Napoleon had said, the moment when he concluded the treaty which deprived the house of Bourbon of its last throne, "What I am doing is not well in a certain point of view, I know. But policy demands that I should not leave in my rear, so near Paris, a dynasty inimical to my own."

Justice and right possess lights of which the cleverest framers of human politics are at times ignorant. The Emperor Napoleon descended several steps towards his fall when he abused his power as regards Pope Pius VII., and used odious means to dethrone the feeble and ignorant princes who were ruling over Spain. Very slippery are the roads of universal power; in the steps of its master, France was rushing to disaster.

CHAPTER X.

THE HOME GOVERNMENT (1804—1808).

FOR more than twenty years the history of France was the history of Europe; for more than fifteen years the history of Napoleon was the history of France, but a history cruelly bloody and agitated, often adorned with so much glory and splendor, that the country might, and in fact did, indulge itself in long and fatal illusions which drew down bitter sufferings. All this life of our country, however, was not dissipated afar off in the train of its victorious armies, or its arrogant ambassadors; if old France was sometimes astonished to find herself

so much increased that she ran the risk of becoming one of the provinces of the Empire, she always remained the centre, and her haughty master did not forget her. Carried beyond her territory by the wild instinct of ambition, he did not renounce the home government of his first and most famous conquest. Seconded by several capable and modest men to whom he transmitted peremptory orders, often modified by them in the execution, Napoleon founded again the French administration, formerly powerful in the hands of the great minister of Louis XIV., but destroyed and overthrown by the shocks of the Revolution. He established institutions, he raised monuments which have remained while all the dazzling trophies of his arms have disappeared, while all his conquests have been torn from us, after worn out France, bruised and bleeding, found herself smaller than at the end of the evil days of the French Revolution.

"Scarcely invested with a sovereignty, new both to France and to himself," said Count Mollien in his memoirs, "Napoleon imposed upon himself the task of ascertaining all the revenues and expenses of the state. He had acquired patience for the details from the fact that, in his campaigns, he depended entirely upon himself for the care of securing food, clothing and pay of his armies." On the eve of Austerlitz, after immense efforts made by the government as well as the public, to re-establish order and activity in a country so long agitated and weakened by incessant shocks, the measure of new enterprises had been exceeded; embarrassments extended from public to private fortunes, all the symptoms of a serious and impending crisis were already shown. Napoleon did not hide this from himself, but he saw and sought for no other remedy than victory. Passing before Mollien, when going to theatre, he said to him, "The finances are in a bad way, the Bank is embarrassed. I cannot put these matters right." For a long time the fortune as well as the repose of France was to depend upon the ever doubtful chances of victory; long she submitted to it with a constancy without example. The day came when victory was not sufficient for our country, she had not strength enough to support the price of her glory. The Emperor Napoleon was deceived in seeking the sources of public prosperity in conquest; the blood which flows in the veins of a nation is not restored as soon as another nation, humiliated and vanquished, shall in its turn give up drop by drop its blood, its children, and its treasures. Society is exhausted unless war

contributions and exactions definitively fill the coffers of the victor. The long hostilities of Europe, and our alternate successes and reverses, have sufficiently taught us this hard lesson. Victor or vanquished, France has never completely crushed her enemies, she has never been crushed by them. All have suffered, all still suffer from this outrage on the welfare of society, which is called a war of conquest. In the beginning of his supreme power, Napoleon thought to find in victory an inexhaustible source of riches. "It was the ideas of the ancients which Napoleon applied to the right of conquest," said Mollien.

He learnt even on the morrow of the battle of Austerlitz that victory is not sufficient for the repose and prosperity of a state; the expenses necessitated by the preparations for war, the enormous sums which the treasury had had to pay, the general crisis in the commercial world had induced the minister of the treasury, Barbé Marbois, to have recourse to hazardous enterprises entrusted to unsafe hands. "You are a very honest man," the emperor wrote * to his minister, "but I cannot help believing that you are surrounded by rogues." Six weeks after the battle of Austerlitz, on the 26th January, 1806, Napoleon arrived at Paris in the night and summoned a council of finance for the following morning. The emperor scarcely permitted a few words to be addressed to him on a campaign so promptly and gloriously terminated. "We have," he said, "questions to deal with which are more serious; it appears that the greatest dangers of the state are not in Austria; listen to the report of the minister of the treasury."

"Barbé Marbois commenced the report with the calm of a conscience which has nothing to reproach itself," adds M. Mollien. He soon showed how the receipts, constantly inferior to the indispensable expenses, had obliged the treasury to borrow, first from the receivers-general, then from a new company of speculators at the head of whom was M. Ouvrard, a man of ability, but of doubtful reputation; the brokers as they were called, had in their turn engaged the state in perilous affairs with Spain, and the commissions upon the receivers-general, which had been conceded to them, enormously surpassed their advances. "The State is the sole creditor of the company," Marbois said at last. The emperor got in a passion. His prompt and penetrating mind, always

* The "Négociants réunis."

ready to distrust, discovered by instinct, and without penetrating into details, the fraud to which his minister was blind. He called before him the brokers, the principal clerks at the treasury, and confounding them all by the bursts of his anger, he forgot at the same time the respect he owed to the age and character of Marbois, who was suddenly dismissed, and immediately replaced by Mollien.

"I had no need to listen to the entire report to guess that the brokers had converted to their own use more than sixty millions," said Napoleon to his new minister; "the money must be recovered."

The debts of the brokers to the public treasury were still more considerable: Mollien had to find the proof and ward off in a great measure the dangers resulting to the treasury from this fatal association with a company of speculators.

Two years later the emperor placed Barbé Marbois at the head of the Court of Accounts which he had just founded. He did not admit the want of repose or a wish for retirement. For a moment Mollien had hesitated to accept the post imposed upon him by his master. He was director of the *caisse d'amortissement* (bank for redemption of rents), and was satisfied with his place. "You cannot refuse a ministry," said the emperor, suddenly, "this evening you will take the oath." Count Mollien introduced important improvements into the management of the finances. The foundation of the bank of service, in current account with the receivers-general, book-keeping by double entry, formerly brought into France by Law, but which had not been established at the treasury, the publication of annual balance sheets, such were the improvements accomplished at that time by the minister of the treasury.

The public works had not been neglected in this whirlwind of affairs which circled round Napoleon. He had ordered vast contracts in road and canal-making; in the intervals of leisure which he devoted to France and the home government, he conceived the idea of monuments destined to immortalize his glory and to fix in the spirit of the people the remembrance of the past, on which the new master of France, set much value. He repaired the basilica of St. Denis, built sepulchral chapels, and instituted a chapter composed of former bishops. He finished the Panthéon, restored to public worship under the old name of Sainte-Geneviève, ordered the construction of the arcs de triomphe (triumphal arches) of the Carrousel and l'Etoile, and the erection of the column in the Place Vendôme.

He also decreed two new bridges over the Seine, those of Austerlitz and Jena. The termination of the Louvre, the construction of the Bourse, the erection of a temple consecrated to the memory of the exploits of the great army and which became the church of the Madeleine, were also decreed. In the great range of his thoughts, which constantly advanced before his epoch and the resources at his disposal, Napoleon prepared an enormous task for the governments succeeding him. All have laboriously contributed to the completion of the works which he had conceived.

At the same time that he constructed monuments and re-organized the public administration, Napoleon desired to found new social conditions. He had created kings and princes; he had raised around him his family and the companions of his glory, to unheard-of fortune; he wished to consolidate this aristocracy, which owed all its splendor to him, by extending it. He had magnificently endowed the great functionaries of the Empire; he wished to re-establish below and around them a hierarchy of subalterns, honored by public offices and henceforth, for this reason, to have themselves and families distinguished by hereditary titles. In the speech from the throne, by which he opened the session of the legislative body in 1807, Napoleon showed his intentions on this subject. "The nation," said he, "has experienced the most happy results from the establishment of the Legion of Honor. I have created several imperial titles to give new splendor to my principal subjects, to honor striking services by striking recompenses, and also to prevent the return of any feudal titles incompatible with our Constitution."

Thus it was that, by a child of the Revolution, still possessed by most of its doctrines, a nobility was to be created in France. The country was not deceived. The emperor could make dukes, marquises, counts, barons; he could not constitute an aristocracy, that slow product of ages in the history of nations. The new nobles remained functionaries when they were not soldiers, illustrious by themselves as well as by the incomparable lustre of the glory of their chief.

The emperor gained battles, concluded treaties, raised or overthrew thrones; he founded a new nobility, and decreed the erection of magnificent monuments by the simple effort of his all-powerful will; he imagined that his imperial action had no limit, and thought himself able to command the masterpieces of genius as well as the movements of his armies. He

was not, and had never been, indifferent to the great beauties of intellect, and his taste was shocked when he was extolled at the opera in bad verses.

In his opinion, mind had its place in the social state, and should be everywhere regulated as a class of that institute which he had reconstituted and completed. He had already laid the foundations of a great university corporation, which he was soon to establish, and which has since, in spite of some defects, rendered such important services to the national education and instruction. In the session of 1806, a project of law, drawn up by M. Fourcroy, Director of Public Instruction, had made the fundamental principles known. By the side of the clerical body, to whom Napoleon would not confide the public education, he had imagined the idea of a lay corporation, which should not be subject to permanent vows, while at the same time imbued with that *esprit de corps* which he had come to look on as one of the great moral forces of society. Under the name of the Imperial University, a new body of teachers was to be entrusted with the public education throughout the empire; the members of this body of teachers were to undertake civil, special, and temporary obligations. The professional education of the men destined to this career, their examinations, their incorporation in the university, the government of this body, confided to a superior council, composed of men illustrious by their talents; all this vast and fertile scheme, due in a great measure to the aid of Fontanes, was afterwards to be developed in the midst of the storms which already commenced to gather around France. Napoleon had long conceived the project, but deferred the details to another time, waiting until he had created the nursery which should furnish France with learned men, whose duty was to educate the rising generation. The all-powerful conqueror, in the midst of his Polish campaign, and in his winter-quarters of Finkestein, prepared a minute on the establishment of Écouen, which had been recently founded for the education of poor girls belonging to members of the Legion of Honor. I wish to quote this document, which, though blunt and insolent, shows much good sense, in order to show how this infinitely active and powerful mind pursued at once different enterprises and thoughts, stamping on all his works the seal of his character and his personal will.

“This establishment must be handsome in all that relates to building, and simple in all that relates to education. Beware

of following the example of the old establishment of St. Cyr, where they spent considerable sums and brought up the young ladies badly. The employment and distribution of time are objects which principally demand your attention. What shall be taught to the young ladies who are to be educated at Écouen? We must begin by religion in all its strictness. Do not admit on this point any modification. Religion is an important matter in a public institution for young ladies. It is, whatever may be said to the contrary, the surest guarantee for mothers and for husbands. Let us bring up believers, and not reasoners. The weakness of woman's brain, the uncertainty of their ideas, their destiny in society, the necessity of constant and perpetual resignation, and a sort of indulgent and easy charity; all this cannot be obtained, except by religion, by a religion charitable and mild. I attached but small importance to the religious institutions of the military school of Fontainebleau, and I have ordained only what is absolutely necessary for the lyceums. It is quite the reverse for the institution of Écouen. Nearly all the science taught there ought to be that of the Gospel. I desire that there may proceed from it not very charming women, but virtuous women; that their accomplishments may be those of manners and heart, not of wit and amusement.

"There must, therefore, be at Écouen a director, an intelligent man, of middle age and good morals. The pupils must each day say regular prayers, hear mass, and receive lessons on the catechism. This part of their education must be most carefully attended to.

"The pupils must then also be taught arithmetic, writing, and the principles of their mother tongue, so that they know orthography. They must be taught a little geography and history, but be careful not to teach them Latin or any foreign tongue. To the eldest may be taught a little botany, or a slight course of physics or natural history, and even that may have a bad effect. They must be limited in physics to what is necessary to prevent gross ignorance or stupid superstition, and must keep to facts, without reasonings which tend directly or indirectly to first causes.

"It will afterwards be considered if it would be useful to give to those who attain to a certain class a sum for their clothing. They might by that get accustomed to economy, to calculate the value of things, and to keep their own accounts. But, in general, they must all be occupied during three fourths

of the day in manual work; they ought to know how to make stockings, chemises, embroidery—in fact, all kinds of women's work. These young girls ought to be considered as if they belonged to families who have in the provinces from fifteen to eighteen thousand francs a year, and be treated accordingly. You will therefore understand that hand-work in the household should not be indifferent to them.

“I do not know if it is possible to teach them some little of medicine and pharmacy, at least of that kind of medicine which is within the reach of a nurse. It would be well also if they knew a little part of the kitchen occupied by medicinal herbs. I wish that a young girl, quitting Écouen to take her place at the head of a small household, should know how to cut out her dresses, mend her husband's clothes, make her baby-linen, and procure little comforts for her family by the means usually employed in a provincial household; nurse her husband and children when ill, and know on these points, because it has been early inculcated on her, all that nurses have learnt by habit. All this is so simple and trivial as scarcely to require reflection. As to dress, it ought to be uniform and of common material, but well made. I think that on that head the present female costume leaves nothing to be desired. The arms, however, must of course be covered, and other modifications adopted which modesty and the conditions of health require.

“As to the food, it cannot be too simple; soup, boiled beef, and a little *entrée*; there is no need for more.

“I do not dare, as at Fontainebleau, order the pupils to do their own cooking; I should have too many people against me; but they may be allowed to prepare their dessert, and what is given to them either for lunch or for holidays. I will dispense with their cooking, but not with their making their own bread. The advantage of all this is, that they will be exercised in all they may be called on to do, and find the natural employment of their time in practical and useful things.

“If I am told that the establishment will not be very fashionable, I reply that this is what I desire, because it is my opinion that of all educations the best is that of mothers; because my intention is principally to assist those young girls who have lost their mothers, and whose relations are poor. To sum up all, if the members of the Legion of Honor who are rich disdain to put their daughters at Écouen, if those who are poor desire that they shall be received, and if these young persons,

returning to their provinces, enjoy there the reputation of good women, I shall have completely attained my end, and I am certain that the establishment will acquire a high and genuine reputation.

"In this matter we must go to the verge of ridicule. I do not bring up either dressmakers, or waiting-women, or housekeepers, but women for modest and poor households. The mother, in a poor household, is the housekeeper of the family."

The spirit of the age and the fascinations of luxury in an agitated epoch were too strong for the determined and reasoned will of the legislator. The houses of the Legion of Honor were not destined to become the best schools for the mothers of families "in modest and poor households." Napoleon had well judged the superior influence of daily example when he said, "My opinion is, that the best education is that of mothers." The wisest and most far-seeing rules know not how to replace it. Religion cannot be taught by order, like sewing or cooking. The great lesson of daily virtue and devotion will ever remain the lot of mothers.

The delicate question of female education carried the mark of the Emperor Napoleon's genius for organization. He had also sought to reduce to rules the encouragement that power owed to genius. Since the year 1805, he had instituted prizes every ten years, intended to recompense the authors of the best works on the physical sciences, mathematics, history, the author of the best theatrical piece, the best opera, the best poem, the best painters and sculptors; "so that," according to the preamble of the decree, "France may not only preserve the superiority she has acquired in science, literature, and the arts, but that the age which commences may surpass those which have preceded it."

It would be an arrogant pretension for the nineteenth century to assert its superiority over its illustrious predecessors, the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century, in all that concerns literature or art. However, we have had the good fortune and the honor to be witnesses of a wonderful display of creative genius in France in all branches of literature and art; we have seen orators, poets, artists who could take rank with the most illustrious chiefs of the ancient schools; all this splendor, all this national and peaceful glory, has only taken root in regular liberty and constitutional order. The troubles of the French Revolution, the violent and continual emotions of the war, above all the rule of an arbitrary will, which opened or

shut at pleasure both lips and printing-presses, had not been propitious to the expansion of human thought under the reign of the Emperor Napoleon. Those who possessed a spark of the admirable gift of genius, preserved at the same time in their hearts that passion for liberty which necessarily ranked them among the enemies or suspected persons. At the height of his supreme power, Napoleon could never suffer independence either of thought or speech. He long persecuted Benjamin Constant after he had taken his place among the members of the Tribunate; and he manifested a persecuting aversion towards Madame de Staël, which betrayed that littleness of character often lying hid under a greatness of mind and views. When I turn over the table of contents of that immense correspondence of Napoleon which reveals the entire man in spite of the prudence of the editors, I find continually the name of Madame de Staël, joined to rigorous measures of spiteful epithets. "I write to the Minister of Police to finish with that mad Madame de Staël," he wrote on the 20th April, 1807, to the Count Regnault St. Jean d'Angely, who had apologized for his correspondence with the illustrious outlaw. "She is not to be suffered to leave Geneva, unless she wishes to go to a foreign country to write libels. Every day I obtain new proofs that no one can be worse than that woman, enemy of the government and of France, without which she cannot live;" and several days previously he wrote to Fouché, "When I occupy myself with Madame de Staël, it is because I have the facts before me. That woman is a true bird of bad omen; she believes the tempest already arrived, and delights in intrigues and follies. Let her go to her Lake Lemán. Have not the Genevans done us harm enough?"

Inspired from other sources than Madame de Staël was, but as ardent in his opposition to the sovereign master of the destinies of France, Chateaubriand supported, like her, the flag of an independent spirit and of genius against the arbitrary will of one man. He manifested this in a brilliant manner. Already famous by the publication of his *Genius of Christianity*, he was then writing, in the *Mercure*. "Eighteen months before the publication of the *Martyrs*," says M. Guizot, in his memoirs, "in August, 1807, I stopped several days in Switzerland, when going to visit my mother at Nîmes, and in the eager confidence of youth, as curious to see celebrated persons as I was unknown myself, I wrote to Madame de Staël to ask for the honor of an interview. She invited me to dinner at

Ouchy, near Lausanne, where she then resided. I was seated by her side, and having come from Paris she questioned me on all passing there, what people were saying, what occupied the public and the salons. I spoke of an article by Chateaubriand in the *Mercure*, which attracted attention at the moment of my leaving. One sentence had particularly struck me, and I quoted it word for word, for it was fixed in my memory: 'When in the abject silence the only sound heard is the chain of the slave, and the voice of the informer, when all tremble before the tyrant, and it is as dangerous to incur his favor as to merit his displeasure, it seems to be the historian's duty to avenge the people. The prosperity of Nero is in vain, Tacitus is already born in the empire, he grows up unknown by the ashes of Germanicus, and already a just providence has delivered to an obscure child the glory of the master of the world.' My accent was doubtless impressive and full of emotion, for I was impressed and moved myself. Madame de Staël seized me quickly by the arm, saying, 'I am sure that you would act tragedy admirably; stop with us and take a part in *Andromaque*. That was her hobby and amusement of the moment. I resisted her kindly suggestion, and the conversation came back to Chateaubriand and his article, which was much admired, and caused some anxiety. There was reason to admire it, for the passage was truly eloquent; and also cause for anxiety, for the *Mercure* was suppressed precisely because of that passage. Thus the Emperor Napoleon, conqueror of Europe, and absolute master of France, thought that he could not suffer it to be said that his future historian would perhaps be born under his reign, and felt himself obliged to take the honor of Nero under his protection. It was scarcely worth while to be such a great man to have such fears to show, or such clients to protect."

If the emperor pursued with anger the spirit of opposition in the salons, which he endeavored ceaselessly to rally around him, and if, above all, he feared their glorious representatives, Madame de Staël and Chateaubriand, he watched still more harshly the newspapers and the journalists. His revolutionary origin, and the early habits of his mind had rendered him hostile to that liberty of the press which flourished under the Constituent Assembly, withered away under the Legislative Assembly, and expired during the Terror in a sea of blood. When Daunou wished to insert the liberty of the press in the constitution of the year VIII., he encountered great opposition

on the part of former Jacobins. They and their friends had secured the right of saying always what they chose, and knew the means of preserving what they had acquired at the price of many massacres; the liberty their adversaries demanded appeared to them dangerous and unjust. Such has always been in the main the revolutionary idea, and the Emperor Napoleon had not forgotten this theory and this arbitrary practice. However, he also knew what might be the influence of the periodical press, and he endeavored to submit to the discipline of his will the small number of newspapers which existed under his reign. "Stir yourself up a little more to sustain public opinion," he wrote to Fouché, on the 28th April, 1805. "Print several articles, cleverly written, to deny the march of the Russians, the interview of the Emperor of Russia with the Emperor of Austria, and those ridiculous reports, phantoms born of the English fog and spleen. Say to the editors, that if they continue in their present tone I will pay them off; tell them that I do not judge them hardly for the bad things they have said, but for the little good they have said. When they represent France vacillating on the point of being attacked, I judge that they are neither Frenchmen nor worthy to write under my reign. It is all very well to say that they only give their bulletins; they have been told what these bulletins are; and since they must give false news, why not give them in favor of the public credit and tranquillity?"

The *Journal des Débats*, in the first rank of the periodical press, under the intelligent direction of the Bertins, had already been favored with a special inspector, whose duty was to superintend its editing, and to whom the proprietors of the paper were forced to pay 12,000 francs a year. Fouché had menaced the other papers with this measure of discipline, by ordering them to "put into quarantine all news disagreeable or disadvantageous to France." This patriotic prudence did not long suffice for the master. "Let Fiévée know that I am very dissatisfied with the manner in which he edits his paper," he wrote, on the 6th March, 1808. "It is ridiculous that, contrary to the rules of good sense, he still continues to believe all that the German papers say to frighten us about the Russians. It is ridiculous to say that they put 500,000 men in the field, when, for the coalition itself, Russia only furnished 100,000 men, while Austria furnished 300,000. It is my intention that he should only speak of the Russians to humiliate them, to en-

feeble their forces, to prove how their trashy reputation in military matters, and the praises of their armies, are without foundation." And the same day to Talleyrand: "It is my intention that the political articles in the *Moniteur* should be guided by the foreign relations. And after seeing how they are done for a month, I shall prohibit the other papers talking politics, otherwise than by copying the articles of the *Moniteur*."

We have known the dangers and the formidable effects of an unlimited liberty of the press. Never was it more licentious than when just recovered from a system arbitrarily oppressive. The fire which appears to be extinct smoulders under the ashes, to shortly break out with new fury. The thirty-three years of constitutional régime which France had enjoyed, powerfully contributed to the moderation of men's acts, and even their words, at the time of the revolution of 1848. The outburst of invectives and anger which saluted the fall of the Emperor Napoleon, had been slowly accumulated during the long silence imposed under his reign.

Arbitrary and despotic will succeeds in creating silence, but not in breaking it at a given time, and in a specified direction. In vain did Napoleon institute prizes every ten years; in vain did he demand from the several classes of the Institute reports on the progress of human thought since 1789. Literary genius remained deaf to his voice, and the real talent of several poets of a secondary order, Delille, Esmenard, Millevoye, Chénédollé, was not sufficient to triumph over the intellectual apathy which seemed to envelope the people he governed. "When I entered the world, in 1807," said Guizot, "chaos had reigned for a long time; the excitement of 1789 had entirely disappeared; and society, being completely occupied in settling itself, thought no more of the character of its amusements; the spectacles of force had replaced for it the aspirations towards liberty. In the midst of the general reaction, the faithful heirs of the literary salons of the eighteenth century remained the only strangers in them. The mistakes and disasters of the Revolution had not made the survivors of that brilliant generation abjure their ideas and desires; they remained sincerely liberal, but without pressing demands, and with the reserve of those who have succeeded little and suffered much in their endeavors after reform and government. They held fast to the liberty of speech, but did not aspire to power; they detested, and sharply criticised, despotism, but

without doing anything to repress or overturn it. It was an opposition made by enlightened and independent spectators, who had no chance and no desire to interfere as actors."

Thus it was that the lassitude of the superior classes, decimated and ruined by the French revolution and the Terror, inspired by the splendid and triumphant military despotism, contributed together to keep the public mind in a weak and supine state, which the sound of the cannon alone interrupted. I am wrong; the great men, naturalists or mathematicians, who had sprung up, either young or already ripe, in the era of the French revolution—Laplace, La Grange, Cuvier—upheld, in the order of their studies, that scientific superiority of France which has not always kept pace with literary genius, but which has never ceased to adorn our country. The personal tastes of the emperor served and encouraged the learned men, even when their opinions had remained more independent than suited him. He sometimes reproached Monge, his companion during the campaign of Egypt, that he had remained in his heart attached to the Republic. "Well, but!" said the great geometrician, gayly, "your Majesty turned so short!"

Napoleon had certainly *turned short*, and he expected France to follow him in the rapid evolution of his thought. Jealous of his right to march in the van and show the way to all, he indicated to dramatic authors the draft of their theatrical pieces, and to painters the subject of their paintings. "Why," he wrote to Fouché, "should you not engage M. Raynouard to make a tragedy on the transition from the first to the second race? Instead of being a tyrant, his successor would be the saviour of the nation. It is in pieces of that kind that the theatre is new, for under the old régime they would not have been permitted." On the other hand, and by an unconscious return to that fear of the house of Bourbon which he always instinctively felt, Napoleon opposed the representation of a tragedy of Henry IV. "That period is not so remote but that it may awake the passions. The scene should be more ancient."

The passions sometimes awake easily, at points where no threatening or danger appeared. Immediately after the consecration and the Concordat, what could be more natural or simple than a wish to draw up a catechism for the use of all the schools? The organic articles had declared that there would be only one liturgy and one catechism for all the

churches of France. At first the court of Rome made no difficulty. The Abbé Emery, Superior of St. Sulpice, gave an excellent piece of advice to Portalis, the Minister of Religion. "If I were in the emperor's place," said he, "I should take purely and simply the catechism of Bossuet, and thus avoid an immense responsibility." Napoleon had a liking for Bossuet's genius and doctrine, and the idea pleased him. The new catechism intended to form the minds and hearts of coming generations was placed under the patronage of Bossuet, "that celebrated prelate, whose science, talents, and genius have served the Church and honored the nation," said Portalis in his report. "The justice which all the bishops of Christendom had rendered to the memory of this great man, is to us a sufficient guarantee of his accuracy and authority. The work of the compilers of the new catechism is in reality but a second copy of Bossuet's work."

The great bishop would certainly have felt some difficulty in recognizing certain pages of the work so prudently presented under his ægis. Strictly faithful to the spirit of the Gospel as to the supreme equality of all men in the presence of God, whatever might occasionally have been his consideration for the wishes of Louis XIV., Bossuet, when expounding the fourth commandment, the respect and submission due by children to their parents, was satisfied with adding,—"What else is commanded to us by the fourth commandment? To respect all superiors, pastors, kings, magistrates, and others."

The submission of the subjects of Louis XIV. was known to him, and therefore that exposition was enough in his time. Portalis was of opinion that immediately after the French Revolution the principles of respect and obedience ought to be more exactly defined. "The point is," he wrote to Napoleon, on the 13th February, 1806, "to attach the conscience of the people to your Majesty's august person, by whose government and victories the safety and happiness of France are secured. To recommend subjects generally to submit to their sovereign would not, in the present hypothesis, direct that submission towards its proper end. I therefore thought it necessary to make a clear explanation, and apply the precept in a precise manner to your Majesty. That will prevent any ambiguity, by fixing men's hearts and minds upon him who alone can and really ought to fix their minds and hearts."

Napoleon readily coincided with the pious officiousness of his Minister of Religion, and undertook to draw up himself the

question and answer in the new catechism. "Is submission to the government of France a dogma of the Church? Yes; Scripture teaches us that he who resists the powers resists the order of God; yes, the Church imposes upon us more special duties towards the government of France, the protector of religion and the Church; she commands us to love it, cherish it, and be ready for all sacrifices in its service." The theologians, whom Portalis said he always distrusted, pointed out that, the Church being universal, her dogmas could not inculcate respect for a particular government. It was therefore drawn up afresh, and was so extended that the commentary on the fourth commandment became longer than the exposition of the principle itself. I wish to give here the actual text as a curious document of the spirit of the time.

LESSON VII.—*Continuation of the Fourth Commandment.*

Question. What are the duties of Christians with reference to the princes by whom they are governed; and what are our special duties towards Napoleon I., our emperor?

Answer. Christians owe to the princes by whom they are governed, and we owe specially to Napoleon I., our emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, the tribute ordered for the preservation and defence of the empire and his throne; we also owe him fervent prayers for his health and for the temporal prosperity of the State.

Q. Why are we bound to perform all those duties towards our emperor?

A. First, because God, who creates empires, and distributes them according to His will, by loading our emperor with gifts, both in peace and in war, has established him as our sovereign. Secondly, because our Lord Jesus Christ, as well by His teaching as His example, has taught us Himself what we owe to our sovereign: at His birth His parents were obeying an edict of Cæsar Augustus; He paid the prescribed tribute-money; and just as He has ordered us to render to God the things that are God's, He has also ordered us to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

Q. Are there no special motives which strengthen our attachment to Napoleon I., our emperor?

A. Yes; for it is he whom God has stirred up, during difficult circumstances, to restore the public worship and holy religion of our fathers and be its protector. He has brought

back and preserved public order by his profound and active wisdom; he defends the State by his powerful arm; he became the Lord's anointed by the consecration which he has received from the sovereign pontiff, head of the Church universal.

Q. What ought we to think of those who fail in their duty towards our emperor?

A. According to the apostle Paul they resist the order established by God Himself, and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation.

Q. Are those duties which we owe towards our emperor equally binding upon us with regard to his legitimate successors in the order established by the constitution of the Empire?

A. Yes, certainly: for we read in the Holy Scripture that God, Lord of heaven and earth, by a disposition of His supreme will, and by His providence, gives empires not only to one person individually, but also to his family.

Q. What are our obligations towards our magistrates?

A. We ought to honor them, respect them, and obey them, because they are the depositaries of our emperor's authority.

The catechism was revised and corrected by a theological commission, by Portalis, by the emperor, and by the cardinal legate himself, in spite of a formal prohibition which he had received from Rome. "It does not belong to the secular power to choose or prescribe to the bishops the catechism which it may prefer," wrote Cardinal Consalvi on the 18th August, 1805. "His Imperial Majesty has surely no intention of arrogating a faculty which God trusts exclusively to the Church and Vicar of Jesus Christ."

Caprara had kept the Secretary of State's despatch sealed, and when at last the text of the catechism appeared, in 1806, it had received his approbation. By an article in the *Journal de l'Empire* of the 5th May, 1806, the court of Rome learnt that a catechism was soon to be published, uniform and obligatory for all the dioceses of France, with the official approbation of the cardinal legate. A despatch of Cardinal Consalvi, expressing to Caprara the astonishment and displeasure of the sovereign pontiff, remained secret and without effect. The influence of the court of Rome upon their envoy failed before the seductive power, mixed with fear, which Napoleon had exercised upon Cardinal Caprara since his arrival. The

French bishops were not less troubled than the Pope. "Has the emperor the right to meddle in those matters?" wrote Aviau, Bishop of Bordeaux, to one of his friends; "who has given him the mission? To him the things of earth, to us the things of heaven. Soon, if we let him, he will lay hands on the censer, and perhaps afterwards wish to ascend the altar."

One modification only was granted, on the demands of the bishops supported by Cardinal Fesch. In contempt of Bossuet and his teaching, the standing doctrine of Catholicism, "Out of the Church there is no safety," had been omitted in the new catechism. That phrase being restored, the catechism, invested with the approbation of the legate, was published in the beginning of August, 1808. Placed in the alternative of contradicting or recalling Caprara, the court of Rome prudently remained silent. Differences of opinion were now accumulating between the Pope and the emperor—between the spiritual authority, which still preserved some pretensions to independence, and the arbitrary will of the conqueror, resolved to govern the world, Rome included. We at last reach the moment when the excess of arrogance was about to provoke the effect of contrary wills. We shall now see the Pope captive, the Spanish people in insurrection, the climate and deserts of Russia leagued together against the tyrannical master of Europe. England had never accepted the yoke; and she had everywhere seconded resistance. For the future, it was not alone by sea, nor by the assistance of subsidies, that she entered the lists; Sir Arthur Wellesley was now in his turn to join in the struggle.

A last act of the absolute will of the Emperor Napoleon signalized that period of the interior government of France which preceded the war in Spain and the campaigns in Germany and Russia. It was the suppression pure and simple, by a "sénatus-consulte," of the "Tribunate" formerly instituted with so much pomp, and which had gradually fallen into insignificance, owing to the successive changes it had undergone, and to the secrecy imposed on its deliberations. The absolute power could support neither contradiction nor even the appearance of discussion, however moderate it might be. The lively remembrance, however, of an eloquent and daring opposition was still associated with the name of the Tribunate. Some honored names had survived the great silence. "The abolition of the Tribunate will be less a change than an improvement in our institutions," said M. Boulay de

la Meurthe in his report, "because, since the constitution of the empire the Tribune only appears useless, out of place, not in harmony with the times." The Legislative Body formed a place of refuge to the members of the Tribune who were in exercise: they took their places as a right among its ranks, where they were no more heard of, annihilated by the servitude that reigned around them. Their admission into the Legislative Body had, however, been graced by an appearance of liberality: the right of discussion was restored to that assembly.

M. de Fontanes took care beforehand to indicate what spirit was to preside at their discussions. "These precincts, which have wondered at their silence, and whose silence is now at an end, will not hear the noisy tempests of popular harangues. May the tribune be without storms, and may the only applause be at the triumphs of reason. Above all, may truth appear there with courage, but with wisdom, and may she shine there with all her light! A great prince must love her brightness. She alone is worthy of him, why should he be afraid of her? The more he is looked at, the more he rises; the more he is judged, the more is he admired." By the mouth of Carrion-Nisas, the Tribune thanked the emperor for having discharged it from its functions. "We believe," said they, "that we have not so much arrived at the end of our career, as attained the object of all our efforts, and the recompense of our devotion." Being now certain of the docility of the great bodies of State, and no longer uneasy about that of the magistracy, all the obnoxious members having been weeded out by his orders, the Emperor Napoleon could turn his thoughts abroad. The question was how to place King Joseph on the throne of Spain.

CHAPTER XI.

GLORY AND ILLUSIONS. SPAIN AND AUSTRIA.

NAPOLEON did not keep his promise to the Bourbons of Spain. He had not come to Madrid in order to heal their divisions, and strengthen the tottering power. One after another, he had drawn all the members of the royal family to Bayonne,

and there, on French soil, had easily consummated their ruin. It was also on French soil that he made preparations to raise his brother to the throne. King Joseph was late in arriving, entering Bayonne only on the 8th June; and already the imperious will and clever management of the emperor had brought into that town a certain number of great lords, favorable to the new power from interest or fear. Already Joseph was proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies; and scarcely had he had time to put foot to the ground when he was surrounded by Spanish deputations, which had been carefully prepared by Napoleon's orders. The king regretted much having to leave Naples. Without foreseeing the difficulties that awaited him, he loved the gentle, easy life of Italy, and had not yet forgot the annoyance of taking possession, or the obstacles to be met by a new régime. The emperor took care to dazzle him at the outset. The Junta formed at Bayonne prepared a constitution. Napoleon had collected much information as to the lamentable state of the administration in Spain. "These papers are necessary to me for the measures which I have to order," he had written to Murat, who was still in Madrid, ill and sad; "they are also necessary to me to show some day to posterity in what state I have found the Spanish monarchy." Useless precaution of a great mind, who thought to dispose of the future and of the judgment of posterity, as, till then, he had dazzled or overthrown all the witnesses of his marvellous career!

Eight days after the arrival of King Joseph at Bayonne, the new constitution was adopted by the improvised Junta. "It is all that we can offer you, sire," said imprudently the Duke de l'Infantado, formerly the most eager accomplice of the Prince of Asturias in his intrigues against his father; "we are waiting till the nation speaks, and authorizes us to give freer course to our sentiments." They stopped the duke from saying any more; the Spanish nation had not been consulted.

The Spanish constitution was prepared generally on the model of the French constitution. The first article paid homage to the strong religious feeling of Spain: "The religion of the State is the Catholic religion; no other is permitted." Several of the ministers chosen by the King Joseph had been members of the government of Charles IV. After taking the oath to their new monarch, the Junta first of all went to the Emperor Napoleon at Marac, to offer their thanks and congratulations.

At the same moment, and whilst summoning to Bayonne the reinforcement of troops which he intended to accompany and

support King Joseph on his entry into his new kingdom, Napoleon wrote to the Emperor Alexander:—

“My brother, I send your Majesty the constitution which the Spanish Junta have just decided upon. The disorders of that country had reached such a degré as can scarcely be conceived. Obligated to take part in its affairs, I have by the irresistible tendency of events been brought to a system which, while securing the happiness of Spain, secures the tranquillity of my states. I have cause to be satisfied with all the persons of rank, fortune, and education. The monks alone, who occupy half the territory, anticipating in the new order of things the destruction of abuses, and the numerous agents of the Inquisition, who now see the end of their existence, are now agitating the country. I am very sensible that this event opens a very large field for discussion. People are not likely to appreciate the circumstance and events, but will maintain that all had been provoked and premeditated. Nevertheless, if I had only considered the interest of France, I should have adopted a simpler means, viz., extending my frontiers on this side, and diminishing Spain. A province like Catalonia or Navarre, would have affected her power more than the change which has just taken place, which is really of use only to Spain.”

Whilst the Emperor Napoleon thus announced in Europe the interpretation which it suited him to put upon the events of Spain, and whilst the new king, leaving Bayonne on the 9th July, was planting his foot upon his new territory, the whole of Spain, from north to south, from east to west, was in a blaze.

After the departure of the Bourbon princes for Bayonne, the popular agitation and uneasiness in Madrid became extreme, and gradually extended to the more remote provinces, and into the depths of the old Spanish race, honorable and proud, still preserving in their fields their ancestral qualities. “Trust neither your honor nor your person to a Spanish Don,” was said to M. Guizot by a man who learned to form severe judgment upon them during several revolutions; “trust all that is dearest to you to a Spanish peasant.” In spite of the emperor’s assertions, all the great lords were not favorable to the King Joseph. In the country, the peasants had risen in a body, and the burgesses did the same in the towns.

Carthagená was the first town to give the example of revolt. On the 22nd May, at the news of the abdication of the two kings, published in the journals of Madrid on the 20th, the people shouted in the streets, “Long live Ferdinand VII.!” and

Admiral Salcedo, who was preparing to convey the Spanish fleet to Toulon, was arrested. The arms shut up in the arsenals were distributed among the populace. A Junta was immediately formed. Murcia and Valencia followed the example of Carthagená. The people, roused by the preaching of a monk, Canon Calvo, killed the Baron Albulat, a "lord of the province," who was in vain defended by another monk, called Rico. The French who lived in Valencia had taken refuge in the citadel, but being persuaded to come out, they were quickly massacred to the last man. This first ebullition of popular fury was followed by the horror of all respectable people. In spite of himself, Count Cerbellon was put at the head of the insurrection. Everybody took arms, and waited for the arrival and vengeance of the French soldiers.

All the provinces rose in insurrection one after another. The most apathetic waited for St. Ferdinand's Day; and on the 30th May, at daybreak, before the saint's flag was displayed in the streets, in Estremadura, at Granada, and Malaga, the shouts of the populace proclaimed King Ferdinand VII. Blood was shed everywhere, with an atrocious display of cruelty. The magistrates, or gentlemen, who attempted to stop a dangerous rising were massacred. The Asturias had shuddered at the first report of the abdication; the Junta of Oviedo proclaimed a renewal of peace with England, and sent delegates to London. The clergy succeeded in protecting the lives of two Spanish colonels who had opposed the insurrection of their troops. In Galicia the honorable efforts of Captain-General Filangieri cost him his life; after accepting, with regret, the presidency of the Junta, when he attempted to maintain order amongst the insurgents he was killed in the street. Valladolid obliged the Captain-General, Don Gregorio de la Cuesta, to take a part in the rising of the populace. At the first sign of resistance shown by the old soldier, they erected a gibbet under his windows. Burgos, occupied by Marshal Bessières, remained quiet, but Barcelona attempted an insurrection. The Catalans were armed to the teeth, and, on General Duhesme threatening to set fire to the town, the more violent of them escaped to places which were less threatened. Saragossa had placed at the head of its heroic population Don Joseph Palafox de Melzi, an amiable young man, well known in his own country. He summoned the Cortes of the province, and ordered a general rising of the population of Aragon. On the confines of Navarre, almost under the eyes

of the French army, Santander and Logrono formed an insurrection. The Castilles, with their vast open plains, and their proximity to the French Government, showed only a silent agitation, without yet attempting an insurrection. Murat was ill—frequently delirious; but General Savary watched over Madrid: the capital awaited its new master.

Nowhere was the insurrection more spontaneous or more general than in Andalusia. Seville had conceived the hope of becoming the centre of the national movement, and grouping round it the patriotic efforts of the whole of Spain. The provisional government assumed a pompous name—"Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies"—and sent messengers to stir up the towns of Badajoz, Cordova, and Jaen. At Cadiz they surrounded the hotel of the Captain-General Solano, Marquis of Socorro. All the troops throughout the south of Spain were under his orders. With difficulty he was persuaded to give a forced assent to the disorderly wishes of the populace, but persisted in opposing the bombardment of the French fleet, commanded by Admiral Rosily, which had been in the harbor for three months. He in vain pleaded the danger to the Spanish vessels mixed with the French. The crowd became mad, dragged the Marquis on to the ramparts, and massacred him.

Without any preliminary understanding, in a country everywhere intersected by rivers and mountains, and even under the fire of the French cannon, Spain thus rose spontaneously against an arrogant usurpation, preceded by base perfidy. In this first burst of her patriotic anger, she bore the courage, ardor, and passion which were to make certain her triumph; she at the same time displayed a savage cruelty and violence, of which our unhappy soldiers were too often the victims. The emperor was still at Bayonne, occupied in arranging the affairs of Spain from without Spain: he was informed slowly and imperfectly of the insurrection convulsing the whole country. Accustomed to give orders to his lieutenants from a distance and arbitrarily, he ordered all the movements of his troops from Bayonne, affecting to attach but small importance to the revolt, sending to Paris and Valençay false news of the success of his arms, and doing his best to conceal from King Joseph the extent and importance of the resistance which was being prepared against him. In many places the couriers were arrested or killed. The emperor ordered General Savary to set out again for Madrid.

Nevertheless, all the forces of the French army were on their march to crush the insurrection. General Verdier and General Frère quickly took satisfaction for the insurrection of Logrono and Segovia. General Lasalle, before Valladolid, defeated Don Gregorio de la Cuesta, who had been forced to leave the town, afraid of having his throat cut there. "You have only had what you deserve," said the old Spanish general, as he retreated upon Leon; "we are only a handful of undisciplined peasants, yet you imagine you can conquer those who have conquered all Europe." General Lefebvre-Desnouettes met more resistance at Tudela, where the insurgents had broken down the bridge over the Ebro. On the 15th June he was before Saragossa, where Don Joseph Palafox had shut himself up; the whole population covered the roofs of the houses, where there was a constant hail-storm of musket balls. The French general at once concluded it was a question of regular siege, and sent to Barcelona for reinforcements and artillery. Marshal Moncey had not succeeded in taking Valencia. General Duhesme was shut up in Barcelona by the insurrection, which daily gained ground in Catalonia. Yet he was compelled to send away General Chabran, that he might join Marshal Moncey; and the insurgents took advantage of this division of our forces to throw themselves on General Schwartz's column, which had been ordered to search the convent of Montserrat. The tocsin was heard everywhere in the mountain villages; the bridges over the streams were broken down, and every little town had to be carried with the bayonet. By a sudden sally, General Duhesme dislodged the enemy from their post on the River Llobregat, took possession of their cannons, and brought them back to Barcelona. "Let the whole town of Barcelona be disarmed," wrote the emperor on 10th June to Marshal Berthier, "so that not a single musket is left, and let the castle of Montjoui be supplied with provisions taken from the inhabitants. They must be treated in thorough military fashion. War justifies anything. On the slightest occasion, you should take hostages and send them into the fortress."

General Dupont had been entrusted with the most difficult as well as most important undertaking. With from 12,000 to 13,000 men under his orders, he advanced into Andalusia, with the object of reducing that great province to submission, and protecting the French fleet in Cadiz. The emperor had ordered General Junot to support Dupont's advance by send-

ing him Kellermann's division, but Portugal was imitating the example of Spain, and had all risen in insurrection. On his first entrance into Andalusia, Dupont recognized the importance of the movement, and immediately asked for a reinforcement. "I shall then have nothing to do but a military promenade," he wrote to General Savary.

On the 7th June, after a pretty keen fight, the French troops took the bridge of Alcolea, on the Guadalquivir, and arrived the same evening before Cordova. After the gates were burst open with cannon-shot, the barricades and houses had to be carried with the bayonet; and the soldiers, losing their temper, cruelly abused the victory they gained. The hatred against the invaders increased; and in the van of our army, on this side of the Sierra Morena, on the road from Cordova to Andujar, the men who had not kept up in marching, the sick and wounded who were obliged to stay in the villages, were put to death with refinements of barbarity. General Dupont still waited for the divisions of Vedel and Frère, which he had sent to Madrid for; and at Cadiz, in the French fleet, they were counting the days, and soon the hours.

The leader in the insurrection, Thomas de Morla, at first seemed faithful to the alliance of the Spanish and French navy, recalling the memories of the battle of Trafalgar, the glorious ruins of which composed the French squadron in the Cadiz roads. Gradually, however, he took care to separate the two fleets, persuading Admiral Rosily to take his position within the roads, and placing the Spanish vessels at the entrance, in order, he said, to defend Cadiz against the English, who had been trying in vain to land 5,000 men. The admiral soon found himself cantoned in the midst of the lagoons which form and protect the Cadiz roads; while a contrary wind prevented the attack which, from desperation, he wished to make upon the Spanish, their gun-boats and sloops were already gathering round him, and on the 9th June the firing began, but it was weak and unavailing on the part of our ships, in spite of the heroic resolution of the crews. The fighting lasted two days, and on the Junta of Seville demanding a surrender pure and simple, Admiral Rosily, who knew that General Dupont had entered Cordova, asked for a delay, hoping to receive help. On the 14th June, after four days had elapsed, the French fleet, being deprived of every resource, and with certain ruin before them, surrendered at discretion. The officers were distributed in the fortresses, and

the vessels disarmed. The mob, crowding round the harbor, shouted fiercely and cheered as the French prisoners passed before them and the English, who had just succeeded in effecting their landing.

General Dupont had not been reinforced. He did not know whether his couriers had arrived, many having been already intercepted by the robbers of the Sierra Morena; he knew of the rising of the St. Roque troops, and of the treachery of the Swiss regiments recently engaged in the insurrection; and finding himself threatened on the right by the insurgent army of Andalusia, and on the left by the army of Granada, he resolved to fall back upon the Guadalquivir, and on the 18th June took up his position in the small town of Andujar, to wait for the divisions which he had sent for. That of Vedel was already on its march.

Marshal Moncey had failed before Valencia, and could not commence the investment for want of siege guns; he had brought back his division in good condition, and effected his junction with General Frère at San Clemente. Marshal Bessières advanced at the same time against Don Gregorio de la Cuesta, and against General Blake, a descendant of English Catholic refugees. Their forces were considerable, and composed of old soldiers; they had, however, asked for time to prepare their troops and had been forced by the Junta of the Corogne to march to battle. On the evening of the 13th July, the Spaniards, badly informed as to the march of the French, were formed in two lines on the plateau of Medino de Rio-Seco, not far from Valladolid. Attacked one after the other by Marshal Bessières, the two lines were completely beaten and put to flight, not without some resistance at certain points. The slaughter was terrible. General Mouton, at the head of two regiments with fixed bayonets, entered the town of Medina, which was sacked. Marshal Bessières again took the road towards Leon, sweeping before him the disbanded remains of the Spanish army. King Joseph had just entered Madrid.

He took possession of his capital in the midst of the melancholy silence of the inhabitants, more irritated than cowed by the news of the victory of Rio-Seco, which reached them a few hours before the entry of their new monarch. Since his entrance into Spain the eyes of Joseph had been opened. "Up to this time no one has told the whole truth," he wrote to the Emperor Napoleon on the 12th July. "The fact is that not a

single Spaniard is on my side, except the small number who were present at the Junta, and travel with me. The others, on arriving here, hid themselves, terrified by the unanimous opinion of their countrymen." And some days later: "Fear does not make me see double; since I have been in Spain I say to myself every day that my life is of small account, and that I give it up to you. I am not alarmed at my position, but it is unique in history; I have not a single partisan here." Every day he repeated the same demand; "I still want 50,000 men of old troops, and 50,000,000 of money; in a month I must have a 100,000 men, and a 100,000,000." The French army in Spain numbered already 110,000 men, young, it is true, and for the most part without experience, but Europe almost entirely was occupied by our troops; Napoleon was irritated at the sensible remarks of Savary, still more gloomy than those of King Joseph. "The emperor finds that you are wrong to say that nothing has been done for six weeks," wrote Marshal Berthier. "All sensible men in Spain have changed their opinion, and are very sorry to see the insurrection. Affairs are in the most prosperous position since the battle of Rio-Seco." On the 19th July, when making his preparations to quit Bayonne to visit the towns of the south, Napoleon wrote to King Joseph:

"My brother, I received your letter of the 18th, at three o'clock in the morning. I see, with sorrow, that you trouble yourself. It is the only misfortune I fear. Troops are entering on all sides, and constantly. You have a great many partisans in Spain, but they are intimidated; they are all the respectable people. However, I acknowledge none the less that your task is great and glorious.

"The victory of Marshal Bessières, who has wholly beaten Cuesta and the army of Galicia, has greatly improved the position of affairs. It is worth more than a reinforcement of 30,000 men. The divisions of Gobert and Vedel having joined General Dupont, offensive measures must be vigorously pushed on that side. It is the only point menaced, and there must soon be a success there; with 25,000 men, comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery, there are more than necessary to obtain a great result. At the worst, with 21,000 men present on the field of battle, he can boldly take the offensive; he will not be beaten, and will have more than four-and-twenty chances in his favor.

"You ought not to find it so extraordinary to conquer your

kingdom. Philip V. and Henry IV. were obliged to conquer theirs. Keep your spirits up, and never doubt for an instant that everything will finish better and more quickly than you now imagine.

“Everything goes on very well at Saragossa.”

The attack upon Saragossa, on the 1st July, was unsuccessful. General Verdier, who commanded the siege, had seized the convent of St. Joseph, without being able to penetrate into the town, all the streets being well fortified. He had asked for troops and a train of artillery. General Dupont was threatened, in a badly chosen position, by the insurgents of Grenada, commanded by General Reding, formerly colonel of one of the Swiss regiments; General Castaños brought up the troops of Andalusia. The orders of the emperor were precise; General Dupont was not to repossess the Sierra Morena, he was not to retreat on Andalusia.

In the hitherto restricted sphere of his operations, General Dupont had shown himself constantly bold and successful under chiefs more skilful and more experienced than himself; but left to his own resources, he knew not how to profit by his advantages, nor choose his quarters advantageously. The food of the troops was bad and insufficient, and the sick were numerous; isolated in the midst of a country passionately hostile, without means of information as to the enemy's movements, without news of Madrid or the government, the French remained stationary, sad and depressed. General Vedel occupied Baylen, General Gobert La Carolina; thus they commanded the defiles of the mountain.

On the 14th July, General Castaños appeared before Andujar, while the corps of Reding threatened Baylen; the imprudent movement of our troops had uncovered this last position. General Dupont was informed of this.

He resolved to march himself upon Baylen, but he was encumbered with an immense train of baggage, and by numerous sick, whom he would not abandon to the cruelties of the enemy; the movement was deferred till the next day, the 18th July. At the approach of night the army began its march. The heat was still suffocating. A great number of soldiers, suffering from dysentery, had been unable to find a place in the wagons, and dragged themselves behind the train, scarcely able to bear the weight of their arms. The anxiety of General Dupont was entirely for his rearguard; he feared that General Castaños, informed of his movements by the hun-

dreds of voluntary spies who served the Spanish cause, would throw himself on his rear. The vanguard was feeble, composed of young and undisciplined soldiers; when it deployed at three in the morning, on the rocky banks of the Rumblar, the Spanish posts occupied the passage. Before the combat, the soldiers rushed towards the bed of the torrent. It was dried up. "The Spaniards have taken away the river!" cried the French, even then disposed to treat painful thoughts with gayety. The Spanish battalions barred the route of Baylen, which General Reding had occupied the previous day.

Worn out by the heat, by thirst, by the march, our soldiers charged the enemy, and drove them back as far as the plain of Baylen. There lay extended before us the Spanish army, in front of the little town, in an amphitheatre of hills, covered with olive-trees. The Spanish artillery was formidable: the field-pieces brought up by the French were soon dismounted. The centre of the Spanish army remained solid, and even the charges of cavalry could not break it. When at last the front ranks opened under the shock of the horses, or the steel of the bayonets, the lines reformed at the end of the plain, always pitilessly barring the road. The cannonade did not slacken for a single instant.

The soldiers began to show signs of discouragement, and the officers proposed to the general to abandon the sick and the baggage, and to form into a compact mass, in order to open a passage by force in the direction of La Carolina, occupied by General Vedel. Dupont expected his lieutenant every moment. He refused to abandon his train, and vainly renewed the attack on all the length of the Spanish lines. Up to this time the Swiss regiments in the service of France, mixed with our soldiers, and marching in our ranks, had remained faithful; the bad fortune of our arms, the view of [their comrades fighting among the Spaniards under a chief of their race, triumphed at last over their good resolutions—they deserted in a body. At the same moment the sound of cannon was heard in the distance, but it was not in the direction of La Carolina, it was at the bridge of Rumblar: General Castaños arrived to crush us.

This was too much, and the unfortunate General Dupont was to show on this day that he was not one of those whose courage defies fortune. "Find General Reding," said he to one of his officers, "and ask from him a suspension of arms." The battle was already ceasing of its own accord, on account of the

extreme fatigue of the troops. The Spanish general gave the order to cease firing, but said, however, to the officer who had been sent, "The truce must be ratified by General Castaños." General de la Peña, who commanded the vanguard, accepted the same conditions. "The French army must surrender at discretion," he said haughtily, "for the present let us rest ourselves." The aide-de-camp of General Dupont went forward to General Castaños, in order to obtain his assent to the truce. A melancholy sadness weighed upon both officers and men; the general-in-chief, formerly brilliant, bold, even emphatically eloquent, hid his despair inside his tent; scarcely would he listen to the voice of those who surrounded him. Broken down by his misfortune, he had lost all energy and all presence of mind.

The same fault of irresolution and despair seems to have taken hold on General Vedel. He had resolved to return to Baylen, of which he too late understood the importance. But the troops were worn out, he was forced to allow them a day of rest. Since three o'clock in the morning of the 19th, the continual echo of the cannon announced to the least vigilant the coming engagement. The division began its march at five o'clock, at eleven it had only advanced half-way; the men left their ranks at every moment to seek a drop of water in the rocks. The cannon was heard more faintly; at noon it was heard no more. It was five o'clock when, in the midst of silence, the corps which had been so impatiently expected debouched above Baylen. The Spaniards guarded all the passages; an officer appeared announcing the truce. General Vedel refused to believe it. He sent off an aide-de-camp to ascertain the truth from General Reding. "If you do not return in half-an-hour," said he, "I shall commence firing." At the given moment, having no news from their emissary, the French sounded the charge, and already a battalion of Spanish infantry had been surrounded, while the cuirassiers advanced at full gallop; at the same instant the officers of the enemy, accompanied by an aide-de-camp of General Dupont, came up to Vedel. The orders of the general-in-chief were precise, they must cease firing. The negotiations had commenced. General Castaños marched on Baylen.

The enthusiasm and triumph of the Spaniards did not give him time to arrive there. The general of engineers, Marescot, had been charged with the sad duty of treating with the Spaniards. General de la Peña, still posted at the bridge of Rum-

blar, threatened to crush the unfortunate army caught between his corps and that of General Reding. "I must have an answer in two hours," said he, repeating at the same time his only condition, "the French army must surrender at discretion."

General Dupont appealed to his lieutenants, general officers, and colonels; all declared that the soldiers would not fight. The general-in-chief surveyed the ranks some moments; his courage failed him entirely. "Our honor is saved," repeated the members of the council of war, "we have done yesterday all that men could do." One resource remained to them, to die to the last man in endeavoring to rejoin General Vedel. They had the misfortune not to try this last and glorious chance. The capitulation was resolved on. Don Castaños entertained the French officers while hatred shone in the eyes of all his staff. Polite, and full of attention to the vanquished, the Spanish general remained wholly inflexible. All the divisions of the army of Andalusia, engaged or not in the battle of Baylen, were to be comprised in the capitulation.

The conditions were about to be signed, the French troops were authorized to retreat on Madrid; the Barbou division alone commanded by General Dupont, was to be disarmed. At the same instant a letter from General Savary to General Dupont was brought by the mountaineers, into whose hands it had fallen. The aide-de-camp of the emperor announced a general concentration of the troops of the south at Madrid, and General Dupont was ordered to take the road to La Mancha. The Spaniards could not allow their victory to serve the designs of the emperor. General Castaños immediately declared to the French negotiators that the conditions were changed, and communicated to them the letter of General Savary. Overwhelmed by this new blow, General Marescot and his companions saw themselves forced to give up the Barbou division prisoners of war; the two other corps were to be transported to France under the Spanish flag; the officers retained their baggage, but the knapsacks of the soldiers were to be submitted to examination. "All Spaniards believe the sacred vessels of Cordova are in the bags of your soldiers," said General Castaños.

While the wretched negotiators accepted a capitulation which delivered them to their enemies, Vedel had proposed to General Dupont to attempt a new attack; he sent at the same time one of his aides-de-camp to plead the cause of his division. At one time Dupont authorized Vedel to save, at any price, his troops,

and those of General Dufour's, by taking in forced marches the road to Madrid. Already Vedel had obeyed, and hastened across the defiles of the Sierra Morena, but the news of his departure was not long in coming to the camp of the Spaniards. They accused the French of breaking the truce, and threatened to immediately massacre the Barbou division, which found itself at that time completely surrounded. The Spanish negotiators broke out into fury, overwhelming with insults the unhappy officers charged to treat with them. Heroism had disappeared from their souls. They hastened to the tent of the general-in-chief, still plunged in melancholy dejection. He gave way at last, and to his eternal dishonor, and that of the men who tore from him this cowardly concession, he sent to General Vedel the order to retrace his steps, and to submit with his soldiers to the lot the capitulation reserved for him.

Like General Dupont, Vedel consulted his lieutenants. At first all refused a submission which would lead to their destruction. A new messenger came, throwing on them all the responsibility of the inevitable massacre of their comrades. They gave way, and with despair in their souls they slowly retraced their steps; as the sole solace to their sufferings they still retained their arms, while they saw their unhappy comrades defile before the Spanish army laying down their muskets at the feet of the victors. During three days the troops had not received any food; the Spaniards had counted on hunger as well as defeat to lead the French to capitulate. At last they got some food, and soon the columns began their march. The ports of embarkation had been fixed upon.

They advanced slowly, for from all the towns, villages, and scattered houses, flocked multitudes in fury, who insulted the frightful misfortune of our soldiers. General Castaños, moderate in his triumph, had said to the French negotiators, "De la Cuesta, Blake, and myself, were not of the same opinion as the insurgents. We yielded to the national movement; but this movement is becoming so unanimous that it has a chance of success. Let Napoleon not insist upon an impossible conquest, let him not force us to throw ourselves into the arms of the English. Let him give us back our king, and the two nations will be forever reconciled."

It was in fact the same thought, clothed in offensive language that Thomas de Morla, the chief of the insurrection at Cadiz, flung at General Dumont when he complained of the bad treatment undergone by his soldiers. "Your excellency forces me

to express truths which must be bitter to you. What right have you to insist on the execution of a treaty concluded in favor of an army which entered Spain under the mask of alliance and friendship, which has imprisoned our king and his family, sacked his palaces, assassinated and robbed his subjects, ravaged his country, usurped his crown? How it would rouse the populace to know that a single one of your soldiers was the possessor of 2180 livres.!"

The pillage of Cordova had been exaggerated by the public imagination, and served the chiefs of the insurrection to justify their want of faith. The entire army of Andalusia was detained under various pretexts. The Junta of Seville refused to ratify the capitulation. The divisions of Dufour and Vedel saw their army taken away, and 20,000 men of those French troops, who up to the present time had been accustomed to victory, remained during long years prisoners of war, subjected to the worst treatment, slowly decimated by sickness and sorrow. Spain first gave to the world the spectacle of a successful resistance to the oppression the Emperor Napoleon had made to weigh upon all nations.

We understand by sad experience the astonishment and anger which seized upon our armies everywhere when they heard of the capitulation of Baylen. This name has remained fixed as an indelible stain on the memory of the men who concluded it in a moment of despair, after numerous faults, of which the most unpardonable cannot be imputed to them. Perhaps in his secret thought, Napoleon began to foresee the difficulties of the enterprise he had undertaken against Spain; perhaps he comprehended his error, but his indignation was excessive, and broke out in his words as well as letters. There was also a shade of discouragement when he wrote to King Joseph, on the 3rd August, "My brother, the knowledge I have that you are struggling, my friend, with events foreign to your habits as well as to your natural character, pains me. Dupont has dishonored our flag. What stupidity! What baseness! Those men will be taken by the English. Events of such a nature require my presence at Paris. Germany, Poland, Italy, all join together. My sorrow is really great when I think that I cannot be at this moment with you, and in the midst of my soldiers. I have given orders to Ney to go there. He is a man of honor, zeal, and thorough courage. If you get accustomed to Ney, he might command the army. You will have 100,000 men, and Spain will be conquered in

the autumn. A suspension of arms, made by Savary, might perhaps lead to commanding and directing the insurgents; we shall hear what they say. I think that, so far as your personal likings go, you care little for reigning over the Spaniards."

At the moment when Napoleon was writing these lines, King Joseph retreated before the enemy, and abandoned his capital. Deprived of the succor that General Dupont was to have brought, the defenders of Madrid did not consider the concentration of troops sufficiently considerable to protect the Castiles against the ever-rising flood of the national insurrection. "The emperor could hold his own here," said Savary, "but what is possible to him is not so to the others." It was resolved to make a stand on the line of the Ebro; King Joseph quitted Madrid, abandoned by the intimate servants of his household, as well as by a certain number of his ministers. 2000 domestics of the palace had fled for fear of being forced to follow the royal retreat. Burgos not appearing to be a retreat sufficiently sure, the monarch and his little court soon established themselves at Vittoria. After a second assault, as sanguinary and without result as the first, General Verdier, recalled to the Ebro, found himself obliged to abandon the siege of Saragossa. Already the position of the French in Spain became defensive, and the fears of King Joseph increased. "I can only repeat, once for all, that nearly all the grand army is marching, and that between this and autumn Spain will be inundated with troops," wrote the emperor, on the 9th of August. "You must try to preserve the line of the Douro to maintain a communication with Portugal. The English are not much, they never have more than a quarter of the troops they announce. Lord Wellesley has not 4000 men. Besides, they are intended, I believe, for Portugal."

It was in truth on Portugal that the efforts of England were directed at this moment, as she discerned clearly that there lay the true road to Spain. In Galicia, as well as Andalusia, the Spanish insurgents had refused the active intervention of the English. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who at first appeared before Corunna, contented himself by furnishing the suspicious Spaniards with ammunition and money, and on the 1st August he appeared at the mouth of the Mondego, in Portugal. His fleet carried 10,000 English troops. A reinforcement of 4000 men was shortly expected.

For two months General Junot had been isolated in Portugal,

separated from Spain by the insurrection of the frontier provinces, menaced by a similar rising of the Portuguese nation, already chafing under the foreign yoke, and sure of soon seeing England hasten to the succor of her faithful ally. He understood his danger, and, assembling around him his troops, recalled General Kellermann from Elvas and General Loison from Almeida. The insurrection already commenced around them, when Sir Arthur Wellesley set foot on the Portuguese soil. The French did not hold more than four or five towns. The entire people was in insurrection. But General Junot still occupied Lisbon; his forces were unfortunately diminished by the garrisons left in the forts, and by a corps of observation that had been detached under the orders of General Delaborde. After a courageous resistance, this vanguard of the French army had been already beaten when the English advanced on Vimeiro. Junot marched against them with an army of twelve or thirteen thousand men. The English numbered about 18,000. The arrival of Sir John Moore with his brigade was announced.

An unfortunate respect for the rights of seniority had placed Sir Arthur Wellesley under the orders of Sir Henry Burrard, and the latter under the command of Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had already left Gibraltar to place himself at the head of the army. The instructions of Wellesley obliged him to wait at Vimeiro for the arrival of Sir John Moore. General Junot wished to anticipate the reinforcements, and attacked the English on the 31st August, in the morning.

Sir Arthur Wellesley occupied the heights of Vimeiro; behind him were precipices, and all retreat was impossible. The access to the rocks was difficult; a strong artillery protected all the positions. When the French advanced to the assault of this natural fortress, they could not at first reach the English lines. General Kellermann alone succeeded in scaling the steep slopes which led to the enemy, and was received by a deadly fire, which forced him to retire. Our cavalry superior to that of the English, was useless in this difficult attack; its only duty was constantly to protect the corps of infantry, repulsed one after another. The English army had not moved. At noon, General Junot ordered the retreat. Sir Arthur Wellesley, always on watch on the heights, was already on the move to follow and crush those who had been unable to make him lose an inch of ground; but Sir Henry Burrard had arrived, and the command passed into his hands. He was

opposed to all thought of pursuit. Junot took the road to Torres Vedras. Sir Arthur Wellesley listened with mingled respect and impatience to the arguments of his chief, and, turning towards his staff, "After this, gentlemen," said he, "we have only to go and shoot the red partridges."

General Junot had comprehended better than his adversary the danger which threatened him; he felt the impossibility of maintaining himself in a country suddenly become hostile, in face of an English army already superior to his own, and soon to be reinforced by excellent troops. General Kellermann was charged to treat, at first for an armistice, then for the convention bearing the name of Cintra, which provided honorably for the evacuation of Portugal by the French generals. The conditions accorded were so favorable that public opinion in England accused the negotiators of it as a crime, of which the obloquy weighed some time on Sir Arthur Wellesley. He had not, however, been too favorable to it. "Ten days after the battle of the 21st," he wrote to Lord Castlereagh, "we are less advanced than we might and ought to have been on the evening of the battle." The Emperor Napoleon had, for his part, manifested some discontent at the convention, which brought back to France all his troops free from engagement, and possessing their arms. "I was going to send Junot before a council of war," said he; "but, happily, the English have been before me in sending their generals, and have thus spared me the mortification of punishing an old friend." The confidence of Napoleon remained, however, shaken with respect to his officer. "Everything which was not a triumph he looked upon as a defeat," said the Duchess of Abrantes in her memoirs.

It often happened to Napoleon to judge unjustly of men and things, because he appreciated them exclusively from a personal and selfish point of view. Thus, he accused of treason the Marquis de la Romana and his brave companions. After the battle of Friedland, the Spanish battalions wrung in 1807 from the shameful terror of the Prince de la Paix, were sent by Napoleon to regions which would appear the most fatal to the temperament and habits of southern people. They had been confided to the King of Denmark, and charged to protect from the English his little kingdom, hitherto so cruelly oppressed by them. The health of the troops was, however, excellent when the news came to them of the general rising which had taken place in Spain, and the unforeseen success of

the national resistance. They immediately conceived the thought of returning to their country, to join their efforts to those of their countrymen. An English squadron, under the orders of Admiral Keith, appeared suddenly on the coasts of Jutland, at the entrance to Niborg, in the island of Funen. Immediately the Marquis de la Romana, with difficulty warned by secret advices, seized the fishing-boats, which were numerous on the coast; then, making himself master of the citadel and port of Niborg, and crossing two arms of the sea, he assembled around him all those of his companions-in-arms who were within reach. He arrived at the English fleet, and sailed towards Gothenburg, from which place he put to sea for Spain. Several regiments far in the interior of the land could not be warned in time, and remained prisoners of war. One of them, having by chance heard of the enterprise of their comrades, succeeded in rejoining them at the exact moment of their embarkation, after a march long even for Spaniards. In the middle of September, they at last landed in Galicia amidst the joyous acclamations of the people.

At Vittoria the unhappy King of Spain continually received one after another news which damped his courage and convinced his reason of the futility of all attempts to support his throne. On the 9th of August he wrote to the Emperor Napoleon: "I do not think it possible to treat with the insurgent chiefs; all their heads are turned; no one has sufficient direction of affairs or influence enough upon the masses to lead them in a determinate manner. On the supposition that France will gratuitously spend her blood and treasure to place and maintain me on the throne of Spain, I cannot hide from your Majesty that I cannot endure the thought of any other than your Majesty commanding the French armies in Spain. If I become the conqueror of this country by the horrors of a war in which every individual Spaniard takes part, I shall be long an object of terror and execration. I am too old to have time for repairing so many evils, and I shall have sown too much hatred during the war to be able to gather in my last years the fruit of the good that I may be able to do during peace. Your Majesty sees, then, that even by this hypothesis—that of the conquest and establishment of the monarchy—that I should not desire to reign in Spain. . . . This nation is more concentrated in its sentiments than any other people of Europe; it has something of the character of the peoples of Africa, which is peculiar to itself. Your Majesty cannot form an idea, because

certainly no one has ever told you, in what degree the name of your Majesty is execrated. This, then, is what I desire: to keep the command of the army sufficiently long to beat the enemy, return to Madrid with the army, because it left with me, and from this capital put forth a decree to the effect that I renounce reigning over a people I should be obliged to reduce by force of arms; and I return to Naples with wishes for the happiness of Spain, and the desire to effect the welfare of the Two Sicilies. In resigning to your Majesty the rights I hold from you, you will make of them whatever use your wisdom will indicate. I beg, then, your Majesty to suspend all operations relative to the kingdom of Naples. The means will not be wanting to your Majesty for compensating the prince you wished to place on the throne of Naples; for the rest, exact justice and affection plead in my favor in your Majesty's heart." And two days later he wrote: "It would take 200,000 Frenchmen to conquer Spain, and a hundred thousand scaffolds to maintain the prince who should be condemned to reign over them. No, sire, you do not know this people; each house will be a fortress, and every man of the same mind as the majority. I repeat but one thing, which will suffice as an example; not a Spaniard will be on my side if we are conquerors; we cannot find a guide or a spy. Four hours before the battle of Rio-Seco, Marshal Bessières did not know where the enemy was. Every one who speaks or writes differently either lies or is blind."

On the 15th of July the kingdom of Naples had been solemnly conferred on "Prince Joachim Murat, Grand Duke of Cleves and Berg." The haughty obstinacy of Napoleon, his habit of conquering, and the growing want of the prestige of victory, did not permit him to admit for a single instant the modest pretensions of King Joseph. He was already preparing to pass into Spain, counting upon success as soon as his presence should inspire his generals with foresight and boldness. Other cares had till this time detained him from this expedition, which became more necessary every day. Already, for a long time, Napoleon had nourished suspicions of the loyalty of Austria. On several occasions he had, not without reason, accused her of making armaments and hostile preparations. The occupation of Rome and the events of Spain had, on the other side, increased the distrust and irritation of Vienna. The Archduke Charles, usually favorably inclined towards France, exclaimed, "Well, if we must, we will die with arms in our

hands; but they shall not dispose of the crown of Austria as easily as they have disposed of the crown of Spain!"

Napoleon had scarcely arrived at Paris, returning from a long journey in France, when a great fête had assembled around him all the diplomatic body (15th August, 1808). His anger broke out against Austria, as it had previously broken out against England in his celebrated interview with Lord Whitworth. The frequent menaces of Champagne had not intimidated Metternich, at that time Austrian ambassador in Paris. The emperor advanced suddenly towards him: "Austria wishes, then, to make war against us? She wishes to frighten me? . . ." And without listening to the pacific protestations of the prince, "Why, then, these immense preparations? They are defensive, you say. But who attacks you, to make you think so much of defence? Is not all peaceful around you? Since the peace of Presburg, has there been the slightest disagreement between you and me? Have not all our relations together been extremely amicable? And yet you have suddenly raised a cry of alarm; you have put in motion all your population; your princes have overrun your provinces; your proclamations have summoned the people to the defence of the country; your proclamations and measures are those which you used when I was at Leoben.

"You are well aware that I ask nothing from you, and make no claim upon you, and that I even regard the preservation of your power in the present state of affairs as useful to the European system, and to the interests of France. I have encamped my troops to keep them fit for marching. They do not camp in France, because that costs too much; they camp abroad, where it is less expensive. My camps have been distributed; none of them threatens you. In the excess of my security I dismantled all the places of Silesia. I am ready to remove my camps, if that is necessary to your security.

"In the meantime what will happen? You have raised 400,000 men; I am about to raise 200,000. Germany, who was beginning to breathe after so many ruinous wars, is about to see again all her wounds reopened. I shall reconstruct the places of Silesia, instead of evacuating that province and the Prussian States, as I wished to do. Europe will be all up in arms. Soon the very women must become soldiers.

Those are the evils you have produced, and, as I believe, without intending it. In such a state of things, when the strain everywhere is so great, war will soon become desirable, in order

to hasten the end. A sharp pain, if short, is better than prolonged suffering.

"But if you are as disposed for peace as you allege, it is necessary that you speak out, that you countermand the measures which have excited so dangerous a fermentation, and that all Europe be convinced that you wish for peace. It is necessary that all should proclaim your good intentions, justified by your acts as well as your language."

Definitively, and as a proof of Austria's submission, Napoleon asked for a recognition of King Joseph. On this special demand—which no doubt was made less harsh in form by the report of Champagne, which has been preserved—Austria did not give way, nor did she refuse; she delayed, still constantly and unobtrusively engaged in warlike preparations, which were actively pushed forward by the Archduke Charles and Stadion, the prime minister.

Napoleon wished to intimidate Austria, his bold foresight assuring him of her hostility. He required several months for his Spanish expedition. Finding it necessary to send new troops into the Peninsula, he was obliged to quit the countries which were occupied, and at last put an end to the long suspense imposed upon Prussia, and aggravated by intolerable war-contributions. Prince William, appointed by his brother to the painful mission, had in vain tried to obtain favorable conditions. Napoleon feeling the necessity of recalling his forces, fixed at 140,000,000 the sum still left of what had been demanded from Prussia; but before signing the treaty the conqueror exacted more than one sacrifice. The French continued to occupy Stettin, Custrin, Glogau on the Oder, and Magdeburg on the Elbe: a secret article forbade Prussia to raise an army for ten years of more than 42,000 men. No militia was allowed; and in case war should break out in Germany, King Frederick William undertook to supply the Emperor Napoleon with an auxiliary force of 16,000 men.

To those painful conditions Napoleon added another, which was entirely personal and political. "I have asked for Stein's dismissal from the cabinet," wrote the emperor to Marshal Soult on the 10th September; "without that the King of Prussia will not recover his states. I have sequestered his property in Westphalia."

Baron Stein resigned, but continued working ardently in reviving and fostering the national spirit in Germany against the Emperor Napoleon, as he had been preparing for more than

a year. He began an able and prudent scheme of reform, which was continued by his colleagues after his fall. The convention of the 8th September, 1808, being signed between France and Prussia, King Frederick William took possession of his diminished states, and the Emperor Alexander was freed from the importunities of the unfortunate sufferers, who blamed him for their lot. Napoleon feeling the need of drawing closer the alliance with Russia, an interview was agreed upon between the two emperors, and Erfurt was chosen for the scene of the illustrious interview.

The Emperor Alexander had looked with secret satisfaction upon the events in Spain. Constantly influenced by the hopes by which Napoleon had dazzled him at Tilsit, and haunted by that passion for obtaining Constantinople which had so long been common to all the Russian sovereigns, he had accepted without any difficulty the spoliation of the Spanish Bourbons, in order to justify beforehand the spoliations in which he was interested. The national rising of the Spanish people served his design: the all-powerful conqueror had met with a serious resistance, undergone checks, and had need of the moral support of his allies; their material assistance might be needed. Alexander reckoned upon gaining at Erfurt the cession of that "cat's tongue which was the key of the Bosphorus," and which he coveted so eagerly. He set out from St. Petersburg on the 7th of September, somewhat against the will of his mother and the "Russian party," and with but few attendants.

The Emperor Napoleon, on the contrary, had assembled at Erfurt all the resources of French elegance, joined to the brilliance which is inseparable from a powerful and victorious court. All the small princes of Germany were present, and the great sovereigns sent their most able representatives. The celebrated actors of the Théâtre Français, with Talma at their head, were appointed to amuse the two emperors in the intervals of business. The representation of *Cinna* was the first of a series of master-pieces of the French stage. The emperor forbade comedies, saying that the Germans did not understand Molière.

A fortnight was thus spent in the midst of the most magnificent fêtes combined with serious negotiations. Napoleon decided to at once abandon the Danubian provinces to his ally, though resolved never to grant Constantinople. After long conferences between Champagny and Romanzoff, as to the suitable form to give to this division of other people's property

which was to render the Franco-Russian alliance indissoluble, the convention was signed on the 12th October. Both emperors agreed to address to England a formal demand for immediate peace, the base of the negotiations to be the *uti possidetis*, that is to say, the acknowledgment of conquests and occupations which were already accomplished. France was only to agree to a peace which should secure Finland, Wallachia, and Moldavia to Russia; and Russia only to one which should secure to France all her possessions, including the crown of Spain for King Joseph.

Supposing the negotiations or acts of the two powers for the execution of the treaty should bring on war with Austria, France and Russia made promises of mutual support: their hostilities were to be in common. At the urgent request of Alexander, the Emperor Napoleon granted a reduction of 20,000,000 on the war-contribution of Prussia. At the same time, and by the clever mediation of Talleyrand, he threw out a hint to the young Czar that he wished to be united to him by family alliance. "The emperor had resolved to have recourse to a divorce," said the prince, "and his thoughts turned naturally towards the sisters of his ally and his dearest friend." Alexander blushed, being by no means all-powerful in the bosom of his family, and the empress-mother having a strong dislike to Napoleon. Complimentary and friendly attentions, therefore, could not remove reserve on this delicate point. The two emperors separated on the 14th October, after hunting together on the plain of Jena, and supping and chatting familiarly with Goethe and Wieland, at Weimar. Germany showed every attention to her conqueror, while silently preparing to take revenge.

The Emperor Napoleon on returning to Paris finished his preparations for the Spanish campaign. He had told King Joseph, when in Erfurt, that he should march as soon as the Corps Législatif was opened. On the 1st October he had put in the mouth of Champagny suitable arguments to prepare the way for a new levy of soldiers. In his report to the emperor, the Foreign Minister thus publicly denounced the ingratitude of the Spanish people:—

"Your Majesty hoped to prevent the return of the troubles in Spain, by means of persuasion and by measures of a wise and humane policy. Intervening as a mediator in the midst of the divided Spanish, your Majesty indicated to them the safety of a wise and prudent constitution, suitable for provid-

ing every want, and in which liberal ideas are reconciled with those ancient institutions which Spain wished to preserve.

“Your Majesty’s expectation was deceived. Private interests, the intrigues of the foreigner, and his corrupting gold, have prevailed over the influence which you had a right to exercise. The Spanish people having shaken off the yoke of authority, aspired to govern. The intrigues of the agents of the Inquisition, the influence of the monks, who are so numerous in Spain, and who dreaded reform, have at this critical moment occasioned the insurrection of several Spanish provinces, in which the voice of wise men has been disavowed or smothered, and several of them made the victims of their courageous opposition to the disorderly populace. We have seen a frightful anarchy spreading over the greater part of Spain. Will your Majesty allow England to be able to say that Spain is one of her provinces, and that her flag, driven from the Baltic, the northern seas, the Levant, and even the Persian coasts, rules over the gates of France? Never, sire.

“To avoid so great disgrace and misfortune, there are two millions of brave men ready, if need be, to cross the Pyrenees; and the English will be driven out of the Peninsula.”

In expectation of the supreme effort thus boldly proclaimed, the Senate ordered a levy of 160,000 men, anticipating by sixteen months the regular call. The recruits were intended to replace in Germany the trained soldiers of the Grande Armée, who had already started to go to Spain, and were everywhere fêted in the towns they passed through. Skilled in all the plans by which great success is procured, the emperor, on the 3rd of September, had written to Cretet, Minister of the Interior: “Give order, so that the town of Metz may fête the troops as they pass through; and as the town is not rich enough, I shall give three francs a man, but all must be done in the name of the town. The municipal body will make a speech to them, treat them, give the officers dinners, get triumphal arches raised at the gates through which they pass, and put inscriptions on them. Give the same order for the town of Nancy, which is the place where the central column will pass. As for the column of the right, it will be fêted at Rheims. I wish you to see that the prefects of departments on their route pay special attention to the troops, and in every way keep up the enthusiasm which animates them and their love of glory. Speeches, verses, shows gratis, dinners,—that is what I expect from the citizens for the soldiers returning

victorious." On the 17th, with the list of towns which had responded to his call as well as those from which he expected the same display: "Get songs written in Paris, and send them to the different towns. These songs will tell of the glory gained by the army and that it is still to gain, of the liberty of the seas which will result from its victories. These songs will be sung at the dinners which will be given. Get three kinds of songs made, so that the soldier may not hear the same sung twice."

It was not without secret emotion and an inquietude which showed itself by numerous heroical declamations, that the Emperor Napoleon himself passed into Spain with his old troops, which had gained for him the sovereign rule in Europe. For the first time in his military career, he felt himself face to face with the spontaneous resistance of a people. "Soldiers," said he to the regiments which were to march before him on the Spanish soil, "after triumphing on the banks of the Danube and Vistula, you have crossed Germany by forced marches; and now I make you cross France without allowing you a moment's rest. Soldiers, I have need of you. The hateful presence of the leopard contaminates the continents of Spain and Portugal; let him fly in terror at the sight of us. Let us carry our eagles in triumph as far as the columns of Hercules; there also we have outrages to avenge. Soldiers, you have surpassed the renown of modern armies, but have you equalled the glories of the armies of Rome, which in one campaign triumphed on the Rhine and the Euphrates, in Illyria and on the Tagus? A long peace and lasting prosperity will be the fruit of your labors. A true Frenchman neither can nor ought to rest till the seas are open and freed. Soldiers, all that you have done, all that you will yet do for the happiness of the French people, for my glory, will remain eternally in my heart."

According to the custom of constitutional monarchies, the English cabinet replied to the personal letter addressed to King George III. by the two emperors. Without formally rejecting the overtures of peace, Canning urged that all the allies of England ought to have been admitted to the negotiation; and he included in the list of allies the Kings of Naples, Portugal, Sweden, and even the Spanish insurgents, although no formal treaty had yet been concluded with them. Soon after, to put an end to the pretence of negotiation, an official declaration of the British Government announced to the world that England could not treat with two courts, one of which

dethroned legitimate kings and kept them prisoners, while the other assisted from interested motives. Resolved "to attack by every means a usurpation to which there was nothing comparable in the history of the world, Great Britain will never abandon the generous Spanish nation, nor any of the people who, though at present hesitating, may soon shake off the yoke which oppresses them." For the future all pretences disappeared, and the struggle began afresh between the Emperor Napoleon and England. The latter had long been looking for a ground of attack against the conqueror; now at last it was supplied by the Spanish soil and people.

It is extremely painful to have to prove the injustice of a course which is naturally dear to us. That is bitterly felt at every step during the long years of the war of Spain, in presence of the generous efforts of a people who, with arms in their hands, vindicated their national liberty and independence. The first outbursts of the Spanish insurrection showed this with a brilliancy that soon partially disappeared. The efforts of the English their courage and feats of arms, were soon to eclipse to some extent the obstinate animosity of the Spanish. The long series of checks which began on Napoleon's arrival was sufficient to prove with what a decisive weight the alliance which they were soon to conclude with Great Britain weighed in the balance of their destinies.

Setting out from Paris on the 29th October, the emperor, on arriving at Bayonne, showed great anger at the delay in the preparations, the bad state of the roads and the shortness of supplies. "You will see how disgracefully I am served," he wrote to General Dejean, in charge of the war administration. "I have only 7000 cloaks instead of 50,000; 15,000 pairs of shoes instead of 129,000. I am in want of everything; my army is naked, and yet we are entering on a campaign. Yet I have spent a great deal of money, which is so much thrown into the sea."

Napoleon's displeasure was not diminished when he reached Vittoria. He had beforehand forbidden the attempt upon Madrid which King Joseph proposed to him, mistrusting his brother's military skill. "The military art is an art the principles of which must never be violated," he wrote, in some observations of great sense and force. "To change one's line of operation is an operation of genius; to lose it, is an operation so serious that it constitutes a crime in the general who is guilty of it. If, before taking Madrid, organizing the army

there, with military stores for eight or ten days, and providing sufficient supplies, one had just been defeated, what would become of that army? where could they rally? where transport their wounded? whence draw their war supplies, having nothing but provisions for a short time? We need say no more; those who have the courage to advise such a measure would be the first to lose their head so soon as the result proved the madness of their procedure. With an army entirely composed of men like those of the guard and commanded by the most able general—Alexander or Cæsar, if they could act with such folly—one could answer for nothing; much more therefore in the circumstances in which the army of Spain is placed. In war everything depends on opinion—opinion as to the enemy, opinion as to one's own soldiers. When a battle is lost, the difference between the conquered and the conqueror is but trifling; yet opinion makes it immeasurable, because two or three squadrons are then sufficient to produce a great effect. Nothing has been done to give confidence to the French; there is not a soldier but sees that timidity pervades everything, and therefore forms from that his opinion of the enemy. He has no other data for knowing what is opposed to him except what is told him, and the bearing which he is expected to assume."

By a chance which prudent minds might have anticipated, but which astonished and confounded the inexperience of the insurgent leaders, the national rising, which lately was universal, irresistible, and triumphant, lost all its power and energy immediately after the victory of Baylen. The hesitation and inaction of King Joseph, his government, and his army, had met with an unexpected counterpart in their adversaries.

It is often a difficult undertaking, even when desired and concerted beforehand, to stir up an entire nation and animate them for war; and when their rising is spontaneous, brought on by the same patriotic and revolutionary idea, it is a still more difficult undertaking to organize their efforts and direct aright their impassioned impulses. After the first shock, which had agitated Spain from one extremity to the other, after the formation of provincial or municipal Juntas, after the success of some of the insurgent generals, the trial of government suddenly presented itself to the leaders of the national movement. It was necessary to command all those proud and independent men, intoxicated with a new liberty and an ancient self-respect; it was necessary at any cost to get from them obedience, for Napoleon was at hand—he, the master of

so many armies waiting for his bidding, and who at his will had made princes and kings bend down. The Spanish alone had resisted him successfully; how were they to keep up and continue the resistance?

With considerable difficulty, a central Junta was formed at Aranjuez, composed of delegates from the local Juntas, too numerous to be a council of government, and too restricted to possess, or even claim, the rights of a representative assembly. The new Junta wished to exercise absolute authority. The Council of Castile had proposed that the Cortes be assembled, but most of the generals were opposed to a measure which necessarily tended to diminish their power. The Cortes were not assembled, and the Junta called all the Spaniards to arms.

Though the patriotic ardor in Spain was undoubtedly great, and the patriotic uneasiness profound, the results of the general rising were insufficient, and came greatly short of the hopes of the insurrectional government. About 100,000 men were mustered when the military organization was decided upon by the Junta. Three main armies—that of the left, under the orders of General Blake; that of the centre, under General Castanos; that of the right, under Palafox—were to combine their operations in order to surround the French army. A fourth army, called the reserve, was to be afterwards formed; and the troops scattered over Catalonia were ordered to defend that province against General Duhesme. In spite of the repugnance inspired by foreign assistance to Spanish pride, the Junta had accepted the assistance of an English army, which had already collected at Lisbon, under the orders of Sir John Moore. He had marched across Portugal, and his lieutenant, Sir David Baird, was bringing him reinforcements from England, which afterwards joined him at Corunna. These forces and resources were sufficient to harass the French army, and make an easy occupation of Spain impossible; but not sufficient to keep up a regular war against the first troops in the world. The Spanish, as well as the English, soon found the truth of this.

Before Napoleon arrived at Vittoria, several battles had already taken place, generally favorable to the French army, though it was badly led, and had its forces scattered, instead of concentrated, as the emperor wished them to be, for his ready use. He bitterly blamed Marshals Lefebvre and Victor, and already the presence of the general who had been everywhere victorious was being promptly felt in the management of the army and the vigor of the operations. Marshal Soult

had been sent to attack Burgos, then protected by 12,000 men of the Estremadura army; and on the 10th November, on the charge of Mouton's division alone, the Spanish wavered and took to flight, delivering up Burgos and its castle to the French army. The cavalry eagerly pursued the retreating enemy, who quickly formed again, and were as quickly scattered: many of the prisoners were killed. Napoleon at once set out for Burgos. "I start at one in the morning," he wrote to Joseph, "in order to reach Burgos incognito before daybreak, and shall make my arrangements for the day, because to win is nothing if no advantage is taken of the success. I think you ought to go to-morrow to Briviesca. The less ceremony I wish made on my own account, the more I wish made on yours. As for me, it does not suit well with the business of war; besides, I have no wish for it. On arriving, I shall give the necessary orders for disarming, and for burning the standard used for Ferdinand's proclamation. Use every endeavor that it may be felt to be no idle form."

Burgos already felt all the weight of the conqueror's anger. The town was pitilessly sacked. "A sad sight," say the memoirs of Count Miot de Melito, who accompanied King Joseph as he entered the town; "the houses nearly all deserted and pillaged; the furniture, smashed in pieces, scattered in the mud of the streets; one quarter, on the other side of the Arlanzen, on fire; the soldiers madly forcing in doors and windows, breaking everything that came in their way, using little and destroying much; the churches stripped; the streets crowded with the dead and dying—in a word, all the horrors of an assault, although the town had offered no defence!" The emperor ordered all the wool to be seized which was found in the town: it belonged to the great Spanish nobles, and he had resolved to confiscate their property everywhere. "The Duke of Infantado and Spanish great lords," he wrote a few days afterwards to Cretet, the Minister of the Interior (on the 19th November), "are sole proprietors of half the kingdom of Naples, and in this kingdom they are worth not less than 200,000,000. They have, besides, possessions in Belgium, Piedmont, and Italy, which I intend to sequester. That is only the first rough draft of my plans." A decree of proscription had already been published, and a capital condemnation pronounced (12th November) against ten of the principal Spanish nobles. At that price, pardon was promised to all who made haste to make submission.

Marshal Soult, the conqueror of Burgos, had already been despatched by the emperor in the direction of Reinosa, in order to complete the destruction of General Blake's army, already partially defeated, on the 11th and 12th by General Victor, near the small town of Espinosa, at the spot where the road from the Biscayan mountains crosses the road of the plain. Soult was late in arriving; but, after a vigorous resistance, the overthrow of Blake's army was so complete that there was no fear that the army of the left could soon rally. Napoleon ordered Lannes and Ney to crush the armies of the right and the centre, commanded by Palafox and Castanos. Ney failing to keep his appointment at Tudela on the 23rd November, owing to a mistake on the march, Lannes made the attack alone, taking by surprise the Spanish generals, who were undecided as to their course of action, disagreeing as to the place for meeting the enemy, and yet urged on to the engagement by the popular cries, already accusing them of treason. The battle was a serious one; and for a short time Lannes, reduced to his own troops, found himself in a difficult position. He was, moreover, ill from a fall from his horse, but succeeded in winning the battle, and drove before him, one after another, all the divisions of the enemy's army. With the cruel and heedless fickleness of revolutionary governments, the Junta of Aranjuez hurriedly cashiered Generals Blake and Castanos. The Marquis of Romana's soldiers having distinguished themselves at Espinosa, he was appointed general of the united armies. Already, in spite of the consternation which reigned in the national party in Spain, small bodies of troops collected in various parts. Napoleon soon understood that the masterly strokes of his usual tactics were not sufficient to conquer men who were as prompt in again taking up arms as in throwing them down on the roads in order to run away. He hurried in pursuit everywhere, and multiplied his modes of attack. Junot, scarcely returned to France, received orders to go into Spain. Napoleon resolved to march upon Madrid.

The resources left at the disposition of the Junta for the defence of the capital were obviously insufficient. A body of 10,000 to 12,000 men, under the command of Benito San Juan, occupied the height Somo-Sierra, and on the 30th November Napoleon in person appeared before the small Spanish army. The passage being quickly forced by a charge of General Montbrun, the French cavalry rode to the gates of Madrid, causing indignation and alarm. The Junta had already left Aranjuez

to meet in Badajoz, and the capital, entrusted to a small detachment of troops of the line under the Marquis of Castellar, at one time supported, at another hindered by the populace, corregidor of Madrid, the Marquis of Perales, was massacred by a handful of madmen, on the charge of having mixed sand with the powder of their cartridges. Thomas de Morla, the tribune of Cadiz, commanded the defence. Barricades were raised at every point, and ramparts improvised, Madrid never having been surrounded with fortifications.

On the morning of the 2nd December the emperor arrived at the gates of the capital, and at once had a summons sent to those in command of the place. His messenger had great difficulty in obtaining admission to the town; and the Spanish general appointed to convey the refusal of surrender was accompanied and watched by a band of insurgents, who dictated to him his reply. A second summons producing no result, the firing at the walls and the town began; and in a few hours the palace Buen Retiro and all the northern and eastern gates were in the power of the French. At several points the resistance was most obstinate. The emperor again summoning the Junta of Defence to spare the capital the horrors of a general assault, Thomas de Morla soon presented himself before him, in the name of the insurrectional government.

The emperor's features clearly expressed his anger at the sight of the governor of Andalusia, who had recently retained the troops taken prisoners, in defiance of the capitulation of Baylen. Napoleon had more than once violated treaties: he attached always an extreme importance to military conventions. On this occasion, his natural sense of wrong and offended vanity alone had the mastery in his soul. Thomas de Morla, generally arrogant and bold, seemed troubled and confused. "The people," said he, "are ungovernable in their patriotic passion; the Junta ask for one day to bring them back to reason."

"It is in vain for you to use the name of the people," exclaimed Napoleon. "If you cannot succeed in calming them, it is because you yourselves have excited them, and have led them astray by your falsehoods. Bring together the curés, the heads of convents, the principal proprietors, and let the town surrender between this and six o'clock in the morning, or else it will have ceased to exist. I have no desire to withdraw my troops, nor ought I. You massacred the unhappy French prisoners who fell into your hands. A short time ago

you allowed to be dragged in the streets and put to death two servants of the Russian ambassador because they were Frenchmen. The want of skill and the cowardice of a general placed in your hands some troops which had capitulated on the battlefield, and the capitulation was violated. What kind of letter, M. Morla, did you write to that general? It became you well to speak of pillaging, you who entered Roussillon and carried off all the women, to divide them among your soldiers like booty. What right had you, on other grounds, to use such language? You were prevented by the capitulation. Consider the conduct of the English, who certainly do not boast of being rigid observers of the rights of nations. They have complained of the convention of Portugal, but they executed it. To violate military treaties is to renounce all civilization; it is to place one's self on a level with the Bedouins of the desert. How dare you ask a capitulation, you who violated that of Baylen? I had a fleet at Cadiz, the ally of Spain, and you turned against it the mortars of the town under your command. Go back to Madrid. I give you till six o'clock in the morning. Return then, if you have nothing to say of the people except that they have submitted: otherwise, you and your troops will all be put to the sword."

The situation left to the insurgents no alternative but that of submission. During the night, the Marquis of Castellar went out with his troops by the gates which the French had not yet seized. At six in the morning, on the 4th December, Madrid surrendered. All the citizens were disarmed. Napoleon took possession of a small country-house at Chamartin, and King Joseph held his court at the Pardo, some distance from Madrid; the rebel town being thus held unworthy to be honored by the presence of its masters. Several great lords were arrested: the Marquis of St. Simon was even condemned to death, as a French emigrant in the Spanish service; but the sentence was badly received by the soldiers, and left unexecuted. A series of decrees abolished the feudal rights, the Inquisition, and the custom duties in passing from one province to another. The number of convents was reduced by a third. The conquests of liberty and civilization thus imposed on the Spanish by their oppressors naturally became hateful to them. Thus one of the results of Napoleon's Spanish campaign was to prepare a reaction in favor of the Inquisition.

While the emperor took possession of Madrid, and endeavored to reduce the undisciplined spirit of the capital, General

Gouvion St. Cyr had been appointed to bring Catalonia to submission. A man of skill and prudence, though obstinately attached to his own opinions, St. Cyr was never a favorite with Napoleon, though he knew his merit. He had entrusted him with the duty of reducing an isolated province, where his command ran no risk of being interfered with by contradictory wishes or orders. The general delayed some time at the siege of Rosas, which he was anxious not to leave in his rear, and when he at last advanced towards Barcelona, General Duhesme and his garrison were short of provisions. On his approach the blockade was raised, and, on the 15th December, General Vives offered battle to St. Cyr at Cardeden, before Barcelona. The French having left their artillery behind, so as to advance more quickly, the order was given to open a road through the enemy's ranks with the bayonet. The soldiers obeyed, keeping their heads down as they advanced under the fire of the Spanish; the latter were unable to resist the impetuosity of such an attack, and the columns of our troops passed through the enemy's lines, which were soon broken and scattered. The Spanish artillery fell entirely into our hands, and next day the French entered Barcelona. On the 21st the entrenched camp on the Llobregat was taken, and complete dispersion of the Spanish troops in Catalonia soon followed, only a few places still holding out, which General Gouvion St. Cyr prepared to besiege.

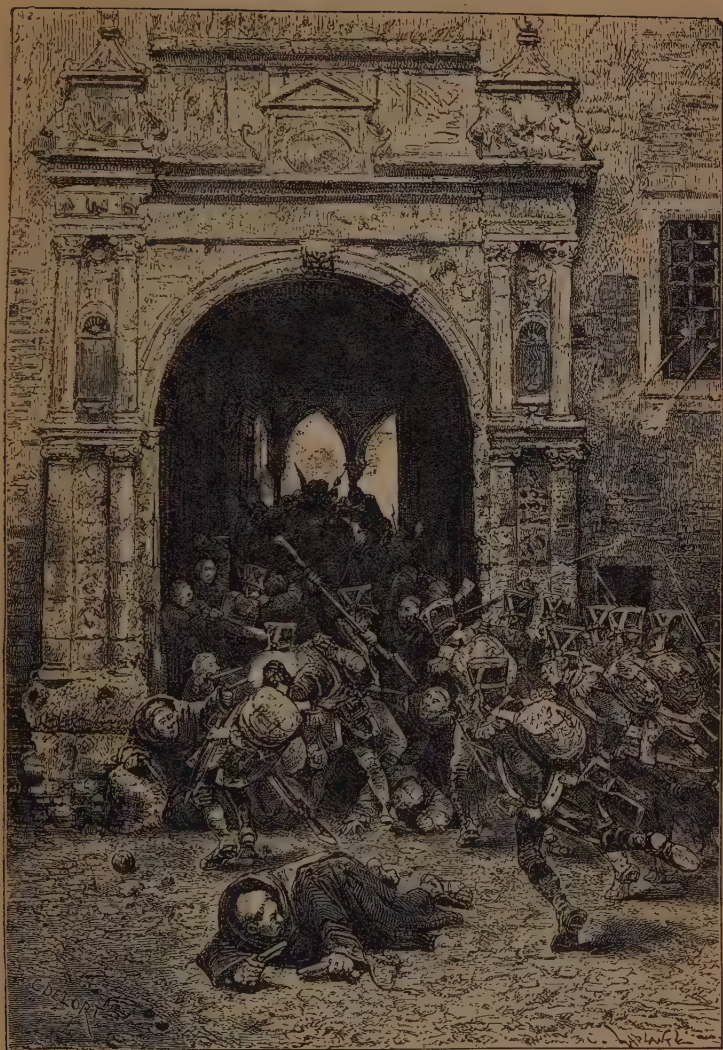
The English, however, henceforward united to the cause of the Spanish insurrection by a solemn declaration, published on the 15th December, and everywhere the objects of Napoleon's most persistent hatred, had not yet undergone the shock of his arms. Having only imperfect information as to Sir John Moore's operations, the emperor had reckoned with certainty upon the retreat which that general began at the moment of the attack upon Madrid, when he found that it was absolutely impossible to concentrate his forces in time for resistance. Moore was not hopeful as to the results of the campaign, and had little satisfaction in his Spanish auxiliaries, who always distrusted foreigners, even when allies; when urged by the Junta, however, and after receiving instructions from England, he advanced towards Valladolid, relinquishing his line of retreat upon Portugal, and directing his march to Corunna. From some intercepted despatches he believed he might surprise Marshal Soult in the kingdom of Leon, with inferior forces to his own; and, at the same time, ask Sir David Baird to join

him with his troops, and sent to ask the Marquis Romana for reinforcements. On the 21st December, the English army, more than 25,000 men strong, had reached Sahagun, near to Marshal Soult's position.

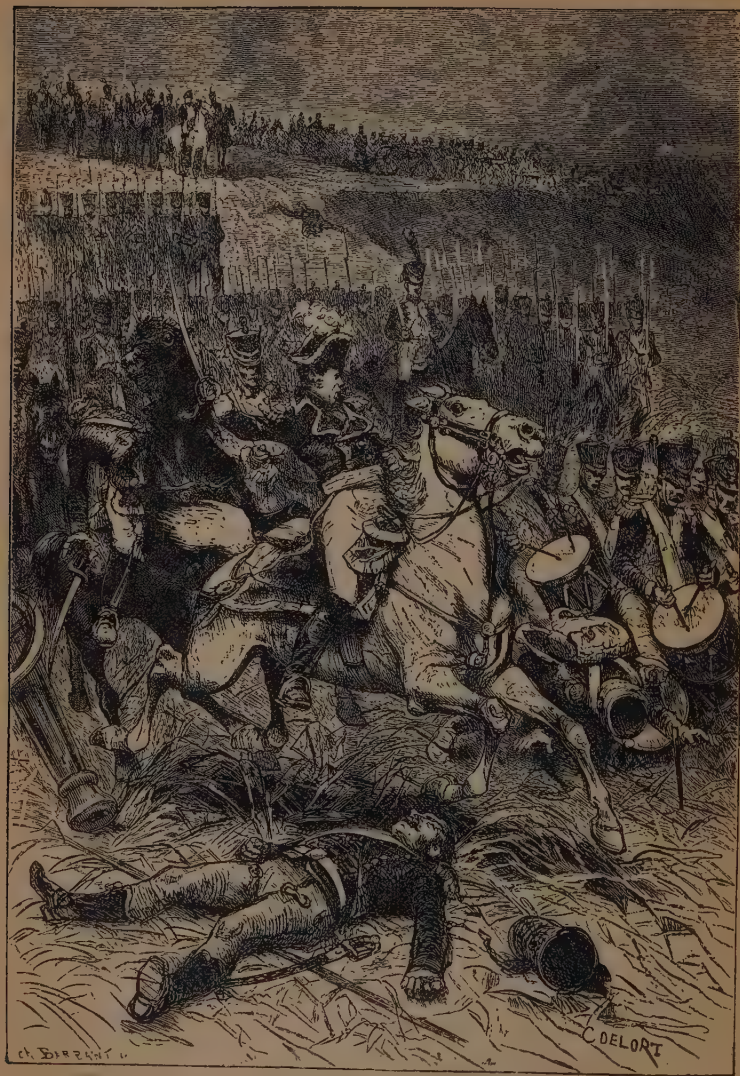
The emperor was not deceived by the first report, that the English had changed their line of march. He at once penetrated Sir John Moore's object, and resolved to at once fall upon his rear, and crush him by a superiority of forces. In a letter to Paris he says, "The English have at last showed signs of life. They seem now to have abandoned Portugal, and taken another line of operations. They are marching upon Valladolid, and for three days our troops have made operations to manœuvre them, and advance on their rear. If the English don't make for the sea, and beat us in speed, they will find it hard to escape us, and will pay dear for their daring attempt upon the continent."

On the 22nd, the emperor, uniting the divisions of his army with that rapidity which all his lieutenants had learned from him, set out himself on march with 40,000 men, in the hope of intercepting the advance of the English to the coast. The weather had become wet and cold, and when the French army reached the foot of Guadarrama the snow was falling in thick masses. The chasseurs of the guard, dismounting, led their horses by hand, and opened a road to their comrades through the snow. Napoleon himself was on foot. The snow-storm being followed by rain, their progress was slow. On receiving a message from Soult that he was at Carrion, and that he believed the English were one day's journey distant, Napoleon said, "If they stay one day longer in that position they are lost, for I shall presently be on their flank."

Sir John Moore was a prudent and skilful soldier, and on receiving information sufficient to indicate the emperor's intention, he at once began his retreat towards Corunna. When Marshal Ney, entering Medina from Rio-Seco, was preparing to march upon Benaventa, the English had already reached that post, and, after crossing the Ezla, blew up the bridges. When the French advance-guard, commanded by General Lefebvre-Desnouettes, arrived before the town the last wagons of the English army were disappearing in the distance. The cavalry officer too eagerly made his squadrons ford the river, and Lord Paget, who protected the retreat, repulsed the attack of the French, and took their general prisoner. The first detachments of Napoleon's army entered Astorga a short time after the



TAKING OF SARAGOSSA



AT THE HEAD ADVANCED, MACDONALD.

English had evacuated the place, the Marquis de la Romana withdrawing as well as his allies, having followed by the same way. The roads were much cut up by the wheels and footsteps, besides being encumbered by the dead bodies of many horses, which the English had killed when too tired to go on. There were also traces left everywhere by the English army of a troublesome want of discipline; soldiers left drunk because they could not keep up in the rapid march which their leader had ordered, houses pillaged, and the Spanish peasants, oppressed both by their defenders and their enemies, became every day more distrustful and gloomy. Sir John Moore complained that he could obtain neither food nor information from the frightened and discontented population.

On the 2nd January, the Emperor Napoleon changed his plans. Feeling that the danger of a war with Austria became daily more imminent, and finding that the English would reach the sea in spite of any efforts of his to intercept them, and that the brilliant stroke which he intended was daily becoming more impossible of execution, he entrusted the pursuit of the enemy to Marshal Soult, who was then nearer him than Ney, and marched with the imperial guard towards Valladolid. Before arriving there he wrote from Benaventa to King Joseph, on the 6th January, 1809,—

“My brother, I thank you for what you say regarding the New Year. I have no hope of Europe being at peace in 1809. On the contrary, I yesterday signed a decree for a levy of 100,000 men. The hatred of England, the events at Constantinople, everything forewarns that the hour of rest and tranquillity has not yet sounded. As to you, your kingdom appears to me to be almost at peace. The kingdoms of Leon, the Asturias, and New Castile, only want rest. I hope Galicia will soon be pacified, and that the English will leave the country. Saragossa must soon fall; and General St. Cyr, with 30,000 men, will soon attain his object in Catalonia.”

The English were in fact preparing to leave Spain; and though the determination was quite recent, it was with a sense of depression, which, in the case of the general, was increased by the sad plight of his army and its want of discipline. Their disorder was at its worst when at last they reached the small town of Lugo (6th January, 1809), exhausted by the bad weather, want of food, and excess of brandy and other strong liquors.

Sir John Moore had resolved to offer battle to the French,

and the hope of fighting had restored courage and obedience to the soldiers. He waited three days for Marshal Soult, but the French general's forces were diminished by the rapidity of the pursuit, and he did not accept the offer of fighting. Moore resumed his march towards Corunna, reckoning to find, on his arrival at the coast, the transport vessels which were necessary for his army. When at last, on the 11th January, he came in sight of the sea, not a single sail appeared over its vast extent. The contest becoming inevitable, Sir John ordered the bridges over the Mero to be blown up, and took up his position on the heights which command Corunna.

Marshal Soult had been delayed, by the necessity of repairing the bridges and rallying a division of his army which had fallen behind; and when at last, on the morning of the 16th, he attacked the English positions, the long-expected transports were crowding into the harbor, and a way of escape was open to the English army. A keenly-contested struggle took place, however, around the small village, Elvina, occupied by the troops of Sir David Baird, who was severely wounded. Sir John went to the assistance of his lieutenant, and when leading his men within range to the front, had his arm and collar-bone shattered by a ball. He was carried back to the town by his soldiers, in a dying condition. The English still retaining their positions at nightfall, their embarkment was now certain, and General Hope, who had taken the command, pushed forward the preparations for departure.

Sir John Moore had just expired. "You know well," said he to his friend Colonel Anderson, "that this is how I always wished to die." After a short pause, he added, "I hope the English people will be satisfied; I hope that my country will do me justice." Without losing time in procuring a coffin, his soldiers dug a grave with their swords, and committed to earth the body of their general, still wrapped in his military cloak. The English army, which he had saved by his prudence and resolution, then hurriedly embarked, "and left him alone in his glory," as the poet has finely put it. Several weeks afterwards, when Marshal Ney took possession of Corunna, he had a stone placed on the tomb of his heroic enemy.

From Valladolid, where he was still staying, the Emperor Napoleon directed the movements of his armies; fortifying the defences of Italy, and commanding the movements of the troops intended for Germany, he at the same time wrote to all the princes of the Rhenish Confederation, reminding them

peremptorily of their engagements, and referring to the lengthened war preparations of Austria as equivalent to a declaration of war. "Russia, as well as myself, is indignant at the extravagant conduct of Austria," he wrote to the King of Wurtemberg, on the 15th January; "we cannot conceive what madness has taken possession of the court of Vienna. When your Majesty reads this letter I shall be in Paris. One part of my army of Spain is now returning, to form an army of reserve; but, independently of that, without touching a single man of my army of Spain, I can send into Germany 150,000 men, and be there myself to advance with them upon the Inn at the end of February, without counting the troops of the Confederation. I suppose that your Majesty's troops are ready to march on the slightest movement: you are sensible of the great importance, if war is absolutely necessary, of carrying it on in our enemy's territory, rather than leaving it to settle on that of the Confederation. I beg of your Majesty to let me know in Paris your opinion on all those points. Can the waters of the Danube have acquired the property of the river Lethe?"

At the same time, to instruct King Joseph in the government of Spain, at the moment when that prince was about to visit his capital again, he thus wrote to him, at Prado:—"General Belliard's movement is excellent; a score of worthless fellows ought to be hanged. To-morrow I am to have seven hanged here, known to have had a share in all the excesses, and a nuisance to the respectable people, who have secretly denounced them, and who now regain courage on finding themselves rid of them. You must do the same at Madrid. Five-sixths of the town are good, but honest folks should be encouraged, and they cannot be so except by keeping in check the riff-raff. Unless a hundred or so of rioters and ruffians are got rid of, nothing is done. Of that hundred, get twelve or fourteen shot or hanged, and send the rest into France to the galleys. I think it necessary, especially at the first start, that your government should show a little vigor against the riff-raff. They only like and respect those whom they fear, and their fear alone may procure you the love and esteem of the rest of the nation.

"The state of Europe compels me to go to spend three weeks in Paris, and if nothing prevent I shall return here about the end of February. I believe I wrote you to make your entry into Madrid on the 14th. Denon wishes to take some paint-

ings. I should prefer you to take all that are in the confiscated houses and suppressed convents, and make me a present of about fifty of its master-pieces, for the Paris museum. At the proper time and place I shall give you others. Send for Denon, and give him a hint of this. You understand that they must be really good; and it is said you are immensely rich in that kind."

King Joseph retook possession of his capital with a great display of magnificence, the brilliant success of the French arms having rallied round him the timid, and the discontented keeping silence. Before setting out for Paris, where he arrived on the 24th, the emperor said, "The attack upon Valentia must not be thought of until Saragossa is taken, which must be during the month of February:" and Marshal Lannes, who had charge of the siege operations for a month, justified the hopes of his master. On the 21st February, 1809, Saragossa at last surrendered, having been the object of several French attacks since June, 1808.

After the battle of Tudela the whole of the army in Aragon had fallen back upon Saragossa. Joseph Palafox had shut himself up in it with his two brothers, and the country population having followed in great numbers, 100,000 human beings were crowded together behind the ramparts of the town, in its old convents, within the dull walls of its embattled houses—almost everywhere without outside windows, and already threatening the enemy with their gloomy aspect. Throughout the province, at the call of the defenders of Saragossa the insurgent peasants intercepted the convoys of provisions intended for the French army, and the besiegers no less than the besieged suffered from want of food.

Napoleon had undervalued the resistance of the inhabitants of Saragossa. Always ordering the movements of his troops himself, and from a distance, he had sent Marshal Moncey with insufficient forces; and soon after, Junot was entrusted with the attack. The sallies of the Spanish were easily repulsed, but each assault cost a large number of men. The Aragonian riflemen, posted on the ramparts or the roofs of the houses, brought down, without exposing themselves, the bravest of our grenadiers. Everywhere the women brought the artillery-men food and ammunition: and one of them, finding a piece abandoned, applied the match to it herself, and continued firing it for several days. The whole of the population fought on the walls until they should have to fight in the streets and houses.

From redoubt to redoubt, from convent to convent, General Junot had slowly advanced, till the middle of January, 1809. When at last Marshal Lannes appeared before Saragossa, he had called to his assistance large reinforcements; and the troops posted in the suburbs, and who had not yet shared in the action, dispersed the hostile crowd there. The attack commenced with a vigor which quite equalled the energy of the resistance; and on the 27th January, after a general assault, which was deadly and long-continued, the entire circuit of the walls was carried by the French troops. It is a maxim of war that every town deprived of the protection of its walls capitulates, or surrenders at discretion; but in Saragossa the real struggle—the struggle of the populace—was only beginning. On the 28th, Lannes wrote to the emperor: “Never, sire, have I seen such keen determination as in putting our enemies here on their defence. I have seen women come to be killed at a breach. Every house has to be taken by storm; and without great precaution we should lose many soldiers, there being in the town 30,000 or 40,000 men, besides the inhabitants. We now hold Santa-Engracia as far as the Capucine convent, and have captured fifteen guns. In spite of all the orders I have given to prevent soldiers from rushing forward, their ardor getting the better of them has given us 200 wounded more than we ought to have.”

And a few days afterwards: “The siege of Saragossa resembles in nothing any war we have hitherto had. It is a business requiring great prudence and great energy. We are obliged to take every house by mining or assault. These wretches defend themselves with a keen determination which is inconceivable. In a word, sire, it is a horrible war. At this moment three or four parts of the town are on fire, and it is crushed with shells, yet our enemies are not intimidated. We are laboring might and main to get to the faubourg; and once we are masters of it, I hope the town will not long hold out.”

During the first siege of Saragossa, Marshal Lefebvre, on getting possession of one of the principal convents, sent to Joseph Palafox the short despatch: “Head-quarters, Santa-Engracia. Capitulation.” And the defender of the place replied: “Head-quarters, Saragossa. War to the knife.” It was war to the knife, to the musket, to the mine, which was pursued from house to house, from story to story. To go along the streets, the French soldiers were obliged to slip past close to the walls, the enemy being so keen and eager that a

shako or coat held up on the point of a sword to deceive them was instantly riddled with balls. More than one detachment after taking a building were suddenly blown up, by being secretly undermined. Our soldiers in their turn replied by some important underground works, which were ably organized by Lacoste, colonel of the engineers. From the 29th January to the 18th February the same struggle was pursued, with the same keen determination. A day was chosen for the assault of the faubourg, which General Gazan had long invested. The troops were impatient to make this last effort, being both irritated and depressed. They both suffered and saw others suffer. The misery in the town, however, was greater than the besiegers could suspect. A terrible epidemic was decimating those who were left of the defenders of Saragossa. Joseph Palafox himself was dying.

After the breach was opened in the ramparts of the faubourg, a frightful explosion announced the destruction of the immense University buildings, laying open to our soldiers the Coso, or Holy Street, which passed through the whole town. The ground was everywhere mined, and the very heart of Saragossa was at its last extremity, when the Junta of Defence at last yielded to the necessity which was bearing them down, and a messenger presented himself before Marshal Lannes in the name of Don Joseph Palafox. We have seen the painful illusions created by the isolation of a besieged town: the defenders of Saragossa believed that the Spanish had been victorious everywhere, and it was only on the word of honor of Marshal Lannes that they accepted the sad truth. The 12,000 men of the garrison who had resisted all the horrors of the siege, surrendered as prisoners of war. Of 100,000 inhabitants who had crowded Saragossa, 54,000 had perished. There were heaps of dead bodies round the old church, Our Lady del Pilar, object of the passionate devotion of the whole population. In their real heart, and at the first moment of victory, the French soldiers felt for the defenders of Saragossa an admiration mixed with anger and alarm. Rage alone animated the heart of their most illustrious leader. Napoleon had sometimes honored the resistance of his enemies, as at Mantua: now, on his attaining the height of power and glory, he no longer admitted that the Spanish should defend their independence against a usurpation stained with perfidy. "My Brother," he wrote to King Joseph on the 11th March, "I have read an article in the *Madrid Gazette*, giving an account of the taking

of Saragossa, in which they eulogize those who defended that town—no doubt to encourage those of Valencia and Seville. That is certainly a strange policy. I am sure there is not a Frenchman who has not the greatest scorn for those who defended Saragossa. Those who allow such vagaries are more dangerous for us than the insurgents. In a proclamation, mention is already made of Saguntum: that, in my opinion, is most imprudent."

Many things at this juncture chafed the mind of the imperious master of the world. He had left Spain immediately after a series of successes, without deceiving himself as to their importance and decisive value with reference to the permanent establishment of the French monarchy in Madrid. He foresaw the difficulties and perpetually recurring embarrassments of a command being divided, when the nominal authority of King Joseph was unable to govern lieutenants who were powerful, distinguished, and jealous. To obviate this inconvenience, and maintain that unity of action which he considered an indispensable element of success, he had kept to himself the supreme direction of the military operations, and attempted to govern the war in Spain from a distance, at the moment when he was organizing and recruiting his armies to support in Germany a determined struggle against all the forces of the Austrian empire. Italy, Holland, the Rhenish Confederation, all the states which he had founded or subdued, claimed his support or vigilance. Russia remained quiet because she was powerless and disarmed, but a serious check would have speedily thrown her with ardor on the side of his enemies. Russia, compelled by recent treaties and pressing interests, concealed under friendly phrases a secret indifference, and the beginning of her enmity: being, moreover, occupied by her own conquests, by the uncompleted subjugation of Finland, and a renewal of her struggle with Turkey. England, irritated and humiliated by the check undergone by her attempts at intervention in Spain, was energetically preparing new and more successful efforts. In presence of so many enemies, concealed or declared—compelled to regulate so many affairs, the government, oppression, and conquest of so many races—Napoleon, on returning to Paris after his Spanish campaign, had found men's dispositions changed, and precursory signs of an open discontent which he was not accustomed to meet or to suffer.

Even in Spain the rumor of this modification of the national thought had already reached Napoleon's ears: he had read it

in the letters of his most intimate correspondents, and imagined it even in the eyes of his soldiers. The rage of the despot burst forth one day in Valladolid: when passing along the ranks of the troops he was leaving behind, on hearing some of them muttering he is said to have snatched from the hand of a grenadier a musket, which seemed awkwardly held, exclaiming, "You wretch! you deserve to be shot, and I have a good mind to have it done! You are all longing to go back to Paris, to resume your habits and pleasures:—well, I shall keep you under arms till you are eighty."

On reaching France, and especially Paris, Napoleon thought the atmosphere felt charged with resistance and disobedience. There was more freedom of speech, and men's thoughts were more daring than their words. Those whom he distrusted now came nearer, and others had taken the liberty to criticise his intentions and his acts. Even in the Legislative Body, the arrangements of the code of criminal justice, recently submitted to the vote, had undergone a rather lively discussion. Fouché had the courage to raise the question of the succession to the throne, when speaking to the Empress Josephine herself about the necessity of a divorce. The most daring had ventured to anticipate the possibility of a fatal accident in the chances of war, some affirming that Murat aimed at the crown. The Arch-chancellor Cambacérès, who always showed prudence and ability in his relations with his former colleague, now his master, attempted in vain to calm the increasing irritation of his mind. His anger burst forth against Talleyrand during a sitting of the Ministerial Council. For several months previously a coldness and distrust had reigned between the emperor and this confidant of several of the gravest acts of his life—who was always self-possessed even when he seemed devoted, too clever ever to give himself up entirely, and invariably impassible in manner and feature. Napoleon poured forth his displeasure in a long speech, reminding Talleyrand of advice he had formerly given him, being carried away both by his passion and the desire to compromise and humiliate a man whose intrigues he was afraid of. At the conclusion of this noisy scene, still more humiliating for the emperor than for the minister, Talleyrand quietly withdrew, limping through the galleries, among the officers and courtiers, astonished at the noise which had reached even them, and looking at him with curiosity or spite. It was the starting-point of that secret animosity to which Talleyrand was afterwards to give cold and

biting expression, when, in 1813, after a similar scene, he said, "You have a great man there, but badly brought up!" Napoleon's anger did not last long, although his distrust remained fixed. Talleyrand's pride underwent numerous eclipses. Commencing, however, from that day, the separation between them became irreparable; and when the emperor's decadence began, Talleyrand was already gained over to other hopes, and ready to serve another cause.

It was during the first moments of a growing discontent, already unmistakable in Paris and the large towns, that Napoleon found himself compelled to ask from France new efforts and cruel sacrifices. To make the old contingents equal to the new, he has already, they said, raised 80,000 men by the past conscriptions; the same expedient if soon applied to more remote years will bring to his standards grown-up men able to undergo long fatigue. The contingent of 1810 was at the same time raised to 110,000 men. In order to furnish officers to this enormous mass of conscripts, the emperor wrote on the 8th March, to General Clarke, minister of war: "I have formed sixteen cohorts of 10,000 conscripts of my guard. Present to me sixteen lists of four pupils in the St. Cyr Military College, to be appointed as sub lieutenants in those cohorts; that will supply employment to sixty-four scholars. These youths will be under the orders of the officers of my guard, and will assist them in forming the conscripts, and fulfilling the duties of adjutant. They can also be of use in marching with detachments to the regiments where they will have their definitive appointment. Thus, with the 104 scholars necessary for the fifth battalions, the school must supply 168 pupils this year. Present to me 168 young people to replace those at St. Cyr.

"Let me know what can be supplied by La Flèche School, and the lycées. I have forty lycées; if each of them can furnish ten pupils of eighteen years old, that makes 400 quartermasters. I shall have to send 200 to the different regiments, and 200 to the army of the Rhine. Find also whether the Polytechnic School cannot supply fifty officers; and whether the Compiègne School cannot supply fifty youths of over seventeen, to be incorporated with the companies of artillery workmen."

As if to supply the troublesome gaps thus made in the schools by the unexpected removal of so many boys, Napoleon had written beforehand to Fouché from Benaventa (31st December, 1809):

"I am informed that some families of the emigrants are re-

moving their children to avoid conscription, and keeping them in troublesome and culpable idleness. It is clear that the old and rich families who are not for our system are against it. I wish you to get a list drawn up of ten of those principal families in each department, and fifty for Paris, showing the age, fortune, and quality of each member. My intention is to pass a decree to send to the Military School of St. Cyr the young men belonging to those families whose ages are between sixteen and eighteen. If any objection is made, the only answer to make is, that it is my good pleasure. The future generation should not suffer from the hatred and petty spite of the present generation. If you have to ask the prefects for information, do so in similar terms."

With her will or against it, by the impulse of enthusiasm still left or under the law of good pleasure, France followed her insatiable master upon the ever open battle-fields. Napoleon was not deceived as to his arbitrary measures. "I wish to call out 30,000 men by the conscription of 1810," he wrote on the 21st March to General Lacuée, director-general of the reviews and conscription; "I am obliged to delay the publication of the 'Senatus-consulte,' which can only be done when all the documents are published. Let the good departments be preferred in choosing. The levy for France generally will only be one fourth of this year's conscription. The prefects might manage it without letting the public know, since there is no occasion for their assembling or drawing lots."

Financial difficulties also began to be felt. For a long time, by war contributions and exactions of every kind imposed upon the conquered countries, Napoleon had formed a military treasury, which he alone managed, and without any check. This resource allowed him to do without increasing taxes or imposing additional burdens. The funds, however, became exhausted, and war alone could renew them. "Reply to *Sieur Otto*," he wrote on the 1st April, 1809, to *Champagny*, "that I will have nothing said about subsidies. It is not at all the principle of France. It was well enough under the ancient government, because they had few troops, but at the present day the power of France, and the energy impressed upon my peoples, will produce as many soldiers as I wish, and my money is employed in equipping them and putting them on the field."

Negotiations were still being carried on. The fifth coalition was secretly formed, and diplomatic plots were everywhere joining their threads. Napoleon strove to engage Russia in a

common declaration against Austria; England enrolled against France the new government just established at Constantinople by revolution. On both sides the preparations for war became more patent and hurried. Metternich complained at Paris of the hostile attitude of France, and announced the reciprocity imposed upon his master. On the 1st April, Napoleon wrote, "Get articles put in all the journals upon all that is provoking or offensive for the French nation in everything done at Vienna. You can go as far back as the first arming. There must be an article of this tendency every day in the *Journal de l'Empire*, or the *Publiciste*, or the *Gazette de France*. The aim of these articles is to prove that they wish us to make war."

In France the decided, if not expressed, wish of the Emperor Napoleon, and in Austria the patriotic indignation and warlike excitement of the court and army, must necessarily have brought on a rupture; and the most trifling pretext was enough to cause the explosion. The arrest of a French courier by the Austrians at Braunau, the violation of the imperial territory by the troops of Marshal Davout then posted at Wurzburg, provoked hostilities several days sooner than Napoleon expected; and Metternich had already asked for his passports when, on the 10th April, the Archduke Charles crossed the Inn with his army. The Tyrol at the same time rose in insurrection under the orders of a mountain innkeeper, Andrew Hofer; and the Bavarian garrisons were everywhere attacked by hunters and peasants. Like the Spanish, the Tyrolese claimed the independence of their country.

The troops of the Emperor Napoleon already covered Germany; Davout being at Ratisbon, Lannes at Augsburg, and Masséna at Ulm. Marshal Lefebvre commanded the Bavarians, Augereau was appointed to lead the Wurtembergers, the men of Baden and Hesse; the Saxons were placed under the orders of Bernadotte. On the evening of the 9th April, the Archduke Charles wrote to the King of Bavaria that his orders were to advance, and treat as enemies all the forces which opposed him; that he fondly trusted that no German would resist the liberating army on its march to deliver Germany. The Emperor Napoleon had already offered to the Kings of Saxony and Bavaria one of his palaces in France as an asylum, should they find themselves compelled to temporarily abandon their capitals. The King of Bavaria set out for Augsburg.

The unexpected movement of his enemies modified Napoleon's plan of attack. A delay in the arrival of the despatches sent to Major-General Berthier caused some difficulty in the first operations of the French army. When the emperor arrived at Donauwerth, on the morning of the 17th, his army was spread over an extent of twenty-five leagues, and was in danger of being cut in two by the Archduke Charles. It was Napoleon's care and study on beginning the campaign to avoid this danger, which soon afterwards he subjected his adversary to. The Austrians, after passing the Isar at two places, and driving back the Bavarians who had been appointed to defend the passage, advanced towards the Danube.

Already, before touching Donauwerth, Napoleon's orders had begun the concentration of his forces. Masséna was at Augsburg, and received the order to march upon Neustadt, and similarly Davout left Ratisbon to advance to the same place. The Archduke Charles was also striving to reach it, hoping to gain upon the French by speed, and pass between the divisions posted at Ratisbon and Augsburg. This manœuvre was baffled by Napoleon's prompt decision. "Never was there need for more rapidity and activity of movement than now," he wrote on the 18th to Masséna. "Activity, activity, speed! Let me have your assistance."

The emperor's lieutenants did not fail him in this brilliant and scientific movement, everywhere executed with an ability and precision worthy of the great general who had conceived it. The Archduke Charles was a consummate tactician, but often his prudence degenerated into hesitation—a dangerous fault in presence of the most overpowering military genius whom the world had yet beheld. Napoleon himself said of Marshal Turenne that he was the only general whom experience had made more daring. A long military experience had not exercised that happy effect on the archduke; he still felt his way, and neglecting to take advantage of the concentration of his forces, dispersed the different parts of his army. The chastisement was not slow in following the fault. On the 19th, Marshal Davout, ascending the Danube from Ratisbon to Abensberg, met and defeated the Austrian troops at Fngen, thus being able to effect his junction with the Bavarians. On the 20th, the emperor attacked the enemy's lines at several points, and forced his way through them towards Rohr after several active engagements, thus securing the point of Abensberg, and separating the Archduke Charles from General

Hiller and the Archduke Louis. On the 21st, this last part of the enemy's army precipitated itself in a body upon the important position of Landshut, where all the Austrian war material was collected, with a large number of wounded; but at the same moment the emperor himself came up, eagerly followed by Lannes and Bessières, commanding their regiments. Masséna also made haste to join them. The bridges on the Isar were all attacked at once, and bravely defended by the Austrians: when carried they were already in flames. The Archduke Charles, however, attacking Ratisbon, which Davout was obliged to leave protected only by one regiment, easily took possession of that important place, commanding both banks of the Danube. He was thus, on the 22nd, before Eckmühl opposite Davout. Informed of this movement, which he had partly guessed from the noise of the cannon on the 21st, the emperor directed the main body of his army towards Eckmühl. His troops had already been fighting for three days, and Napoleon asked a fresh effort from them. "It is four o'clock," he wrote to Davout, "I have resolved to march, and shall be upon Eckmühl about midday, and ready to attack the enemy vigorously at three o'clock. I shall have with me 40,000 men. I shall be at Ergolsbach before midday. If the cannon are heard I shall know I am to attack. If I don't hear it, and you are ready for the attack, fire a salvo of ten guns at twelve, another at one, and another at two. I am determined to exterminate the army of the Archduke Charles to-day, or at the latest to-morrow."

The day was not finished, and the cuirassiers were still fighting by moonlight to carry and defend the Ratisbon highway, yet the victory was decisive. The Archduke Charles was beaten, and falling back upon Ratisbon, he, during the night, took the wise step of evacuating the town and withdrawing into Bohemia, where General Bellegarde and his troops awaited him. Henceforth the Austrian army formed two distinct bodies. On the 23rd, Napoleon marched upon Ratisbon, which bravely defended itself. Slightly wounded in the foot by a ball, the emperor remained the whole day on horseback, Marshal Lannes directing the assault. At one moment the soldiers hesitating because the Austrians shot down one after another of those who carried the ladders, Lannes seized one, and shouted, "I shall show you that your marshal has not ceased to be a grenadier." His aides-de-camp went before him, and they themselves led the troops to the

escalade. At last the gates were opened, and Napoleon entered Ratisbon.

He spent three days there, preparing his movement of attack against Vienna, which was slightly and badly defended, fortifying his positions, and taking precautions against an unexpected return of the Archduke Charles. At the same time, by his proclamations to the army, as well as by his letters to the princes of the Rhenish Confederation, he spread throughout all Europe his inebriation with success, and the declaration of his projects.

“Soldiers!

“You have justified my expectations; you have made up for numbers by bravery. You have gloriously proved the difference which exists between the soldiers of Cæsar and the armed hordes of Xerxes.

“In a few days we have triumphed in the three pitched battles of Thann, Abensberg, and Eckmühl, and in the engagements of Peising, Landshut, and Ratisbon. A hundred cannon, forty flags, 50,000 prisoners, three sets of bridge-apparatus, all the enemy’s artillery, with 600 harnessed wagons, 3000 harnessed carriages with baggage, all the regimental chests,—that is the result of your rapid marches and your courage.

“The enemy, intoxicated by a perjured cabinet, seemed to have retained no recollection of you; his awakening has been speedy, you have appeared to him more terrible than ever. Recently he crossed the Inn, and invaded the territory of our allies. Recently he was in full hopes of carrying the war into the bosom of our country; to-day defeated, terrified, he flies in disorder. My advance-guard has already passed the Inn. Within a month we shall be at Vienna.”

It was at Ratisbon that the emperor at last received the news of the army of Italy which he was impatiently demanding. When attacked, on the 10th April, by the Archduke John, as the generals separated by Napoleon had been in Germany by the Archduke Charles, Prince Eugène, who was in command for the first time, had not been able, as Napoleon was, to retrieve, by a sudden stroke and powerful effort, an engagement badly begun. Being unable to hold head against the Austrian forces, he resolved to retire, in order to rejoin the main body of his army. This retrograde movement he performed with

regret; hesitating, and feeling annoyed by the grumbling of the soldiers, because they wished to march to the enemy, and by the hesitation of the generals who dared not offer him advice, he halted on the 15th before the town of Sacile, and on the 16th made an unexpected attack on the Archduke John, who on the previous evening had surprised and beaten the French rear-guard at Pordenone, though, as it now appeared, not any better guarded himself. Confused at the first moment by an unlooked-for attack, the Austrians defended themselves with great bravery. Their superior forces threatened to cut off our communications, and the prince, afraid of being isolated, ordered retreat when the issue of the battle was still uncertain. He had just left the battle-field—which the soldiers would scarcely leave, furious at not having gained the day—when the Viceroy of Italy, modest and brave, but evidently not equal to the task which the emperor had imposed upon him, wrote thus to the latter:—"My father, I have need of your indulgence. Fearing your blame if I withdrew, I accepted battle, and I have lost it." He accompanied this sad news with no message nor any details, and the want of information annoyed Napoleon still more than the check undergone by his troops. "Whatever evil may have taken place," he wrote, "if I had full knowledge of the state of things I should decide what to do; but I think it an absurd and frightful thing that a battle taking place on the 16th, it is now the 26th, without my knowing anything about it. That upsets my plans for the campaign, and I cannot understand what can have suggested to you that singular procedure. I hope to be soon at Salzburg, and make short work in the Tyrol; but for God's sake! let me know what is going on, and what is the situation of my affairs in Italy." And on the 30th April: "War is a serious game, in which one can compromise his reputation and his country. A man of sense must soon feel and know if he is made for that profession or not. I know that in Italy you affect some contempt for Masséna; if I had sent him, that which has happened would not have taken place. Masséna has military qualities before which one must humble himself. His faults must be forgot, for all men have their faults. In giving you the command of the army I made a mistake, and ought to have sent you Masséna, and given you the command of the cavalry under his orders. The Prince Royal of Bavaria commands a division under the Duke of Dantzic. Kings of France, emperors, even when reigning, have often commanded a regiment or division under the orders of an old

marshal. I think that if matters become pressing you ought to write to the King of Naples to come to the army: he will leave the government to the queen. You will hand over the command to him, and serve under his orders. The case simply is, that you have less experience of war than a man who has served since he was sixteen. I am not displeased at the mistakes you have made, but because you don't write to me, and put me in a position to give you advice, and even direct operations from this place."

Fortunately for Prince Eugène, as well as the army of Italy, General Macdonald had just arrived at head-quarters, then moved beyond the Pena. Able, honorable, and brave as he had shown himself in the wars of the revolution, Macdonald underwent the weight of imperial disgrace on account of his intimacy with General Moreau. The young officers of the empire used to turn to ridicule his grave disposition and simple habits; but the soldiers loved him, and had confidence in him, and Prince Eugène had the good sense to let himself be guided by his advice. The retreat being continued to the Adige, the army rested there, waiting for the enemy, who were slow in coming in. When at last the Archduke John appeared, he durst not attack the line of the river, and waited for news from Germany. Prince Eugène was still ignorant of the emperor's success. On the 1st of May, Macdonald, who was taking observations, believed he saw a retreating movement of the enemy towards the Frioul. "Victory in Germany!" he shouted, running towards the viceroy; "now is the moment to march forward!" True enough, the Archduke John, being informed of Napoleon's movement upon Vienna, made haste to return to Germany, in the hope of joining his brother, the Archduke Charles. Prince Eugène immediately started in pursuit, passed the Piave hurriedly, and driving the archduke through the Carnatic and Julian Alps, marched himself, with a part of his army, towards the victorious emperor. On the 14th May, after dividing his forces, he sent General Macdonald with one part to meet General Marmont, who was advancing towards Trieste. The army of Italy was soon after reunited at Wagram.

The first reverses of Prince Eugène were not the only thing to disturb the emperor's joy at Ratisbon. In Tyrol a rising of the peasants, prepared and encouraged by Austrian agents, had suddenly engaged the whole population, men, women, and children, in a determined struggle against the French conquest and the Bavarian domination. A proclamation of the Emperor

Francis was spread through the mountains, and General Chasteler was sent from Vienna to put himself at the head of the insurrection. The Bavarian garrisons were few, and the French detachments which came to their assistance being composed of recruits, the patriotic passion of the mountaineers easily triumphed over an enemy of inferior numbers. From Linz to Brunecken all the posts were carried by the Tyrolese; Halle, Innspruck, and Trente quickly fell into the power of the insurgents. A French column arriving beneath Innspruck when General Chasteler and Hofer had just taken possession of the place, was surrounded, and compelled to capitulate. General Baraguey d'Hilliers, who occupied Trente, had to fall back upon Roveredo, and then upon Rivoli. The Italian as well as the German Tyrolese had reconquered their independence; from one end of the mountains to the other re-echoed the name of the Emperor Francis and that of the Archduke John, whom the peasants were impatiently awaiting since the news of his first successes in Italy. The insurrection had been entirely patriotic, religious, and popular: the first leader, Andrew Hofer, was a grave and pious man, who rejoiced and triumphed with simplicity, asking God's pardon in the churches for the crime and violence which he had been unable to prevent, and which were only acts of reprisal for the Bavarian oppression. The modest glory of the honest innkeeper reached the Emperor Napoleon with the news of the loss of the Tyrol.

The whole of Germany seemed moved by the same breath of independence in the subject or conquered countries. In Swabia, Saxony, Hesse, a silent emotion thrilled all hearts; at certain points bands of insurgents collected together. In Prussia, the instinct of patriotic vengeance was still more powerful; the commandant of Berlin gave to the garrison as watchword "Charles and Ratisben;" one of the officers at the head of the cavalry here, Major Schill, formerly known as leader of the partisans in 1806 and 1807, had just resumed his old task, drawing with him the body which he commanded; and several companies of infantry deserted to join him. The protestations of the Prussian ministers were not enough to convince Napoleon of the ignorance of government with regard to these hostile manifestations. The Archduke Ferdinand at the head of an army of 35,000 men, had just entered Poland, taking by surprise Prince Poniatowski and the Polish army, still badly organized. After a keenly-contested battle in the environs of Raszyn, near Warsaw, Prince Poniatowski was obliged to surren-

der his capital, and fall back upon the right bank of the Vistula.

Napoleon alone had conquered, and his lieutenants acting for him in more distant parts, by being surprised or incapable, had only caused him embarrassment. This was a natural and inevitable consequence of a too extensive power, and a territory too vast to be at all points usefully occupied and skilfully defended. All these events confirmed the emperor in the resolution which he had already taken to march upon Vienna. Neglecting the Archduke Charles's army, the Marshals Lannes and Bessières crossed Bavaria, Napoleon himself setting out for Landshut in order to take the management of his forces. Thus the whole army advanced towards the Inn. Masséna took possession of Passau, and by the 1st May all the troops had crossed the river. Masséna was ordered to make himself master of Linz, and secure the bridge over the Danube at Monthausen. There the archdukes and General Hiller might effect their junction, and there, therefore, must the road to Vienna be opened or closed.

Masséna never hesitated before a difficulty, and never drew back before the most fatal necessities. The Austrians were superior to him in number, and occupied excellent positions. Linz was carried and passed through in a few hours. When Napoleon arrived before the small town of Ebersberg which defended the bridge, the place, the castle and even the bridge were in our power, at the cost of a horrible carnage which caused some emotion to the emperor himself. He refused to occupy Ebersberg, everywhere swimming in blood and strewn with dead bodies. There was still a rallying-point left to the archdukes at the bridge of Krems, but they did not think they could defend it. The Archduke Louis and General Hiller passed to the right bank of the Danube, and the road to Vienna lay open.

Generally slow in his operations, the Archduke Charles was too far from the capital to assist it. The place had made no preparations for defence, but the population was animated by great patriotic zeal, and the sight of the French troops before the gates at once caused a rising. The new town, which was open and without ramparts, was quickly in our power. Preparations were made to defend the walls of the old town, behind which the Archduke Maximilian was entrenched, with from 15,000 to 18,000 regular troops.

Napoleon took up his abode at Shönbrunn, in the palace

abandoned by the Emperor Francis; and after appointing as governor of Vienna, General Andréossy, recently his ambassador in Austria, waited calmly for the result of the bombardment. The archduke had imprudently exposed the town to an irresistible attack: on the morning of the 12th May he left Vienna with the greater part of his troops, leaving to General O'Reilly the sad duty of concluding the capitulation. The French took possession of the place on the 13th. The population were still excited when Napoleon issued a proclamation denouncing the princes of the house of Lorraine for having deserted, "not as soldiers of honor yielding to the circumstances and reverses of war, but as perjurers pursued by their remorse. On running away from Vienna their farewells to its inhabitants were fire and bloodshed; like Medea, they have cut the throats of their children with their own hands. Soldiers! the people of Vienna, to use the expression of the deputation from its faubourgs, are forsaken, abandoned, and widowed; they will be the object of your regards. I take the good citizens under my special protection. As to turbulent and bad men, I shall make examples of them in the ends of justice. Soldiers! Let us treat kindly the poor peasants, and this good population who have so many claims upon our esteem. Let us not be made haughty by our success; but let us see in it a proof of that divine justice which punishes the ungrateful and the perjured."

That boundless vanity which always pervaded Napoleon's soul, in spite of his protestations of thankfulness towards divine justice, did not prevent him from clearly seeing beforehand the difficulties which surrounded him, and the obstacles still to be overcome, even after reaching Vienna, and gaining the victory in every battle. Success had again attended on all his combinations, and the extreme extension of his forces. Prince Eugène after recovering the advantage over Archduke John, was now coming nearer the emperor as he pursued the enemy. Marshal Lefebvre at the head of the Bavarians and French divisions, had commenced offensive operations against General Chasteler and Jellachich, come to the assistance of Tyrol, and after beating their forces and those of the mountaineers combined at Worgel, on the 13th May, advanced to Innsbruck and took possession of it. The peasants had retired to the mountains, and the Austrian forces fell back upon Hungary. Prince Poniatowski defended victoriously the right bank of the Vistula, and threatened Cracow, while

Galicia was rising in favor of Polish independence. The Archduke Charles's army, however, still existed—large, powerful, and eager to avenge its defeats. The Archduke Louis had brought him the remainder of the troops, and the Archduke John was advancing to the assistance of his brothers. In order to prevent this junction, and conquer his enemy before he had been reinforced by the army of Italy, Napoleon decided upon crossing the Danube in the very suburbs of the capital, by making use of the numerous islets there. At the island of Lobau, which was the point chosen for the passage, the bed of the Danube was broad and deep; and the island not being in the middle of the stream, the branch separating it from the bank was comparatively narrow. The emperor gave orders to construct bridges.

The attempt was a bold one at any time; it was rash, at the moment when the waters of the Danube, swollen by the melting of the snow, threatened to sweep away the bridges, prepared with difficulty, on which depended the success of the operation. On the 20th May, Marshal Masséna's troops crossed the river entirely, and took up position in the villages of Aspern, and Essling; a ditch full of water joined the two villages, and its banks were immediately covered with troops. The archduke's advance-guard had alone appeared, till at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st May, the Austrian army, 70,000 to 80,000 men strong, at last poured on the plain of Marchfeld. The large bridge thrown from the right bank to the island of Lobau had been broken for the second time during the night, and therefore only 35,000 or 40,000 Frenchmen were there to meet the enemy. The emperor, however, was there, the bridge was about to be repaired, and the generals were opposed to every thought of retreat. Marshal Lannes had gone forward to occupy Essling, while General Molitor had fortified himself in Aspern. The struggle began with the passionate ardor of men playing the great game in which their glory or their country's liberty is at stake. The position at Aspern, covering the bridge to the island of Lobau, was several times taken and retaken, till at last Molitor barricaded the houses of the village, and drove back the Austrian attack with the bayonet. No assault, however fierce, was able to dislodge Masséna from the burying-ground, nor Lannes from the village of Essling. At one time the Prince of Hohen-zollern's division was very nearly cutting off our communication between the two villages, at sight of which Lannes, turning

towards Marshal Bessières, ordered him, in a voice of thunder, and without regard for his rank or age, to put himself at the head of the cuirassiers for a "thorough" charge. Deeply hurt by this order, and the tone in which it was given, Bessières deferred demanding an explanation, and made a dash upon the Austrian lines. He had to meet in succession the artillery; the infantry, and the cavalry; General Espagne, who was in charge of the heavy horse, was killed by his side; then General Lasalle made a charge in his turn, bringing to the marshal assistance of which he stood in great need, and Prince Hohenzollern's division was stopped. In the evening, when bivouacking, the emperor was obliged to interpose to prevent Lannes and Bessières from using against each other the swords which they had so gallantly used during the fighting against the enemy.

The archduke having ordered retreat after nightfall, both armies camped in their positions. Large forces had already crossed the Danube, including the whole corps of General Lannes. The guard also arrived, which had not yet shared in any engagement during the campaign. Seventy or seventy-five thousand men having reached the left bank, they only waited for Marshal Davout's corps, which had received orders to hasten its march, when the large bridge broke for the third time. Part of the artillery and most of the ammunition-wagons were still on the right bank. When communication was again effected, the fighting was everywhere carried on with fresh fury.

Another attack was made on the villages of Aspern and Essling, which had already been reduced to ruins. One after another, Masséna recovered the positions which Molitor was forced on the previous evening to abandon; he also carried the church occupied by the Austrian general, Vacquant. Lannes had received orders, while protecting Essling, to march into the plain, and by a circular movement pierce the enemy's line and cut them in two. This operation was about to be accomplished, and the marshal sent an aide-de-camp to the emperor to ask him to have his rear protected by the guard on his leaving Essling unprotected, when frightful news was brought to Napoleon. The trunks of trees, stones, and rubbish of every kind, brought down by the rapid current of the river, had again broken the cables which held together the boats composing the great bridge, and both parts were carried down the stream, taking with them a squadron of cuirassiers, who were

then defiling over. The passage of the troops being stopped, and the ammunition running short, Napoleon ordered Lannes to fall back on the line of the villages and abandon the pursuit of the Austrians, who were just before that hardly pressed everywhere. Whilst the marshal, bitterly disappointed, was effecting this backward movement, the archduke ordered all his artillery to be directed upon him: General St. Hilaire was killed at the head of his division, and whole files of General Oudinot's regiments were shot down—unfortunate lads, so recently enrolled that their officers durst not deploy them before the enemy. It was now midday; Major-General Berthier had just written to Marshal Davout, retained on the opposite bank of the Danube: "The interruption of the bridge has prevented provision-supplies: at ten o'clock we were short of ammunition, and the enemy, perceiving it, marched back upon us. Two hundred guns, to which we cannot reply, have done us much harm. In these circumstances, it is extremely important to repair the bridges and send ammunition and food. Write to the Prince of Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte) not to open a campaign in Bohemia, and to General Lauriston to be ready to join us. See that Daru sends us ambulance-stores and provisions of every kind. As soon as the bridge is ready, or during the night, come and have a consultation with the emperor."

At the same moment the Austrians began a movement similar to that which Lannes so recently was on the point of effecting. The Archduke Charles combined his best troops, to overpower our centre and finally break our lines. Marshal Lannes was immediately on the spot, bringing up in close succession the already decimated divisions—the cuirassiers, the old guard; and these were soon supported by the charges of the light cavalry. The conflict was now frightful. The French artillery, placed on the bank of the ditch connecting Aspern and Essling, fired slowly, with the precaution and prudence due to their shortness of ammunition, while the Austrian cannons thundered unceasingly. Lannes galloped in front of his regiments, which were immovable before the enemy, whose advance had been stopped; and when encouraging his soldiers by gesture and voice, one of his aides-de-camp conjured him to dismount. When in the act of obeying, a cannon-ball struck him, shattering both his knees. Marshal Bessières assisted his terrified officers in wrapping round him a cuirassier's cloak and getting him carried to an ambulance; but, recollecting his irri-

tation of the evening before; he turned away his head as he grasped the hand of his dying friend, lest the sight of him should cause any sorrow or vexation.

Ominous news were now coming from all parts to Napoleon, who had not quitted the angle formed by the line between Aspern and Essling. Marshal Masséna still kept in the midst of the smoking ruins which marked the spot where stood so recently the pretty village of Aspern. The Austrians were advancing in dense masses against the village of Essling. Marshal Bessières defended that post, indispensable to the safety of the army. The emperor sent for the fusileers of the guard and placed them under General Mouton's orders. "I give them to you," said he; "make another effort to save the army; but let us put an end to this! After these, I have only the grenadiers and chasseurs of the old guard; they must be reserved for a disaster." General Mouton advanced, and his first effort was rewarded by freeing General Baudet, who was hemmed in in a barn, which he defended like a fortress. Five times did the enemy return to the charge, and now they prepared for a new attack, when General Rapp, shouting, "The emperor says we must put an end to this!" combined his forces with Mouton's, and both rushed forward, followed by their soldiers, with their bayonets in front and their heads held low. The Austrians at last recoiled, and Essling remained in our hands. The battery which had been raised on the island of Lobau had fired with effect upon the masses of the enemy when, for a short time, they were near the river. The bridge was free, the only way left us to effect our retreat, when night at last permitted us to withdraw without disgrace or danger. The long summer's day was at its close.

Having for a long time understood the necessity of this backward movement, the emperor longed only for its execution, and wished to inspect himself the resources of defence afforded by the island of Lobau. He would not hear of leaving the battlefield without being certain of the position of Aspern, and sent to ask Masséna if he could undertake to hold the village, as he had constantly done for the two previous days. The old soldier was sitting on a heap of ruins, in the midst of the smoking remains of the place, and, rising at the first words of the aide-de-camp, he stretched out his arm towards the Danube, as if to hasten the messenger's return: "Go and tell the emperor that I shall keep here two hours, six, twenty-four, if need be—so long as the safety of the army requires it."

The Archduke Charles, however, was himself tired of a struggle that led to no decision—cruel and bloody beyond all that he had seen in his long military career. He had brought together all his forces, and placed all his artillery in a line, in order to crush once more with his cannon-shot the invincible battalions which separated him from the river and still forbade his passage. General Mouton brought to this threatened point the fusileers of the guard who had just freed Essling; our dismounted guns replied at rare intervals to the continued fire of the enemy; the bodies of infantry, slightly protected by the inequalities of the ground, were massed behind useless cannon, and supported by the cavalry, which covered at one part the road from Essling to Aspern, and at another the unprotected space between Essling and the Danube. Parallel to them were arranged the guard in order. All these glorious remnants of a two days' unexampled struggle, motionless under the cannon-balls, looked in silence upon their officers moving about in front of the lines between the cannon of the enemy and the men whom they commanded. "Only one word escaped our lips," said General Mouton, afterwards Count Lobau, when telling the story of that day; "we had only one thing to say, 'close up the ranks!' whenever the soldiers fell under the fire of the archduke's 200 guns."

On crossing to the entrance of the bridge on the river's bank, where there were confused heaps of wounded men, transport carts, empty artillery-wagons, and dismounted guns, Napoleon went to see Marshal Lannes, who had just undergone amputation, and showed more emotion than he usually showed at the tragical end of his lieutenants. The dying farewell of the illustrious officer to his chief, still unsated with glory and conquest, has been told in various ways. The emperor himself reported the words as he wished them to be known, full of kindness and sadness on the part of Lannes. Some of those who stood by reported that the instinct of the dying soldier awoke with the bluntness frequently characterizing it, and that Lannes cursed the cruel ambition which strewed Napoleon's brilliant route with the corpses of his friends. He only survived that scene two days, and was praised as he deserved by Napoleon. On again mounting his horse, the emperor inspected the island of Lobau in detail, and satisfied himself that the position could be easily defended by a large body of troops well equipped and well commanded. He resolved to leave Masséna there—the natural leader in all cases of supreme re-

sistance—while he made preparations at Vienna and on the right bank of the Danube for definitively crossing the river and bringing the campaign to a close. His project thus conceived, and combinations decided on in his mind, the emperor repassed the small arm of the river, and, stopping at the head of the bridge, called his generals around him. It was nightfall; the battle had finished; on both sides they were still occupied in removing the wounded; the dead everywhere strewed the plain, the border of the ditch, and the ruins of the villages. Napoleon held a council of war on the field, on that bank of the Danube defended during two days with so much obstinacy.

The emperor was not accustomed to consult his generals; his thought was spontaneous as his will was imperious. On the evening of the 22nd of May, he listened patiently to the ideas, the objections, even the complaints of the generals who surrounded him. Nearly all were discouraged, and conceived the necessity of a complete and long retreat; they weighed, however, all the inconveniences of this, and felt beforehand all the humiliation; their perplexity was extreme. Napoleon at last spoke: his plan was decided. By abandoning the island of Lobau, and repassing the great arm of the Danube with the entire army, it would be necessary to leave behind 10,000 wounded, the whole of the artillery, to be covered with disgrace, and consequently to bring about at once a rising in Germany, which was ready to fall eagerly upon an enemy she believed vanquished. It was not the retreat on Vienna, which would be thus prepared; it was the retreat upon Strasburg. What they must do was to occupy the island of Lobau with 40,000 men, under the orders of Masséna; to appoint Davout to protect Vienna and the right bank of the Danube against the attacks of the Archduke Charles, and prevent him from effecting his junction with the Archduke John; while all the personal efforts of Napoleon would be directed to repairing the great bridge, preparing provisions and transports, concentrating his troops until the day when, rejoined by Prince Eugéne, and sure of traversing the Danube victoriously, he would again unite the entire army to crush his enemies by a decisive blow, thus terminating the campaign gloriously on a field of battle already chosen in the conqueror's mind.

As he spoke, developing his plan with that powerful and spontaneous eloquence which he drew from the abundance and clearness of his thoughts, his generals listened, and felt their

trouble disappear, and the heroic ardor of the combat take possession of their hearts. Masséna rose, carried away by his admiration, forgetful of his habitual ill-humor and the discontent he so constantly manifested. He took several steps towards the emperor. "Sire, you are a great man," cried he, "and worthy to command men like myself. Leave me here, and I promise you to fling into the Danube all the Austrian forces who may try to dislodge me." Marshal Davout undertook, in the same way, to defend Vienna. Tranquillity had reappeared on every face. Within the limits of that plain covered with dead, by the side of the wagons ceaselessly defiling with wounded and dying, a great work remained to be done, a great enterprise to be achieved, whatever obstacles might present themselves. Hope had reappeared, together with the end to be pursued. Napoleon crossed the island and embarked with Berthier and Savary in a small boat, which brought him back safely to the right bank of the river. Masséna returned to Aspern, momentarily invested with the chief command. The retreat commenced.

The cannonade was still heard in the plain, but faint, and separated by long intervals: the artillerymen, worn out, stood to their guns with great difficulty. The Austrians were overcome with fatigue; already several corps had passed into the island under cover of the darkness, when the Archduke Charles at length perceived that we were escaping from him. He at once began to follow, but slowly, without spirit or eagerness. The troops defiled in order over the little bridge which Marshal Masséna protected in person. He remained almost alone upon the bank, his entire army having effected its retreat; and after collecting the arms and horses abandoned by the soldiers, he at last resolved to follow his men and destroy the bridge behind him, intrepid to the last moment in his retrograde movement, as the captain of a shipwrecked vessel is the last to quit the remains of his ship. Day was now dawning; the balls from the enemy's batteries recommenced to rain around him, when the marshal at length gained the centre of the island, beyond their range.

More than 40,000 French or Austrians, dead or wounded, had fallen in the struggle of these two terrible days. In spite of the emphatic bulletins of the Emperor Napoleon, Europe looked upon the battle of Essling as a striking check to our arms. The warlike excitement of Germany increased; the Tyroleans were again rising, and General Deroy found himself forced to

evacuate Innspruck; a corps of German refugees, under the orders of the Duke of Brunswick-Œls, took the road to Dresden, the court immediately taking refuge in Leipzig; a second detachment threatened King Jerome in Westphalia. He was afraid for his crown, and the emperor wrote to him on the 9th June: "The English are not to be feared; all their forces are in Spain and Portugal. They will do nothing—they can do nothing, in Germany; besides, time enough when they do. As to Schill, he is of little moment, and has already put himself out of the question by retreating towards Stralsund. General Gratien and the Danes will probably give an account of him. The Duke of Brunswick has not 8000 men; the former Elector of Cassel has not 600. Before making a movement it is well to see clearly. Experience will show you the difference there is between the reports spread by the enemy and the reality. Never, during sixteen years that I have commanded, have I countermanded a regiment, because I always wait for an affair to be ripe, and have thorough knowledge before commencing operations. There is no need for anxiety; you have nothing to fear, all this is nothing but rumor."

At Paris, where the most confident had become anxious, Napoleon severely reprimanded the timid. He wrote, on the 19th May, to General Clarke, the minister of war: "Sir, you have alarmed Paris too much about the affairs of Prussia, even if it were true that she had attacked us. Prussia is of very small importance, and I shall never want for means to enforce her submission—all the more so when these reports are contradicted. You have not used sufficient prudence on this occasion; it produces a bad effect for any power to imagine that I am without resource. The minister of police has taken his text from this to make a lot of foolish talk, which is very much out of place."

Austria had in fact sent to Prussia an ambassador with instructions to engage King Frederick William to break his chains, and take at last his part in the resistance; but that monarch had refused. "Not yet," said he; "it is too soon I am not ready: when I come, I will not come alone. Only strike one other blow." The efforts of Major Schill had not been supported, and that courageous partisan had failed under the walls of Stralsund. The secret diplomacy of Austria appeared to have met with more favor at St. Petersburg; the declaration of war by Russia against Austria remained absolutely without result; the Russian troops which were in Poland

seemed more disposed to suppress the insurrection of Galicia than to second the efforts of Prince Poniatowski.

It was one of the great characteristics of the genius of the Emperor Napoleon to place no importance upon reports or appearances, although he was not ignorant of their action on the public. In his public proclamations he made an effort to disguise the check he had received at Essling; but in practice, in his military operations, he comprehended all the gravity of it, without allowing himself to be troubled an instant by bad fortune; he even derived original and powerful combinations from the embarrassments of his situation. Prince Eugène had already joined him near Vienna (26th May, 1809), driving back the Archduke John upon Hungary, and overthrowing the corps of the Jellachich Ban, which had in vain tried to stop his progress at Mount Saint-Michel, near Leoben. The army of Italy was not to rest long, the emperor having immediately sent his adopted son to follow the traces of the archduke. "To do the utmost harm to the archduke; to drive him back to the Danube; to intercept his communications with Chastelar and Giulay, who apparently intend to join him; to reduce the fortress of Graetz by isolating it, and to maintain your communications on the left with the duke of Auerstaedt, to construct the bridges on the Raab—these should be your aims," wrote the emperor to Prince Eugène, on the 13th June, and on the 15th: "It is probable that Raab has not sufficient fortifications for the enemy to dare to place a considerable garrison there of his best troops. If he only puts in bad ones the town will surrender on being invested, which will give us the advantage of taking his men, and of having a good post. If the archduke flies before you, you will pursue him, so that he may not be able to pass the Danube at Komorn, where there is, I think, no bridge, but he may be obliged to take refuge at Bude: do not go farther from me. The line behind the Raab is, I think, suitable for you, because my bridges over the Danube will be completed, and I can recall you in four days, taking at least two from the enemy, which will permit you to be present at the battle, while the enemy will be unable to be there. Your aim, then, is to hinder him from passing to Komorn, and then to oblige him to throw himself upon Bude, which will take him away from Vienna."

On the 14th June, even before Napoleon had written these last lines, Prince Eugène, after an obstinate combat, had taken from the Archduke John, and his brother the Archduke Pala-

tine, the important line of the Raab. Generals Broussier and Marmont had effected their junction in the environs of Gratz, repulsing the attacks of the Giulay Ban; General Macdonald, whom the Viceroy of Italy had left behind at Papa, for the purpose of facilitating this concentration of forces, arrived on the field of battle when the day was gained; the archdukes were driven behind the Danube, and the troops furnished by the Hungarian nobility, were dispersed. "I compliment you on the battle of Raab," wrote the emperor to Prince Eugène; "it is the grand-daughter of Marengo and Friedland." General Lauriston immediately laid siege to the place, which capitulated on the 23rd June. Marshal Davout had bombarded Presburg without effect for several days, in the hope of succeeding in destroying the bridge; the garrison defended itself heroically. Every means had been adopted to rapidly concentrate the whole of the French forces upon Vienna, and to frustrate everywhere the progress of the enemy. Large reinforcements had arrived from France. The emperor himself directed the preparations on the Danube, displaying in this work all the resources of his most inventive genius, and that faculty of usefully employing the talent of others which constitutes one of the most necessary elements of government. At the commencement of July all was at length ready—men, provisions, ammunition, and bridges. "With God's help," wrote Napoleon to King Jerome, on the 4th July, "in spite of his redoubts and his entrenched camps, I hope to crush the army of the Archduke Charles."

During the forty days which had elapsed since the battle of Essling, the Archduke Charles had limited his efforts to fortifying his positions on the left bank of the Danube, without attempting any offensive operations against Napoleon, and had in vain waited for the reinforcements that his brothers, and the generals dispersed over the Austrian territory, were to bring him. The skilful generals of Napoleon had everywhere intercepted their communications. However, 130,000 or 140,000 of the enemy prepared to dispute with us the passage of the Danube. One hundred and fifty thousand French were assembled around Vienna; Masséna had not quitted the island of Lobau; Napoleon established himself there with his staff on the 1st July.

Skilful and learned in the theory of war, the Archduke Charles felt his inferiority in face of the unexpected genius of the Emperor Napoleon. He had carefully fortified Aspern,

Essling, Enseldorf, but he had not foreseen that the place of disembarkation, and the point of attack, would be changed. The heights which ranged from Neusiedel to Wagram, well occupied by excellent troops, were not furnished with redoubts; it was, however, these same heights the conqueror was about to attack.

The bridges which united the right bank to the island of Lobau were at present out of danger from all inundations and accidents. New and ingenious inventions had utilized all the resources drawn from the magazines of Vienna and the vast forests of Austria. A stockade protected the roadway, and flying bridges of an extraordinary size and solidity could be thrown in several hours over the small arm of the stream which separated the island of Lobau from the left bank. Two days previously the archduke had quitted the heights to approach the banks of the Danube, waiting uselessly for the attack of the enemy; on the 3rd July he drew back his forces towards the hills. The columns of the French continued to defile over the great bridge, and massed themselves little by little on the island. The cannon-balls of the enemy began to rain on the shores of Lobau, but the space was too vast to permit the Austrian batteries to sweep the interior. During the night of the 4th the first bridges were thrown over the small arm of the Danube between the island and the mainland; flat-bottomed boats brought over soldiers without interruption, and these moored the boats and fixed the plankings. The enemy's fire had become incessant and deadly. The engineers continued their work without appearing to perceive the danger which threatened them, any more than the thunder which rolled over their heads, the lightning which flashed through the darkness, or the rain, which did not cease to fall in torrents. The batteries of the island of Lobau were at length unmasked, everywhere furnished with guns of the largest calibre, and the fire was directed towards the little town of Enzensdorf; after that the Archduke Charles could not deceive himself as to the menaced point. The troops of the Austrian General Nordmann, which had occupied the plain, had fallen back under the fire of the guns. The day rose brilliant and pure, the last clouds massed by the storm were dispersed by the rays of the sun. The long files of our troops advanced without precipitation and without disorder; at the first break of day, the emperor himself had crossed the river.

The Archduke Charles contemplated this scene from the

heights of Wagram. His advanced posts had already been forced to give up to their enemies the ground they had occupied the day before. The Austrian general had not yet counted on the irresistible impetuosity of the torrent of men, horses, and artillery, which the island of Lobau continued to vomit on the shores of the Danube. "It is true that they have conquered the river," said the Archduke Charles to his brother the Emperor Francis, standing by his side. "I allow them to pass, that I may drive them presently into its waves." "All right," said the emperor, dryly; "but do not let too many pass." Seventy thousand French already deployed in the plain. As they defiled past, the soldiers cried, "Long live the emperor!"

The town of Enzensdorf was merely a mass of ruins when Marshal Masséna commanded the attack upon it, and the little corps of Austrians defending it were soon put to the sword; while on the right, General Oudinot had taken possession of the chateau of Sachsengang. The entire army advanced, without obstacle, against the heights of Wagram; Essling and Aspern were occupied by our troops. The dispositions of the troops of the Archduke Charles were not made; he was obliged to order detached bodies to retreat, abandoning positions which were badly defended: the great battle was deferred till the morrow. A rash attack against the plateau of Wagram was repulsed, and for a moment several corps were in disorder; the retreat sounded, and the troops bivouacked at their posts. The last instructions had been given. Marshal Davout alone still remained with the emperor. The Archduke Charles did not sleep—the supreme effort of the Austrian monarchy was to be tried at the break of day.

The extent of the field of battle, and the distance between the positions, presented serious difficulties for both armies. The genius of organization possessed by the Emperor Napoleon had in some measure obviated this by the care he had taken of his centre; the Archduke Charles felt it from the commencement of the combat. Obligated to send his orders great distances, he saw them badly obeyed; the left wing of his army attacked us first, whereas the right wing had been intended to take the offensive. Contrary to his custom, the Emperor Napoleon had ordered his troops to wait for the enemy.

It was four o'clock in the morning when the fire commenced. Marshal Bernadotte, who had remained in advance on the field of battle after his attack of the previous night against the plateau of Wagram, found himself menaced by the Austrians,

and fell back on Marshal Masséna, still ill from a fall from his horse, and commanding his corps from an open carriage. The two marshals had brought back their troops against the little village of Aderklaa; but the archduke occupied it; the French were repulsed, and pushed by the enemy beyond Essling, which had again fallen into the hands of the Austrians.

Meantime, Marshal Davout, on the extreme right, had vigorously resisted the first attack of the columns of Rosenberg, and obliged the Austrians to repass the rivulet of Russbach, and fall back upon Neusiedel. The marshal threw all his forces immediately against them. It was to him that was confided the honor of taking the plateau of Wagram.

The emperor had joined Marshal Masséna, talking a few minutes with him under a storm of balls which fell round the carriage: Napoleon walked his horse across the plain, impatiently waiting the great movement that he had ordered on the centre. At the head advanced a division of the army of Italy, commanded by Macdonald, little known to the young soldiers because of his long disgrace; he marched proudly, attired in his old uniform of the armies of the republic. Napoleon saw him unmoved under the fire, attentive to the least incidents of the battle: "Ah, the fine fellow! the fine fellow!" he repeated in a low voice.

The artillery of the guard arrived at a gallop, supporting by its hundred guns the impetuous attack of the centre: the Austrians recoiled from this enormous mass, the irresistible impulse of which nothing could stay. Macdonald had already reached Sussenbrunn, where the archduke and his generals had concentrated their last effort; and the French columns were stopped by their desperate resistance. For a moment they seemed destined to retreat in their turn; but Davout had succeeded in his attack against the heights of Neusiedel. The plateau of Wagram was in our hands; General Oudinot had effected his junction, after taking the position of Baumersdorf; and the Prince of Hohenzollern retreated before them. In vain the Archduke Charles had hoped to see his brother, the Archduke John, arrive in time to restore their chance; the struggle lasted for more than ten hours—all the positions had fallen into our power; the retreat of the Austrian army commenced, regular and well ordered, without precipitation or rout. Disorder, on the contrary, showed itself in the ranks of the conquerors, when, at the last moments of the struggle, some soldiers of the vanguard of the Archduke John appeared in the

environs of Leopoldsdorf. The young troops, already disbanded in the joy of the victory—the servants of the army, the sutlers, the carriers of the wounded, were seized with a panic terror, and fell back with loud cries on the main body of the army, announcing that the enemy were returning to crush us. It was too late; the Archduke John had slowly executed the orders tardily received. His arrival could not change the issue of the battle; he fell back upon Hungary. The Archduke Charles had taken the road to Bohemia before the Emperor Napoleon was well informed of his march. The pursuit was, therefore, divided between Bohemia and Moravia. The forces of the enemy were dispersed during their retreat. The archduke had with him about 60,000 men, when General Marmont, with a corps of only 10,000, rejoined him at Znaïm, on the road to Prague.

It was there that Napoleon arrived on the 11th; Masséna was in advance, and a battle took place on the banks of the Taya, and after a sharp combat the bridge was forced. But already Prince John of Lichtenstein had come to ask a suspension of hostilities, announcing openly the intention of the Austrian government to begin negotiations for peace. The deliberations were carried on at the head-quarters, while the army ranged itself in the plain of Znaïm. The emperor recapitulated rapidly in his mind the dangers and chances of a prolonged war. The opinion of several of his generals was to follow up Austria, and crush the coalition finally. Napoleon felt the enormous burden weighing on his shoulders: he saw a difficult and lingering war in Spain, Prussia agitated, Russia cold and secretly ill-disposed, the difficulties of Rome, England for the future taking her part in the continental struggle: he cried, “Enough blood has been shed; let us make peace!” It was necessary to repeat his words several times to the hostile parties at Znaïm, to induce them to cease fighting. The officers whose duty it was to carry the intelligence to the field of battle were wounded before they were able to stop the combat.

The armistice was signed in the night of the 11th July, and Napoleon immediately returned to Schoenbrunn. Negotiations had commenced, but their success was by no means sure. The Austrian armies had been brilliantly vanquished, but they were neither dispersed nor destroyed, and the efforts their resistance had cost sufficiently proved the military qualities of the chief and his soldiers. The Emperor Napoleon, encamped in the centre of the Austrian monarchy—of which he occupied

the capital; he could not, and durst not in any way, relax his warlike watchfulness. New bodies of men were summoned from France. The Tyrol not being comprised in the armistice, the Bavarians and Prince Eugène were ordered to reduce its two portions, German and Italian. The posts were everywhere fortified, and works of defence pursued with vigor. The greater part of the army occupied vast barracks in the suburbs of Vienna. Napoleon distributed rewards to the officers and soldiers; he even showed his displeasure to Marshal Bernadotte, who had presumed to address a personal order of the day to the corps of the army under his direction at Wagram.

"His Majesty commands his army in person," he sent word to the Prince of Pontecorvo by Major-General Berthier; "it belongs to him alone to distribute the degree of glory with each merits." Napoleon added, in a letter to the minister of war, "I am glad also that you are aware that the Prince of Pontecorvo has not always conducted himself well in this campaign. The truth is, that this column of bronze has been constantly in disorder." By thus wounding his vanity, unexpected political difficulties afterwards arose, by leaving in the heart of Bernadotte implacable resentment against the emperor.

I wished to pursue without interruption the history of the campaign of Germany during these three months, so fertile in obstinate combats, in works as vast as they were novel, in pitched battles, more sanguinary and important from the number of troops engaged than any which had preceded them. Germany was not, however, the only theatre of the struggle; and the attention of Europe, always attracted to the places where Napoleon commanded in person and carried out his own plans, was occasionally diverted towards the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula. There several of the most skilful generals of the emperor fought against populations eagerly struggling for their independence; there gradually rose to greatness the name of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and that reputation for stability and heroic perseverance which at a later date constituted his power and splendor.

Fighting was carried on in Spain, not without glory or success; the insurgents having more than once had the honor of annoying the all-powerful conqueror in the midst of his triumphs. There was no fighting at Rome, and oppression reigned there without material resistance; yet for more than a year a struggle continued between the Emperor Napoleon and

the Pope, Pius VII., without all the advantages remaining on the side of force, or the conqueror feeling certain that he held the prey he had confided to the care of General Miollis. On the 6th July, 1809, the same day as the battle of Wagram, the Pope was suddenly taken away from Rome, and conducted as a prisoner out of that palace and that town which he had never previously quitted, except to visit Paris for the purpose of consecrating the very man who was to-day stripping him of his throne. Since the month of February, 1808, the thoughts and hearts of many had still found time to seek the aged pontiff at the Quirinal, and they now followed him with sympathy into exile and captivity.

After the occupation of Rome by General Miollis, when the foreign cardinals had received orders to return to their respective countries, and the Pope had recalled his legate from Paris, the Emperor Napoleon, on stepping into his carriage to visit Bayonne, had ordered Champagny to transmit to Cardinal Caprara the following note:—

“The *sine qua non* of the emperor is, that all Italy, Rome, Naples, and Milan make a league offensive and defensive, so as to remove disorder and war from the peninsula. If the holy father consents to this proposition, all is terminated; if he refuses, by that he declares war against the emperor. The first result of war is conquest, and the first result of conquest is change of government. This will not occasion any loss to the spiritual rights of the Pope; he will be Bishop of Rome, as have been all his predecessors in the eight first centuries, and under Charlemagne. It will, however, be a subject of regret, which the emperor will be the first to feel, to see foolish vanity, obstinacy and ignorance destroy the work of genius, policy and enlightenment.

“The recall of your Eminence is notified contrary to custom, against the formalities in usage, and on the eve of the Passion week—three circumstances which sufficiently explain the charitable and entirely evangelical spirit of the holy father. No matter, his Majesty recognizes your Eminence no more as legate. From this moment the Gallican Church resumes all the integrity of its doctrine. More learned, more truly religious, than the Church of Rome, she has no want of the latter. I send to your eminence the passports you have demanded. We are thus at war, and his Majesty has given orders in consequence. His Holiness will be satisfied—he will have the happiness of declaring war in the holy week. The thunders of

the Vatican will be all the more formidable. His Majesty fears them less than those of the castle of St. Angelo. He who curses kings, is cursed by God."

At the same time, and by order of Napoleon, a decree was prepared enumerating all the grievances of which he accused the court of Rome, and enacting that "the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, should be irrevocably and forever united to the kingdom of Italy, to form three new departments." The Code Napoleon was to be proclaimed there.

The violent and arbitrary measures employed by the emperor towards the Pope naturally bore their fruits. In removing from Pius VII. the cardinals who were not natives of the Roman states, he had deprived the pontiff of the most enlightened and moderate counsels which could reach his ears, and had delivered him, in his weakness and just indignation, to all the influences against which Cardinal Consalvi had constantly struggled. From this time every despotic act of Napoleon, every rude word of the soldiers charged to execute his orders, increased the irritation of the Pope, and urged him to advance on a course of blind resistance. A prohibition to swear allegiance to the new government was addressed to the bishops and all the priests of the territories taken away from the pontifical states; this prohibition was founded upon principles of dogma and religion. Henceforth the personal will of the Pope, his dignity as a sovereign, and his conscience as a priest, were all engaged in the struggle against the Emperor Napoleon. "Those who have succeeded in alarming the conscience of the holy father are still the strongest," Lefebvre, the *chargé-d'affaires* of France, who had not yet quitted Rome, wrote to Champagny. "The tenor of the reply to the ultimatum that I have been instructed to remit to him has been changed twice this morning—so much did they still hesitate upon the decision to take. The theologians themselves were divided even in the Sacred College, and I doubt not that the refusal of his Holiness to agree with the emperor will throw into consternation a number of his warmest partisans."

The rupture was from this time official, and the relations of the Pope with the French authorities who occupied the pontifical city became every day more bitter. Pius VII. had chosen for his secretary of state, Cardinal Pacca, witty, amiable, devoted to the holy father, but strongly attached to the most narrow ideas as to the government of the Roman Church in the world; in other respects, prudent in his conduct towards

General Miollis, and often excited to action by the Pope, who complained of his timidity. "They pretend in Rome that we are asleep," said Pius VII. to his minister; "we must prove that we are awake, and address a vigorous note to the French general." The protest was posted everywhere in Rome, on the morning of the 24th August, 1808; eight days later, and under the pretext that the secretary of state interfered with the recruiting for the civic guard, Cardinal Pacca received the order to quit Rome in twenty-four hours. "Your Eminence will find at the gate of St. John an escort of dragoons, whose duty is to accompany you to Benevento, your native town." In the meantime a French officer was appointed to watch over the cardinal. The latter was still talking with his jailer, when Pius VII. suddenly entered the cabinet of his minister.

"I was then witness of a phenomenon which I had often heard spoken of," relates Cardinal Pacca in his memoirs. "In an access of violent anger, the hair of the holy father bristled up, and his sight was confused. Although I was dressed as a cardinal, he did not know me. 'Who is there?' he demanded, in a loud voice. 'I am the cardinal,' I replied, kissing his hand. 'Where is the officer?' demanded the holy father; and I pointed him out near me, in a respectful attitude. Then the Pope, turning towards him, 'Go and tell your general that I am weary of suffering so many insults and outrages from a man who dares still to call himself a Catholic. I command my minister not to obey the injunctions of an illegitimate authority. Let your general know, that if force is employed to tear him from me it shall only be after having broken all the doors; and I declare him beforehand responsible for the consequences of such an enormous crime.' And making a sign to the cardinal to follow him, 'Let us go,' said the Pope. The officer had gone out to carry to the general the message of the holy father. The secretary of state was installed in an apartment which opened into the Pope's bedroom. The gates of the Quirinal remained closed to all the French officers, and General Miollis did not claim his prisoner."

Months had meanwhile passed away. The emperor had quitted Spain to make preparations for the campaign of Germany. Without ever ceasing to load the Pope with unfriendly words and treatment, Napoleon had been engaged in affairs more important than his troubles with the pontifical court. Public order was maintained in Rome, thanks to the Italian prudence of the secretary of state, and the strict discipline

which General Miollis knew how to maintain among his troops, and even among the auxiliaries he had recruited from the revolutionary middle-class. The time arrived, however, when this situation, more violent in fact than in form, was suddenly to assume its real character. Napoleon was at Schoenbrunn, already victor in the five days' battle which had rendered him master of Vienna, and more certain than he was immediately after Essling of the promptitude and extent of his success. It was then that he drew up, and sent by Champagny, two decrees relating to the taking possession, pure and simple, of the States of the Pope. He explained the reasons of this to his minister in a long letter, which was to serve as a basis for Champagny's report, and which, by its singular mixture of thoughts and principles, showed the historical heredity connecting the power of Napoleon with that of Charlemagne, united to the sovereign power which disposed in the name of conquest of territories and states, were confused in the imagination of the emperor, and made him look upon the independent attitude of the Pope as an act of criminal opposition.

"When Charlemagne made the popes temporal sovereigns, he wished them to remain vassals of the empire; now, far from thinking themselves vassals of the empire, they are not even willing to form a part of it. The aim of Charlemagne in his generosity towards the popes was the welfare of Christianity; and now they claim to ally themselves with Protestants and the enemies of Christianity. The least impropriety that results from these arrangements is to see the head of the Catholic religion negotiating with Protestants; whilst according to the laws of the Church he ought to shun them, and excommunicate them. (There is a prayer to this effect recited at Rome.)

"The interest of religion, and the interest of the peoples of France, Germany and Italy, require that an end should be made of this ridiculous temporal power—the feeble remnant of the exaggerated pretensions of the Gregories, who claimed to reign over kings, to give away crowns, and to have the direction of the affairs of earth as well as of heaven. In the absence of councils, let the popes have the direction of the affairs of the Church so far as they do not infringe on the liberties of the Gallican Church—that is all right; but they ought not to mix themselves up with armies or state policy. If they are the successors of Jesus Christ, they ought not to exercise any other

dominion than that which He Himself exercised, and His 'kingdom is not of this world.'

"If your Majesty does not do that which you alone can do, you will leave in Europe the seeds of dissension and discord. Posterity, whilst praising you for having re-established religion and re-erected her altars, will blame you for having left the empire (which is in fact the major portion of Christendom) exposed to the influence of this fantastic medley, inimical to religion and the tranquillity of the empire. This obstacle can only be surmounted by separating the temporal from the spiritual authority, and by declaring that the states of the Pope form a portion of the French Empire."

It is too often an error of men, even of the first rank, to believe in the universal power and duration of their wishes and decisions. The Emperor Napoleon though he had solved forever this question of the temporal power of the popes—a question which we have so many times heard discussed by the most eloquent voices; we have seen armies upholding on fields of battle contradictory principles on this subject, and diplomacy painfully accomplishing imperfect settlements.

He displayed towards Pope Pius VII. the most arrogant contempt of the rights and independence of others, and a passionate self-will as regards all resistance. Under shelter of ancient authority, of which he retrospectively took possession, he boldly invoked the highest reasons and the most venerated names, in order to justify an arbitrary resolution, and the grasping selfishness which swayed his mind. It was the practice of the French Revolution to prop up its violent and despotical proceedings by the loftiest principles; the Emperor Napoleon had not forgotten this tradition.

In all the manifestly criminal acts of his powerful career—in the fatal resolves of his mistaken and culpable caprices, whether it was a question of the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien or the brutal removal of the Pope from Rome—Napoleon always chose his part in the complete isolation of his soul, and by the spontaneous act of a personal decision; he made sure of the execution of his will with minute precautions: he did not the less subsequently seek to throw back the responsibility of the acts themselves upon the instruments too ready to obey him. When Europe suddenly learnt that the Pope had been removed from the states henceforth united to the French Empire, Napoleon wrote to Fouché, "I am vexed that the Pope has been arrested; it is a great folly. It was necessary to arrest Cardinal

Pacca, and leave the Pope in tranquillity at Rome;" and to Cambacérès, the 28th July: "It is without my orders, and against my will, that the Pope has been made to leave Rome."

Measures had, however, been taken with that provident exactitude which characterized the personal orders of the Emperor Napoleon. Immediately he had resolved upon the confiscation of the Roman States he had divined the consequence and importance of this act; the new government was organized, Murat had been charged with the command of the troops, and to hold himself ready for any event. "Since your Majesty has made me aware of your intentions as to Rome, I shall not withdraw from Naples," wrote Murat to the emperor. "Word has been sent me that the Pope wished to send forth an excommunication, but that the majority of the Consistory were opposed to it. All your orders will be fulfilled, and I hope without trouble."

This was hoping for much from the patience of the holy father, and maintaining great illusions as to the decision long since taken by the Court of Rome. The project of the spoliation of the pontifical states had not been kept so secret that the Pope and his minister had not been apprised of it; and several times Pius VII. had let it be understood that he was prepared for resistance. "We see plainly that the French wish to force us to speak Latin," he had said quite recently; "ah, well! we will do it."

General Miollis, supported and directed by the King of Naples, did not take much account of the Latin of the court of Rome when it was a question of obeying the orders of the Emperor Napoleon. The military preparations completed (the 10th June, 1809), the tricolor flag was mounted upon the castle of St. Angelo in place of the pontifical arms, and the imperial decrees were everywhere read before the population of Rome and the assembled troops. The report of these things soon reached the Quirinal. "I rushed suddenly into the apartment of the holy father," writes Cardinal Pacca, "and on meeting we both pronounced the words of the Redeemer, *Consummatum est!* I was in a condition difficult to describe, but the sight of the holy father, who maintained an unalterable tranquillity, much edified me, and reanimated my courage. A few minutes afterwards my nephew brought me a copy of the imperial decree. Observing the Pope attentively at the first words, I saw emotion on his countenance, and the signs of indignation only too natural. Little by little he recovered himself, and he heard

the reading with much tranquillity and resignation." Cardinal Pacca was even obliged to urge the pope to promulgate the bull of excommunication, which had been prepared already since 1806. Pius VII. still hesitated. "Raise your eyes towards heaven, Thrice Holy Father," said the secretary of state, "and then give me your order, and be sure that that which proceeds from your mouth will be the will of God." "Ah, well! let the bull go forth," cried the Pope; "but let those who shall execute your orders take great care, for if they are discovered they will be shot, and for that I should be inconsolable."

The bull of excommunication against the Emperor Napoleon was everywhere placarded in Rome, without the agents of Cardinal Pacca undergoing the vengeance dreaded by the Pope. Anger and fear were wrestling in a higher sphere. The instructions of the emperor had been precise: "I have confided to you the care of maintaining tranquillity in my Roman states," he wrote to General Miollis. "You are to have arrested, even in the house of the Pope himself, those who plot against public tranquillity, and against the safety of my soldiers. A priest abuses his character, and merits less indulgence than another man, when he preaches war and disobedience to temporal power, and when he sacrifices spiritual things for the interest of this world, which the Scripture declares not to be his." And to the King of Naples, in two different letters, of the 17th and 19th of June: "If the Pope wishes to form a reunion of caballers like Cardinal Pacca, it will be necessary to permit nothing of the kind. and to act at Rome as I should act towards the cardinal archbishop of Paris. . . . I have given you to understand that my intention was that the affairs of Rome should be quickly settled, and that no species of opposition should take place. No asylum ought to be respected, if my decrees are not submitted to; and under no pretext whatever ought any resistance to be allowed. If the Pope, in opposition to the spirit of his office and of the Gospel, preaches revolt, and wishes to make use of the immunity of his house for the printing of circulars, he ought to be arrested. The time for this sort of thing is past. Philippe le Bel caused Boniface to be arrested; and Charles V. kept Clement VII. in prison for a long time, for far less cause. The priest who to the temporal powers preaches discord and war, instead of peace, abuses his character."

The orders were precise, and admitted of no hesitation. The confiscation of the papal states had been responded to by the

papal bull; open war had broken out between Pius VII., and the Emperor Napoleon. The latter was desirous of insuring the execution of his will by sending to Rome General Radet, less honorably scrupulous than General Miollis; an instrument docile and daring, as regards the details of the general scheme. Radet has himself given an account of the removal of the Pope in a report to the minister of war, dated July 13th, 1809. In 1814, he had forgotten the existence of this letter, and vainly sought to minimize the importance of the part which he played on the 6th of July. History must preserve for General Radet his place in her annals. The man to carry out the projects of Napoleon had been well chosen.

Already for several months the Pope had been carefully guarding himself in the Quirinal; the precautions had been redoubled since the decrees, and the publication of the bull. Pius VII. and his counsellors foresaw the removal. General Radet took all possible measures to turn aside suspicion. "On the 5th, at the break of day," he himself wrote, "I made the necessary arrangements, which I succeeded in screening from the eyes of the Romans by double patrols and measures of police. I kept the troops in the barracks all day, in order to lull the public and the inhabitants of the Quirinal into a feeling of security. From that spot the Pope governed with his finger more than we did with our bayonets. At nine o'clock, I caused the military chiefs to come to me, one after another, and gave them my orders. At ten o'clock, we were collected in the place of the Holy Apostles, and at the barracks of La Pilota, which was the centre of my operations. At eleven o'clock I myself placed my patrols, my guards, my posts, and my detachments for carrying out the operations, whilst the governor-general caused the bridges of the Tiber and the castle of St. Angelo to be occupied by a Neapolitan battalion."

General Radet had received a written order from General Miollis, for the arrest of Cardinal Pacca. The order to arrest the Pope was not written down. Nobody had dared to put his signature to it; verbal instructions only were given.

Three detachments of soldiers, furnished with scaling-ladders, ropes and grappling-irons, surrounded the Quirinal. At half-past ten, the sentinel who kept guard on the tower of the Quirinal disappeared. The signal was immediately given. With varying success the small battalions introduced themselves into the palace. The Swiss guard was disarmed; it had for a long time previously received orders to make no resist-

ance. The chief anxiety of the Pope had always been that he might be up and about when they should come to arrest him. He had gone to bed late, and was roused up by the noise in the middle of his first sleep. Cardinal Pacca, however, found him completely dressed, when the former rushed precipitately into his chamber. The gate was already yielding to the efforts of the assailants. Pius VII. seated himself under a canopy; making a sign to the secretary of state, and to Cardinal Desping, to place themselves near him. "Open the gate," said he.

General Radet had never seen the Pope; he recognized him by the attitude of his guides; and immediately sending back the soldiers, he caused the officers to enter with drawn swords: a few gendarmes, with muskets in their hands, also glided into the chamber. The priest was waiting in silence; the soldier was hesitating. At length the latter, hat in hand, spoke: "I have a sorrowful mission to accomplish," said General Radet; "I am compelled by my oaths to fulfil it." Pius VII. stood up. "Who are you," said he, "and what is it you require of me, that you come at such an hour to trouble my repose and invade my dwelling-place?" "Most Holy Father," replied the General, "I come in the name of my government to reiterate to your Holiness the proposal to officially renounce your temporal power. If your holiness consents to it, I do not doubt but that affairs may be arranged, and that the emperor will treat your holiness with the greatest respect." The Pope was resting one hand upon the table placed before him. "If you have believed yourself bound to execute such orders of the emperor by reason of your oath of fidelity and obedience, think to what an extent we feel compelled to sustain the rights of the holy see, to which we are bound by so many oaths? We can neither yield nor abandon that which belongs to it. The temporal power belongs to the Church, and we are only the administrator. The emperor may tear us in pieces, but he will not obtain from us what he demands. After all that we have done for him, ought we to expect such treatment?"

"I know that the emperor is under many obligations to your holiness!" replied Radet, more and more troubled. "Yes, more than you are aware of; but, finally, what are your orders?"—"Most Holy Father, I regret the commission with which I am charged, but I must inform you that I am ordered to take you away with me." The pontiff bent slightly

towards the speaker, and said in tones of sweet compassion, "Ah! my son, your mission is one that will not draw down upon you the divine blessing." Then, turning again towards the cardinals, and appearing to speak to himself, "This, then, is the recognition which is accorded to me of all that which I have done for the emperor! This, then, is the reward for my great condescension towards him and towards the Church of France! But perhaps in this respect I have been culpable towards God. He wishes to punish me; I submit with humility."

General Radet had sent for the final orders of General Miollis. The brigadier of gendarmerie charged with this commission re-entered the chamber of the Pope. "The order of his excellency," said he, "is, that it is necessary for the holy father and Cardinal Pacca to set out at once with General Radet: the other persons in his suite will follow after." The Pope rose up; he walked with difficulty. Moved in spite of himself, Radet offered his arm to support him, proposing to retire, in order to leave the holy father free to give his orders and dispose of any valuable objects that he might have a fancy for. "When one has no hold upon life, one has no hold upon the things of this world," replied Pius VII., taking from a table at the side of his bed his breviary and his crucifix. "I am ready," said he.

The carriage was already at the palace gate, the postillions ready to start. The Pope stood still, giving his benediction to the city of Rome, and to the French troops ranged in order of battle on the place. It was four o'clock in the morning; the streets were deserted. The Pope got into the carriage beside Cardinal Pacca; the doors were locked by a gendarme. General Radet and a marshal of the household got on to the box-seat; the horses set off at a quick trot along the road to Florence.

General Radet offered a purse of Gold to the Pope, which the latter refused. "Have you any money?" asked the holy father of his companion. "I have not been permitted to enter my apartment," said the cardinal; "and I did not think of bringing my purse." The Pope had a papetto, value twenty sous. "This is all that remains to me of my principality," said he, smiling. "We are travelling in apostolic fashion," responded Pacca. "We have done well in publishing the bull of the 10th of June," replied Pius VII.; "now it would be too late."

For nineteen hours the coach rattled along; the stores were getting low. Everywhere, and in spite of a few accidents, the passage of the Pope forestalled the news of his capture. The suite of the holy father joined him on the morrow; the Pope was suffering, he was in a fever. The populace began to be stirred up with the rumors which were circulating: they crowded round the carriages. "I disembarassed myself of them," writes Radet, "by calling out to them to place themselves on their knees on the right and left of the road, in order that the holy father might give him his benediction; then all of a sudden I ordered the postillions to dash forward. By this means the people were still on their knees whilst we were already far away at a gallop. This plan succeeded everywhere."

Arrived on the 8th of July at the chartreuse of Florence, Pius VII. expected to rest there a few days: but the Princess Baciocchi had not received instructions from the emperor: she hurried the departure. "I see well that they want to cause my death by their bad treatment," said the exhausted old man; "and if there is but a little more of it I feel that the end will not be far off." Cardinal Pacca was no longer with him. At Genoa the Prince Borghese, who was commanding there, was seized with the same panic as the Princess Baciocchi. After a few moments of repose at Alexandria, Pius VII. was carried, by way of Mondovì and Rivoli, towards Grenoble. In the last stages, in the little Italian villages, the bells pealed forth, and the crowd who besought the benediction of the prisoner everywhere retarded the advance. It was the same in all the districts of Savoy and Dauphiny. When the Pope made his entry into Grenoble, on the 21st of July, the ardor of the population had not diminished, but the bells rang no longer; the clergy had been forbidden to present themselves before the pontiff. The prefect was absent, Fouché having been designedly detained at Paris. The orders of the emperor had at length arrived from Schoenbrunn. "I received at the same time the two letters of General Miollis and that of the Grand Duchess," he wrote, on the 18th of July, to Fouché. "I am vexed that the Pope has been arrested; it is a great folly. It was needful to arrest Cardinal Pacca, and to leave the Pope quietly at Rome. But there is no remedy for it now; what is done is done. I know not what the Prince Borghese will have done, but my intention is that the Pope should not enter France. If he is still in the Rivière of Genoa, the best place

at which he could be placed would be Savona. There is a house there large enough, where he would be suitably lodged until we know what course he decides upon. If his madness terminates, I have no objection to his being taken back to Rome. If he has entered France, have him taken back towards Savona and San Remo. Cause his correspondence to be examined. As to Cardinal Pacca, have him shut up at Fenestrella; and let him understand that if a single Frenchman is assassinated through his instigation, he will be the first to pay for it with his head."

Fifteen days later (August 6th, 1809), in the midst of his prudent and foreseeing preparations for the possible resumption of hostilities, enlightened by reflection, or by the report of the popular emotion in the provinces traversed by Pius VII., Napoleon modified his orders as to the residence of the Pope. "Monsieur Fouché, I should have preferred that only Cardinal Pacca had been arrested at Rome, and that the Pope had been left there. I should have preferred, since the Pope has not been left at Genoa, that he had been taken to Savona; but since he is at Grenoble, I should be vexed that you should make him set out to be re-conducted to Savona; it would be better to guard him at Grenoble, since he is there; the former course would have the appearance of making sport of the old man. I have not authorized Cardinal Fesch to send any one to his holiness; I have only had the minister of religion informed that I should desire Cardinal Maury and the other prelates to write to the Pope, to know what he wishes, and to make him understand that if he renounces the Concordat I shall regard it on my side as null and void. As to Cardinal Pacca, I suppose that you have sent him to Fenestrella, and that you have forbidden his communication with any one. I make a great difference between the Pope and him, principally on account of his rank and his moral virtues. The Pope is a good man, but ignorant and fanatical. Cardinal Pacca is a man of education and a scoundrel, an enemy of France, and deserving of no regard. Immediately I know where the Pope is located I shall see about taking definitive measures; of course if you have already caused him to set out for Savona, it is not necessary to bring him back."

The Pope was at Savona, where he was long to remain. Already the difficulties of religious administration were commencing, and the emperor's mind was engrossed with the institution of bishops to the vacant sees. He had ordered all

the prelates to chant a public *Te Deum* with reference to the victory of Wagram. The bishops of Dalmatia alone had frankly and spiritedly replied to the statement of reasons which preceded the circular. In France the silence was still profound. The emperor had beforehand forbidden the journals to give any news from Rome. "It is a bad plan to let articles be written," he wrote to Fouché; "there is to be no speaking, either for or against, and it is not to be a matter for discussion in the journals. Well-informed men know perfectly that I have not attacked Rome. The mistaken bigots you cannot alter. Act on this principle." The *Moniteur* held its tongue. All the journals followed its example. No one talked of the bull of excommunication. The circuits of the missionary priests were forbidden, as well as the ecclesiastical conferences of St. Sulpice. "The missionaries are for whoever pays them," declared the emperor, "for the English, if they are willing to employ them. I do not wish to have any missions whatever; get me ready a draft of a decree on that subject; I wish to complete it. I only know bishops, priests, and curates. I am satisfied with keeping up religion in my own country; I do not care about propagating it abroad." All the cardinals still remaining at Rome were expelled. In the depths of his soul, and in spite of the chimerical impulses of his irritated thoughts, Napoleon was already feeling the embarrassments which he had himself sown along his path. The Pope a prisoner at Savona, indomitable in his conscientious resistance, might become more dangerous than the Pope at Rome, powerless and unarmed. The struggle was not terminated; a breath of revolt had passed over Europe. Henceforth Napoleon was at war with that Catholic religion, the splendor of whose altars he had deemed it a point of honor to restore; he struggled at the same time violently against that national independence of the peoples which he had everywhere in his words invoked in opposition to the arbitrary jealousy of the monarchs. The Spanish sovereigns had succumbed to his yoke; the Spanish people, henceforth sustained by the might of England, courageously defended its liberties. At the moment when the supreme effort of the victory of Wagram was about to snatch humiliating concessions from the Emperor Francis, the captive Pope and the Spanish insurgents were presenting to Europe a salutary and striking contrast, the teachings of which she was beginning to comprehend.

Not the least significant of the lessons on the frailty of the

human colossi raised by conquerors is the impossibility of tracing their history on the same canvas. For a long time Napoleon alone had filled the scene, and his brilliant track was easily kept in view. In proportion as he accumulated on his shoulders a burden too heavy, and as he extended his empire without consolidating it, the insufficiency of human will and human power made itself more painfully felt. Napoleon was no longer everywhere present, acting and controlling, in order to repair the faults he had committed, or to dazzle the spectators with new successes. In vain the prodigious activity of his spirit sought to make up for the radical defect of his universal dominion. The Emperor Napoleon was conquered by the very nature of things, before the fruits of his unmeasured ambition had had time to ripen, and before all Europe, indignant and wearied out, was at length roused up against him.

There was already, in 1809, a confused but profound instinctive feeling throughout the world that the moment for resistance and for supreme efforts had arrived. The Archduke Charles had proved it in Austria by the fury of his courage; the English cabinet were bearing witness to it by the great preparations they were displaying on their coast and in their arsenals, as well as by the ready aid lent by them to the insurgents of the Peninsula. The Emperor Napoleon on quitting Spain, in the month of January, had left behind him the certain germs of growing disorder. Obligated of necessity to commit the chief command to King Joseph, he had been desirous of remedying the weakness and military incapacity of the monarch whom he had himself put on the throne by conferring upon the marshals charged with continuing the war an almost absolute authority over their *corps d'armée*. Each of them was to correspond directly with the minister of war, supremely directed by Napoleon himself. Deprived thus of all serious control over the direction of the war, King Joseph saw himself equally thwarted in civil and financial affairs. Spanish interests were naturally found to conflict with French interests. King Joseph defended the former; an army of imperial functionaries were charged with the protection of the second. In this mission they proceeded at times even to insult. King Joseph threatened to place in a carriage M. de Fréville, administrator for the treasury of confiscated goods, and to send him directly to France. The complaints of the unfortunate monarch to his brother were frequent and well founded.



MARSHAL SOULT



THE EMPRESS.



RETREAT OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

"Your Majesty has not entire confidence in me," he wrote on the 17th of February to Napoleon, "and meanwhile, without that, the position is not tenable. I shall not again repeat what I have already written ten times as to the situation of the finances; I give all my faculties to business from eight o'clock in the morning to eleven o'clock in the evening; I go out once a week; I have not a sou to give to any one; I am in the fourth year of my reign, and I still see my guard with the first frock-coat which I gave it, three years ago; I am the goal of all complaints; I have all pretensions to overcome; my power does not extend beyond Madrid, and at Madrid itself I am daily thwarted. Your Majesty has ordered the sequestration of the goods of ten families, it has been extended to more than double. All the habitable houses are sealed up; 6000 domestics of the sequestered families are in the streets. All demand charity; the boldest of them take to robbery and assassination. My officers—all those who sacrificed with me the kingdom of Naples—are still lodged by billets. Without capital, without income, without money, what can I do? All this picture, bad as it is, is not exaggerated, and, bad as it is, it will not exhaust my courage; I shall arrive at the end of all that. Heaven has given me everything needful to overcome the hindrances from circumstances or from my enemies; but that which Heaven has denied me is an organization capable of supporting the insults and contradictions of those who ought to serve me, and, above all, of contending with the dissatisfaction of a man whom I have loved too well to be ever willing to dislike him. Thus, sire, if my whole life has not given you the fullest confidence in me; if you judge it necessary to surround me with petty souls, who cause me myself to redden with shame; if I am to be insulted even in my capital; if I have not the right to appoint the governors and commandants who are always under my eyes,—I have not two choices to make. I am only King of Spain by the force of your arms. I might become so by the love of the Spaniards; but for that it would be necessary to govern in my own manner. I have often heard you say, 'Every animal has its instinct, and each one ought to follow it.' I will be such a king as the brother and friend of your Majesty ought to be, or I will return to Mortefontaine, where I shall ask for nothing but the happiness of living without humiliation, and of dying with a tranquil conscience."

Joseph Bonaparte had presumed too much on his forces and the remains of his independence. Constantly hard and severe

with regard to his brothers, the emperor replied with scorn to King Joseph: "It is not ill-temper and small passions that you need, but views cool and conformable to your position. You talk to me of the constitution. Let me know if the constitution forbids the King of Spain to be at the head of 300,000 Frenchmen? if the constitution prohibits the garrison from being French, and the governor of Madrid a Frenchman? if the constitution says that in Saragossa the houses are to be blown up one after another? You will not succeed in Spain, except by vigor and energy. This parade of goodness and clemency ends in nothing. You will be applauded so long as my armies are victorious; you will be abandoned if they are vanquished. You ought to have become acquainted with the Spanish nation in the time you have been in Spain, and after the events that you have seen. Accustom yourself to think your royal authority as a very small matter."

The emperor had correctly judged the precarious condition of the French power in Spain; he had reckoned, and he still reckoned, on the success of his arms. The military counsellor whom he had left near his brother possessed neither his esteem nor his confidence. Marshal Jourdan was a cold and prudent spirit, always imbued with the military habits of the French Revolution, and had never courted the favor of Napoleon; King Joseph was attached to him, and had brought him with him to Naples. The lieutenants of the emperor showed him no deference; it was, however, by his agency that the orders of the minister of war passed to the staff-officers at Madrid. Already, and by the express instructions of the emperor, Marshal Soult was on march for Portugal. His rapid triumphs did not appear doubtful; and the operations of Marshal Victor in the south of Spain were to be dependent on the succors that were to reach him when Lisbon was conquered. The difficulties everywhere opposed to Marshal Soult by the passionate insurrection of the Portuguese population, however, retarded his march. He only arrived on the banks of the Minho on the 15th of February; the peasants had taken away the boats. An attempted passage near the mouth of the river having failed, the *corps d'armée* was compelled to reascend its course, after a series of partial combats against the forces of the Marquis of Romana, who had given his support to the Portuguese insurrection. When he had at length succeeded in crossing the Minho at Orense, Soult seized successively the towns of Chaves and Braga, which were scarcely defended. The chiefs of the insurgents had been

constrained by their soldiers to this useless show of resistance, General Frère having been massacred by the militia whom he ordered to evacuate Braga. At Oporto the disorder was extreme; the population fought under the orders of the bishop. The attack had been cleverly arranged. At the moment when the bewildered crowd was pressing tumultuously over the bridge of boats across the Douro, the cables broke; men, women; and children were engulfed in the waves. In spite of the efforts of the general, the city was sacked. The long wars, the rude life of the camps, the daily habit of subsisting by pillage, had little by little relaxed the bonds of discipline. Marshal Soult established himself at Oporto, incapable of advancing even to Lisbon with his forces reduced by garrisoning towns, in presence of the English troops, who had not ceased to occupy the capital. He could not, or he would not make known at Madrid the position in which he found himself. Behind him the insurrection had closed every passage. He found himself isolated in Portugal, and conceived the thought of submitting the environs of Oporto to a regular and pacific government, re-establishing order all round, and constantly attentive to gain the favor of important persons. Perhaps the marshal raised his hopes even to the foundation of an independent and personal power, more durable than imperial conquests. It was with his consent that the draft of a popular pronunciamiento was circulated in the provinces of Minho and Oporto, praying "his Excellency the Duke of Dalmatia to take the reins of government, to represent the sovereign, and to invest himself with all the attributes of supreme authority, until the emperor might designate a prince of his house or of his choice to reign over Portugal."

The sentiments of the army were divided, and an opposition was preparing to the schemes of the marshal, when the latter learned that an enemy more redoubtable than the Portuguese insurrection was threatening him in this province, where he had dreamed of founding a kingdom. Sir Arthur Wellesley had arrived at Lisbon on the 22nd of April, with reinforcements which swelled the English *corps d'armée* to 25,000 men; fifteen or twenty thousand Portuguese soldiers marched under his orders; a crowd of insurgents impeded rather than aided his operations. He advanced immediately against Marshal Soult, now for five weeks immovable at Oporto. On the 2nd of May he was at Coimbra. Well informed of the plots which were preparing at Oporto, to which a French officer named Argen-

tan had been engaged to lend a hand, he resolved upon attacking as speedily as possible the positions of the marshal. When the latter was informed of the projects of the English general, retreat was already cut off in the valley of the Tamega by a strong assemblage of the insurgents, and in the valley of the Douro by the English general Beresford. Only one route remained still open to Marshal Soult—by Braga and the provinces of the north. Retreat was resolved upon, the powder saturated, the field artillery horsed; the departure was ordered for twelve at noon, and a part of the army was already defiling on the road to Amarante.

In the night between the 11th and 12th two English battalions had crossed the Douro at Avinto, three leagues above Oporto, collecting all the vessels which were to be found on the river, and descending the course of the stream under cover of the darkness. The army of Sir Arthur Wellesley had meanwhile occupied the suburbs of the left bank, concealing his movements behind the heights of La Sarca. Marshal Soult was ignorant of that operation. At daybreak a small body of picked men, boldly crossing the river within sight of our soldiers, took possession of an enclosure called the Seminary. Entrenching themselves there, and constantly receiving new reinforcements, the English made a desperate defence against the attempts of General Delaborde. The main body of the enemy's army beginning to fill all the streets of Oporto, the marshal at once sounded retreat, and the wounded and sick were left to the care of the English. When, on the evening of the 12th, the army reached the town of Baltar, Soult learned that the roads by Braga had been intercepted, as well as by the valley of the Douro. General Loison, unable to force the passage of the Tamega, had evacuated Amarante. The roads from the north would bring the army back to the suburbs of Oporto. The marshal, not wishing to risk a fresh encounter with the enemy, at once made up his mind to sacrifice without hesitation his baggage, ammunition, artillery, and even the greater part of the treasure of the army, to enter the mountain passes, and join at Guimaraens the divisions which had preceded him. When at last the army reached Orense, after seven days' marching, varied by small skirmishes, the soldiers were exhausted and depressed. Portugal was for the second time lost to us. Marshal Soult immediately marched towards Galicia, which had for two months been the theatre of Ney's operations, and freed Lugo, while that marshal was making a brilliant expedition

in the Asturias along with General Kellermann. The two chiefs made an arrangement as to the measures to be taken against the insurgents who had assembled at St. Jago under the orders of the Marquis Romana; after which Soult was to march upon Old Castile as far as Zamora, to be near the English, who were said to be threatening the south of Portugal. Ney proposed to attack Vigo, where General Noriena had fortified himself, supported by the crews of several English vessels. From the very first, since the junction of the two armies, both officers and soldiers had exchanged keen and bitter recrimination. A better feeling, however, had reappeared, and the mutual good-will of the chiefs for each other silenced the ill-disposed. After their separation, Ney freed St. Jago; but after advancing to the suburbs of Vigo, and seeing its strong position, he waited for the result of Soult's movement against Romana.

Several days having elapsed, he learned that, after driving Romana back to Orense without fighting, and staying several days at Montforte, the marshal had taken the road to Zamora, without replying to the letters of his companion-in-arms. From information received from Lugo, Ney was persuaded that Soult's project had long been premeditated, and that he had of deliberate purpose broken the bargain stipulated between them. His anger burst forth with a violence proportioned to the frankness he had shown when treating with Soult, and this anger was shared by the officers and soldiers of his army. He at once determined to evacuate Galicia, which was threatened both by the English and the Spanish insurgents. Leaving a strong garrison at Ferrol, Ney slowly advanced towards Lugo, where he collected the sick and wounded left by Soult, and then returned to Astorga, in the beginning of July. He wrote to King Joseph: "If I had wished to resolve to leave Galicia without artillery, I could have remained there longer, at the risk of being hemmed in; but, avoiding such a mode of departure, I have retreated, bringing with me my sick and wounded, as well as those of Marshal Soult, left in my charge. I inform your Majesty that I have decided not to serve again in company with Marshal Soult."

King Joseph now had a most troublesome complication, and a position that daily became more serious. At one time, in April, he was in hopes of seeing his affairs right themselves again, in spite of the absence of all news of Soult's operations in Portugal. Marshal Victor, urged by the King of Spain and

by his staff to obey the emperor's instructions and invade Andalusia, had crossed the Tagus in three columns, and, reforming again on the Guadiana, had, after passing that river, joined near Medellin Don Gregorio de la Cuesta, who retreated for several days before him. A severe battle having dispersed those large forces of the Spanish insurgents, on the 28th March, the marshal took up his position on the banks of the Guadiana, at the very time when General Sebastiani, at the head of two divisions, was defeating the army of Estremadura at Ciudad Real, and driving it back to the entrance of the Sierra Morena. There they awaited the movement ordered in the instructions given to Soult, the pivot of the whole campaign, projected by Napoleon before his departure for Paris. It was in Germany, just after the battle of Essling, that the emperor learned of the check caused to all his combinations by Soult's immobility at Oporto. Obstinate in directing himself the operations of armies at a distance, without the power of taking into account the state of public opinion, and without any knowledge of all that had occurred between the departure of the couriers and the arrival of peremptory orders no longer suitable to the situation, the emperor conceived the idea of concentrating three armies under one man. Making all personal considerations bend to the order of seniority, he entrusted the command to Marshal Soult, thus investing him with supreme authority over Marshals Mortier and Ney. The order reached Madrid at the moment when the leaders of the armies were most keenly antagonistic. "You will send a staff-officer to Spain," Napoleon had written to the minister of war, "with the orders that the forces of the Duke of Elchingen, the Duke of Trevisa, and the Duke of Dalmatia will form only one army, under the command of the Duke of Dalmatia. These forces must only move together, to march against the English, pursue them incessantly, defeat them, and throw them into the sea. Putting all considerations aside, I give the command to the Duke of Dalmatia, as being senior in rank. These forces ought to form from 50,000 to 60,000 men, and if the junction is promptly effected, the English will be destroyed, and the affairs of Spain arranged finally. But they must keep together, and not march in small parties. That principle applies to every country, but especially to a country where there can be no communication. I cannot appoint a place for the armies to meet, because I do not know what events have taken place. Forward this order

to the king, to the Duke of Dalmatia, and to the two other marshals, by four different roads."

Whilst thus writing, constantly and justly apprehensive of the danger caused by the English army, Napoleon was still ignorant of the evacuation of Portugal. "Let your instructions to them be, to attack the enemy wherever they meet him," he said three days previously to General Clarke, "to renew their communications with the Duke of Dalmatia, and support him on the Minho. The English alone are to be feared; alone, if the army is not directed differently, they will in a few months lead it to a catastrophe."

The order sent by the emperor necessarily assisted in bringing about the catastrophe of which he was afraid. Marshal Soult, being deceived as to the plan of the English, and meditating an attack upon Portugal by Ciudad Rodrigo, wished to concentrate large forces for this purpose. He sent for Marshal Mortier, who was posted at Villacastin, where he covered Madrid, and demanded reinforcements from Aragon and Catalonia. The latter troops were refused him, and Generals Suchet and St. Cyr had great difficulty in keeping those two provinces in respect. Marshal Jourdan had foreseen the attack of the English on the Tagus, and was anxious about the position of Marshal Victor, isolated in Andalusia. Like the other leaders, the marshal acted independently, without attending to the orders from Madrid: he found himself compelled to fall back upon Talavera.

He was not to hold that post long. In spite of the extreme difficulty experienced by Sir Arthur Wellesley in maintaining a good understanding with his Spanish allies, he had marched to attack Marshal Victor, to whom King Joseph was sending reinforcements as quickly as he could. About 22,000 English soldiers were now on the field, reduced to such scarcity of provisions and money as to cause pillage and disorder, in spite of their commander's anger. Don Cuesta, with about 40,000 men under his orders, had been appointed, much against his will, to occupy the mountain passes. A Spanish army of 30,000 men, collected by General Venegas, was expected to join the two principal armies. On leaving Madrid, with the forces at his disposal, King Joseph had impressed upon Soult the necessity of attacking the enemy's rear, so that the Anglo-Spanish army might be crushed between superior forces. The marshal announced his departure.

Victor had had time to fall back upon Vargas, behind the Guadarama. Sir Arthur Wellesley crossed the Alberche, a tributary of the Tagus, and as soon as he found himself in presence of the enemy, wished to offer battle, urging Cuesta to join him in attacking Victor before the arrival of the enemy's reinforcements. The Spanish general declared that his honor was at stake in holding his positions, and absolutely refused to fight. The English alone, had not men enough at their disposal to contend with the French troops. Scarcely had the latter commenced their retreat when the Spanish, suddenly seized with the ardor of battle, rushed in pursuit, complaining that the "rascals withdrew so fast," wrote Cuesta to Wellesley, "that one cannot follow them in their flight." "If you run like that, you will get beaten," replied the English general, scornfully, annoyed at seeing himself perpetually thwarted in his able plans.

In fact when the Spaniards, a few days afterwards, at last engaged with the French, Marshal Victor's advance-guard were sufficient to drive Cuesta back as far as the English battalions, which had been prudently told off to support him. The fighting was gallant on the part of our troops, and helped to excite their ardor. King Joseph was urged to join battle: he feared an attack on Madrid, which he had been compelled to leave undefended, and reckoned upon the rapid movements of Soult, who had received orders to advance with all haste from Salamanca to Placentia. He had no experience of war, and neglected to take into account the chances of delay and the loss of troops during the march. Marshal Victor was daring, full of contempt for the Spanish troops, and ignorant of the qualities of the English army, which had not for a long time been seen on the continent. The French army advanced upon Talavera, which was strongly held by Sir Arthur. Hampered by the obstinacy and want of discipline of his Spanish allies, the English general had relinquished all attempts at daring, entrenching himself on the defensive. Marshal Soult had not arrived, being unable, he wrote, to effect his operation on the enemy's rear before the beginning of August. On the 27th of July, however, on occupying the ground before the English positions at Talavera, Victor gave orders to attack a height which was badly defended, and was driven back with heavy loss. Marshal Jourdan insisted on a delay of a few days, to allow Soult time to arrive; but the anxiety of King Joseph, and Victor's impatience, gained the day, and on the 28th, at

daybreak, they attacked the mamelon, already threatened on the 27th.

Our troops gained the top under the English fire, but Sir Arthur had doubled the ranks of those in defence, and a terrible charge under General Hill compelled the French again to abandon the position.

The check was serious, and the soldiers began to be discouraged. By common consent, and without orders given by the leaders, the fight ceased. The English and French crowded on the two banks of a small brook which separated the two armies, and all quenched their thirst, without suspicion of treason or perfidy, and without a single shot being fired on either side. The French generals again discussed the question of resuming hostilities. "If this mamelon is not taken," exclaimed Victor, impetuously, "we should not take any part in a campaign." King Joseph, deficient in authority both of position and character, gave way. Sir Arthur Wellesley, seated on the grass at the top of a hill, surveyed the enemy's lines, and the defences, which he had just strengthened by a division, and a battery of artillery obtained with great difficulty from Cuesta. Till then the English had borne the brunt of the fighting; on General Donkin coming to tell Sir Arthur that the Spanish were betraying him, the general-in-chief quietly said, "Go back to your division." The attack was again begun, and this time directed against the whole line of the English positions, while Villate's brigade turned the mamelon to assail them in flank.

At this moment a charge of the enemy's cavalry poured upon our columns. A German regiment followed Seymour's dragoons, but were stopped by a watercourse, and pulled up: the English horsemen alone, boldly crossing the obstacle, made a furious attack on the French ranks, which opened to let them pass. In their daring impetuosity the dragoons went as far as our rear-guard, where they were stopped by new forces, and finally brought back with great loss to the foot of the mamelon. They stopped the flank movement however; and the centre of the English army, shaken for a moment, formed again round Colonel Donellan after a brilliant charge, and our soldiers were again driven back towards their position. The losses were great on both sides. The English did not attempt to pursue their advantages, and when the fight had ceased were satisfied with encamping on the heights of Talavera. Next day the French army withdrew beyond the

Alberche without being disturbed by the enemy, and waited finally for Marshal Soult's arrival.

He appeared on the 2nd of August at Placentia, too late for his glory as well as for the success of the French arms, though in time to modify Wellesley's plans. The latter had commenced to advance towards him, thinking he should meet forces inferior to his own; but Mortier had already followed Soult, Ney's troops were advancing by Salamanca, and King Joseph was preparing to put under him all his regiments, except those accompanying General Sebastiani in his march towards Madrid. Sir Arthur Wellesley understood the dangers of his position: his troops were tired, and badly fed; and not wishing to risk again the lot of arms, he hurriedly recrossed the Tagus, taking care to blow the bridges up, and fell back upon Truxillo, by the rugged mountain passes. The want of a proper understanding, and the mutual distrust which during the whole campaign had reigned between the English and Spanish, had borne their fruits. Wellesley's soldiers, deprived of the resources to which they had been accustomed, and which they had a right to expect from their allies, died in great numbers in their encampments on the bank of the Guadiana: their wounded had been abandoned at Talavera, when Cuesta evacuated that position. Sir Arthur gave vent to his bitter complaints in writing to Frère, the English *chargé d'affaires* at the insurgents' head-quarters: "I wish the members of the Junta, before blaming me for not doing more, and charging me beforehand with the probable results of the faults and imprudence of others, would be good enough to come here, or send somebody to supply the wants of our army dying of hunger, and actually after fighting two days, and defeating in the service of Spain an enemy of twice their number, without bread to eat. It is a positive fact that for the last seven days the English army has not received a third of its provisions, that at this moment there are 4000 wounded soldiers dying for want of the care and necessaries which any other country in the world would have supplied, even to its enemies, and that I can derive assistance of no kind from the country. I cannot even get leave to bury the dead bodies in the neighborhood. We are told that the Spanish troops sometimes behave well: I confess that I have never seen them behave otherwise than badly."

The emperor's anger was extreme on learning the check our troops had received at Talavera. He wrote to Marshal Jourdan,

indignantly recapitulating all the blunders made during the campaign, without at all considering the difficulties everywhere caused by orders sent from a distance, in ignorance of the actual facts of the situation. "When at last they decided to give battle," Napoleon summed up, "it was done without energy, since my arms were disgraced. Battle should not be given, unless seventy chances in one's favor can be counted upon beforehand: even then, one should not offer battle unless there are no more chances to be hoped for, since the lot of battle is from its nature always doubtful: but once the resolution is taken, one must conquer or perish, and the French eagles must not withdraw till all have equally put forth every effort. There must have been a combination of all these faults before an army like my army of Spain could have been beaten by 30,000 English: but so long as they will attack good troops, like the English ones, in good positions, without reconnoitring these positions, without being certain of carrying them, they will lead my men to death, and for nothing at all."

The Spanish armies were, after the battle, scattered everywhere, according to their custom, to appear again in a short time like swarms of wasps to harass our soldiers. Sir Arthur Wellesley entrenched himself at Badajoz, ready to fall back upon Portugal. No definitive result had crowned the bloody campaign just completed, but it had an influence upon the negotiations then being carried on in Spain. An attempt, long prepared by the English, and to which they attached a great importance, now occupied the Emperor Napoleon's mind still more than the affairs of Spain.

For several weeks it was believed that the great maritime expedition organized on the coasts of England was for the purpose of carrying overwhelming reinforcements to Spain. A first attempt, of less importance, was directed against our fleets collected at the island of Aix, near Rochefort. Admiral Willaumez, in charge of an expedition to the Antilles, had to rally the squadrons of Lorient and Rochefort, and being unavoidably delayed at the latter place, it was there that Admiral Gambier came to attack our vessels. Vice-Admiral Allemand carefully fortified the isle of Aix against an attack, the nature of which he had foreseen, though not the extent. During the night of the 11th and 12th April, conducted by several divisions, composed of frigates and brigs, thirty large fire-ships were suddenly launched against our vessels, exploding in all directions, breaking the wooden bars by the weight of their

burning masses, adhering to the sides of the ships and compelling even those which they did not set on fire to go aside to avoid dangers which were more to be dreaded. Thanks to the skill and bravery of our sailors, none of the vessels perished by fire; but four of them ran aground at the mouth of the Charente, and were attacked by the English. The *Calcutta* surrendered after several hours' fighting—her commander, Captain Lafon, having to pay with his life for the weak resistance he is said to have made. The English blew up the *Aquilon* and *Varsovie*, and Captain Roncière himself set fire to the *Tonnerre*, after landing all his crew. Napoleon's continued efforts to form a rival navy in France constituted a standing menace to England. After the cruel expedition of the isle of Aix, the principal effort was to be directed against Antwerp, always an object of English jealousy and dissatisfaction, as a commercial port, or as a place of war. The works which the emperor had been carrying on there increased their anxiety, and on the 29th July forty vessels of the line and thirty frigates appeared in sight of the island of Walcheren. From 700 to 800 transport-ships brought an army to be landed, under the orders of Lord Chatham, Pitt's elder brother, and containing about 40,000 men, with much artillery. The emperor was at once informed, and M. Decrès, minister of the marine, proposed to station at Flushing the fleet of Admiral Missiessy. The latter refused, saying that he would not let himself be taken, and did not wish to see his crews decimated by the Walcheren fever. That was the auxiliary upon which Napoleon reckoned against the English expedition; and rightly, too.

Walcheren was slightly and badly fortified; the emperor considering Flushing to be quite impregnable. "You say that the bombardment of Flushing makes you apprehensive of its surrender," he wrote on the 22nd August. "You are wrong to have any such fear. Flushing is impregnable so long as there is bread in it, and they have enough for six months. Flushing is impregnable, because there is a moat full of water, which must be crossed; and finally, because by cutting the dykes they can inundate the whole island. Write and tell everywhere that Flushing cannot be taken, unless by the cowardice of the commandants; and also that I am certain of it, and that the English will go off without having it. The bombs are nothing—absolutely nothing; they will destroy a few houses, but that has no effect upon the surrender of a place."

General Monnet, who commanded at Flushing, was an old officer of the revolution wars, brave and daring and he did his best in opposing the landing of the English, with a part of his forces, and in gallantly defending the place; but the inundation did not succeed, on account of the elevation of the ground and the wind being contrary. Therefore when Napoleon wrote to Fouché, Flushing had already capitulated, under the efforts of the most formidable siege artillery. The Dutch commandant surrendered the forts Denhaak and Terweere at the same time as Middelburg. The feeling of the Dutch nation, formerly favorable to republican France, had been modified since the imperial decrees ruined all the transit trade, the source of Holland's wealth. King Louis alone hastened to the assistance of the French army, advancing with his little army between Santvliet and Antwerp. Four Dutch regiments were fighting in Germany, and a small corps had been sent into Spain. Thus, while extending his enterprises in remote parts, the unbounded ambition of Napoleon left unprotected the very centre of his empire.

General Rousseau, however, succeeded in protecting the island of Cadsand, and Admiral Strachan and Lord Chatham recalled to the eastern Scheldt the forces which had been intended for the attack on that island. The English forces began to land upon the islands of North and South Beveland, in order to attack Fort Batz at the junction of the two Scheldts, and thus outflank the French fleet lying in the western Scheldt. Fortunately, Admiral Missiessy had the advantage over the English commanders in speed, and sailing up into the higher Scheldt, formed by the two branches of the river, he arranged his vessels under forts Lillo and Liefkenshoek which by their cross-fires protected the river from bank to bank. Antwerp was thus safe from attack by sea; at Paris there was great anxiety as to attacks by land.

A few provisional demi-brigades, the gendarmes, and picked national guards, about 30,000 men altogether—such were the forces at the disposal of the war minister. He durst not—nobody durst, change the destination of the troops already marching to Germany. The minister of marine and Fouché at once proposed a general levy of the national guard, under the orders of Bernadotte—one being daring and dissatisfied, the other fostering discontent of every kind openly or secretly, and still remembering the revolutionary procedure. The Council, presided over by the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès, refused to

authorize the calling out of the national guards without the emperor's express order; but Fouché, without waiting for orders, wrote on his own authority to all the prefects, and stirred up everywhere a patriotic zeal. At first Napoleon approved of the ardor of his minister of police, and severely rated the arch-chancellor and minister of war for their prudence. "I cannot conceive what you are about in Paris," he wrote to General Clarke on the 10th August; "you must be waiting for the English to come and take you in your beds. When 25,000 English are attacking our dockyards and threatening our provinces, is the ministry doing nothing? What trouble is there in raising 60,000 of the national guard? What trouble is there in sending the Prince of Pontecorvo to take the command there, where there is nobody? What trouble is there in putting my strongholds, Antwerp, Ostend, and Lille, in a state of siege? It is inconceivable. There is none but Fouché who appears to me to have done what he could, and to have felt the inconvenience of remaining in a dangerous and dishonorable position:—dangerous, because the English, seeing that France is not in movement, and that no impulse is given to public opinion, will have nothing to fear, and will not hurry to leave our territory; dishonorable, because it shows fear of opinion, and allows 25,000 English to burn our dockyards without defending them. The slur thus cast upon France is a perpetual disgrace. Circumstances vary from moment to moment. It is impossible for me to give orders to arrive within a fortnight. The ministers have the same power as I, since they can hold a council and pass decisions. Make use of the Prince of Pontecorvo—make use of General Moncey. I send you besides Marshal Bessières, to remain in Paris in reserve. I have ordered a levy of 30,000 men of the national guard. If the English make progress, make a second levy of 30,000 in the same or other departments. It is evident that the enemy, feeling the difficulty of taking Flushing, intend marching straight to Antwerp, to make a sudden attempt upon the squadron."

Flushing had succumbed, but the operations of the English were delayed by their indecisive generalship. Hope's division easily took possession of Fort Batz, but the main body of the army remained behind. The fortifications of Antwerp were daily increased and strengthened. The engineers, under De-caux, who checked the warlike ardor of King Louis, rendered the forts impregnable to sudden assault, inundated the country all round, and erected the old dams on the Scheldt; and troops

also began to arrive, rapidly concentrating upon the threatened spot. According to the emperor's order the Prince of Pontecorvo had set out for Antwerp, and took the command there. While the army was being formed round the town, the English with great difficulty got their fleet into the Scheldt as far as Fort Batz. Their forces being already considerably reduced by the fever, and the preparations made at Antwerp to receive them causing Lord Chatham some uneasiness, he held a council of war on the 26th, and sent their decision to London, where it was approved by the ministry. It was too late now to attack Antwerp, the opportunity having been lost; and the huge army, collected with so much display, fell back upon the island of Walcheren, and a large number of the vessels sailed for the Downs. Every day 800 casks of fresh water were brought from the Downs to the garrison still occupying Flushing, Middelburg, and the forts. The English were completely checked; and there were already signs that they might evacuate the island of Walcheren altogether.

The emperor triumphed at Shoenbrunn. Advising his generals not to attack the English, but to leave them to be killed by ague, he congratulated himself on the unexpected reinforcement thus gained by his army. "It is a continuation of the good fortune attending our present circumstances," he wrote, "that this expedition, which has reduced to nothing England's greatest effort, gives us an army of 24,000 men, which otherwise we should have been unable to get." He at once made use of it to organize the new army of the north, suddenly called out by the country's danger. At the same time, by a strong instinct of government, he severely blamed the revolutionary movement which Fouché had excited in the departments. On the 26th September he wrote to him: "I have your letter informing me that the 'cadres' of the regiment for the national guard are formed everywhere. I know it, but am not pleased at it. Such a measure cannot be taken without my order. There has been too great haste; all that has been done will not hasten by a single hour the arming of the national guard, if they are needed. That causes fermentation, whereas it would have been sufficient to put in movement the national guards of the military divisions which I have indicated. Then you call out the national guards of Flanders to assist on the frontiers by which the enemy intend invading Flanders; the reason is obvious. But when there is a levy in Languedoc, Piedmont, Burgundy, people think there is an

agitation, though there is none. My intentions are not fulfilled, and I am put to unnecessary expense."

The command, accordingly, was withdrawing from the Prince of Pontecorvo, who, though always called to serve at the moment of danger, was considered fickle and suspicious by the emperor. "You will let him know," wrote Napoleon to his minister of war, "that I am displeased with his 'order of the day;' that it is not true that he had only 15,000 men, when, with the soldiers of the Duke of Conegliano and Istria, I have on the Scheldt more than 60,000 men; but that even if he only had 15,000, his duty was to give the enemy no hint of it. It is the first time that a general, from excess of vanity, has been seen to betray the secret of his position. He at the same time eulogized the national guards, who know very well themselves that they have had no opportunity of doing anything. You will also express to him my dissatisfaction with his Paris correspondence, and insist upon his ceasing to receive mischievous letters from the wretches whom he encourages by such conduct. The third point as to which you will indicate to him my intentions is, that he should go to the army or to the waters."

The useless attempt of the English at Walcheren, and their prudent retreat from Antwerp, was made use of by the French diplomatists who were still discussing the terms of peace at Altenburg. The Emperor Napoleon, however, was tired of the delays of their negotiations. Being now certain that Austria could have no more support, he received Bubna and Prince John of Lichtenstein, who had been sent to him directly by the Emperor Francis. Napoleon haughtily dwelt upon the value of the concessions which he had already granted. "What!" said he to the envoys, "I had not yet relinquished the principle of the *uti possidetis*, and now I relinquish it at your emperor's request! I claimed 400,000 souls of the population of Bohemia, now I cease to demand them! I wished 800,000 souls in Upper Austria, and I am satisfied with 400,000! I asked for 1,400,000 souls in Carinthia and Carniola, and I give up Klagenfurth, which is a further sacrifice of 200,000 souls. I therefore restore to your master a population of a million of subjects, and he says I have made no concession! I have only kept what is necessary to keep the enemy away from Passau and the Inn—what is necessary to connect the territories of Italy and Dalmatia; yet they persuade him that I have not modified any of my demands! It is thus that they have led on the Emperor Francis to war; it is thus that they will finally bring him to

ruin!" He refrained, however, from replying to the Emperor Francis's letter. "If were undignified for me to say to a prince, 'You don't know what you say;' but that is what I find myself compelled to say, since his letter is founded upon an error." "Leave vain repetitions and silliness to the Austrians," he wrote to Champagny. At the same time he reviewed his troops, and hurried the movements of the reinforcements which were arriving. The Emperor Alexander had received Austria's promise to make a speedy settlement, refusing to take part in the negotiations, and trusting that Napoleon would look after his interests. The only point which he reserved was the Polish question: he was afraid of the increase of the grand duchy of Warsaw. "Your Majesty can give me a certain pledge of your friendship towards me," he wrote to Napoleon on the 31st August, "by recalling what I frequently said at Tilsit and Erfurt, as to the interests of Russia with reference to the affairs of Poland (lately so-called), and what I have since instructed your ambassador to repeat to you."

It was precisely upon Galicia that the ambitious views of Napoleon were at that moment directed. Being repeatedly pressed by the Austrian envoys to explain his definitive intentions, he at last declared that he wished Carniola, the circle of Wilbach, and the right bank of the Save as far as Bosnia; ceding Linz, and keeping Salzburg. He thus became master of 1,500,000 souls in Austria. In Galicia he claimed all the territory which Austria had obtained at the second partition of Poland, as well as the circles of Solkiew and Zeloczow, which he intended to cede to Russia, in order to restrain her displeasure. The population of these territories amounted to 2,000,000 souls. To these conditions Napoleon added a war contribution of 100,000,000, and the obligation of Austria reducing her army to 150,000 men. The Austrian diplomatists succeeded in getting off 15,000,000 from the military contribution. That was the only favor granted. "I have given Austria the most advantageous peace she could expect," wrote Napoleon to the Emperor Alexander, on the 10th October, 1809. "She only cedes Salzburg and a small district on the Inn; she cedes nothing in Bohemia; and on the Italian side she only cedes what is indispensable to me for communication with Dalmatia. The monarchy therefore remains entire. It is a second experiment which I wished to make, and I have shown towards her a moderation which she had no right to expect. In doing so I trust to have pleased your Majesty. You will

see that, in accordance with your desires, the greater part of Galicia does not change masters, and that I have been as careful of your interests as you could have been yourself, by reconciling everything with what honor demands from me. For the prosperity and well-being of the duchy of Warsaw, it is necessary that it should be in your Majesty's good graces; and the subjects of your Majesty may be assured that in no case, on no contingency, ought they to expect any protection from me."

So many protestations and flattering assurances could not destroy the effect of the development of the grand duchy of Warsaw, and the constant menace created for Russia by that partial resuscitation of a Poland submitted to French influence. The Emperor Alexander made Caulaincourt sensible of this by a few sharp words. The secret discord was now increasing between the two allies, in proportion as the divergence of their interests made itself felt. The unreasonable passions of Napoleon were soon to open between them the gulf into which he was to drag France.

The Tyrol was not included in the negotiations of peace, any more than in the armistice. When at last the treaty was signed at Vienna, on the 20th October, a few days after the discovery of a plot to assassinate Napoleon, the fighting was still continued in the mountains with the keen determination of despair. In vain did Prince Eugène offer the insurgents a general pardon, confirming the subservience of their country; the peasants proudly rejected the conditions offered them. Crushed by the combined French and Bavarian forces, the Tyrolese succumbed with glory: their popular leader, Andrew Hofer, was taken in a remote mountain retreat where he had taken refuge, brought to Mantua on the 19th January, 1810, and there shot on the 25th February, by Napoleon's express order. "I gave you instructions to have Hofer brought to Paris," wrote Napoleon to the Viceroy of Italy; "but since he is at Mantua, send an order to have him tried at once by court-martial, and shot on the spot. Let it be an affair of twenty-four hours." Hofer underwent his fate with an heroic and pious simplicity. It was only in 1824 that Austria paid to this humble patriot the honors due to his memory, his body being then transported to Innsbruck, and buried there with pomp in the cathedral. A statue was placed on his tomb.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DIVORCE (1809—1810).

ON his return to France, after the peace of Vienna, the Emperor Napoleon, though triumphant and all-powerful to those who looked only on the surface, felt secretly conscious that his supreme prestige had been shaken. He experienced the necessity of strengthening and consolidating his conquests by some startling act, and of finally founding upon immovable bases that empire which he had raised by his victorious hands without ever believing it really permanent. The advances made at Erfurt towards a family alliance with the Emperor of Russia remained without any result, in spite of the friendly protestations of the Emperor Alexander; and since Napoleon's return to Paris those admitted to his closest intimacy detected a perceptible change in his manner. "He seemed to be walking in the midst of his glory," wrote the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès. It was to him that Napoleon first broached the project of divorce, which was soon to become a settled determination. The loving tone in which he wrote to her as his wife might well deceive the Empress Josephine; for Napoleon still retained some love for her, though it was powerless in hindering his ambitious resolutions. The rumor of the great event was already spreading in Paris and Europe, though Josephine was still unaware of it. She was uneasy, however, and numerous indications daily increased her anxiety: her children shared her apprehension. The whole of the imperial family were assembled about their renowned head, divided as they were in their inclinations and interests; and Napoleon had himself summoned Prince Eugène to Paris.

Under the emperor's order, Champagny had already written to Caulaincourt: "You will wait upon the Emperor Alexander, and speak to him in these terms: 'Sire, I have reason to believe that the emperor, at the request of the whole of France, is making arrangements for a divorce. May I write to say that they can reckon on your sister? Let your Majesty take two days to consider it, and give me frankly your reply, not as

French ambassador, but as a man warmly devoted to both families. It is not a formal request that I now make; it is a confidential expression of your intentions that I beg from you. I am too much accustomed to tell your Majesty all my thoughts to be afraid of ever being compromised by you.' ”

Caulaincourt was greatly perplexed. The peace of Vienna had been badly received at St. Petersburg, and had caused so many complaints and recriminations that the French ambassador found himself compelled to appease the irritation which threatened to break the alliance, by translating Napoleon's promises into official engagements. The terms of the convention were agreed upon by the diplomatists, and it was about to be signed. Napoleon engaged never to re-establish the kingdom of Poland; the names Poland and Polish were to disappear in all the acts; the grand duchy could not for the future be increased by annexing any part of the old Polish monarchy: the conditions of the convention were binding upon the King of Saxony, Grand Duke of Warsaw. At the same time that he was begged to accept this unsuitable engagement, Napoleon had harshly reminded his ally of the inaction of his forces during the war. “I wish,” said he, “that in the discussions which take place, the Duke of Vicentia should make the following remarks to Romanzoff: ‘You are sensible that there is nothing of the past that the emperor has laid hold of: in the affairs of Austria you made no sign. How has the emperor acted? He has given you a province which more than repays all the expense you have incurred for the war; and openly declares that you have joined to your empire Finland, Moldavia, and Wallachia.’ ”

However delicate the circumstances and question were which Caulaincourt had to propose, he obeyed. The Emperor Alexander was not disinclined to listen to the proposals, but would have preferred first to make sure of the signature to the convention relative to Poland as the price of his acceptance. The empress mother, dissatisfied and spiteful, suggested religious objections. The kind considerations of Napoleon seemed boundless. The Emperor Alexander and his advisers asked time to consider.

Meantime the projected divorce had become known in Paris, even in the bosom of the imperial family. Napoleon could not longer keep his secret. In presence of the vague uneasiness of the empress his mind was burdened with some feeling of remorse for the act which he was secretly meditating, and he at

last gave her some hint of his intention, as well as of the reasons for his decision, and the pain it had caused him. The unhappy Josephine screamed, and fell fainting. When she recovered consciousness, she was supported by her daughter the Queen of Holland, who was also in tears, and proudly offended at the harshness which Napoleon had shown her in the first moment of his anger at the sight of Josephine's sufferings. Soon moved by the return of better and truer sentiments which still exercised a certain influence upon him, the emperor shared the sorrows of the mother and daughter, without for a moment relaxing by word or thought the determination which he had formed. Prince Eugène, as well as Queen Hortense, had declared their intentions of following their mother in her retirement; Napoleon opposed it, and overwhelmed with presents and favors the wife whom he was forsaking for reasons of state. Two days after solemnly breaking the tie by which they were united, he wrote to her at Malmaison, with much genuine affection in spite of his strange and imperious style:—"My dear, you seem to me to-day weaker than you ought to be. You showed courage, and you will do so again in order to support yourself. You must not let yourself sink into a fatal melancholy. You must be happy, and, before everything, take care of your health, which is so precious to me. If you are fond of me and love me, you ought to show some energy, and make yourself happy. You understand my sentiments towards you very imperfectly, if you imagine that I can be happy when you are not so, and satisfied when you are still anxious. Good-bye, darling; pleasant dreams! Be assured that I am sincere."

The Empress Josephine had often shown a fickle character and frivolous mind; but being kind, obliging, and gifted with a grace that had gained her many friends before her greatness had surrounded her with courtiers and flatterers, she was popular; and the public, who were not in favor of the divorce, sympathized with her sorrow. On the 15th December, 1809, in a formally summoned meeting of the imperial family, with the arch chancellor and Count Regnault d'Angely also present, Napoleon himself openly announced the resolution which he had taken. "The policy of my monarchy, the interest and wants of my peoples which have invariably guided all my actions, require," said he, "that I should leave this throne on which Providence has placed me, to children inheriting my love for my peoples. For several years, however, I have lost hopes of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved

spouse the Empress Josephine, which urges me to sacrifice the dearest affections of my heart, to consider only the well-being of the State, and to will the dissolution of our marriage. God knows how much such a resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice which is beyond my courage, if proved to be useful to the well-being of France."

The Empress Josephine wished to speak, but her voice was choked by her tears; she handed to Count Regnault the paper evidencing her assent to the emperor's wishes. A few words spoken by Prince Eugène, as he took his place in the Senate, confirmed the sacrifice; and by a "senatus-consulte" the civil marriage was formally dissolved. The religious marriage gave rise to greater difficulty. The absence of the proper curé and of the witnesses required by the rules of the Church served as a pretext, in spite of the protestations of Cardinal Fesch, who had celebrated the marriage, and declared that the Pope had granted him full dispensation. There was no intention of consulting the pontiff on this occasion. The emperor sent an address to the magistracy of Paris, like the meanest of his subjects, declaring that his consent had not been complete; he had only agreed to a useless formality with the object of tranquilizing the conscience of the empress and that of the holy father, feeling certain since then that he must have recourse to a divorce. The scruples of the ecclesiastics were overcome; and the religious marriage declared null by the diocesan and metropolitan authorities. The news was inserted in the *Moniteur*, together with the decree settling upon the repudiated empress a magnificent dowry.

The reply from St. Petersburg, however, was still forthcoming, and the emperor began to feel very angry. The King of Saxony had already made overtures, offering the hand of his daughter to his illustrious ally; and soon still more flattering hopes were aroused. The peace party ruled in Vienna, Metternich having replaced Stadion in power; and some words of Swartzenburg, the new ambassador at Paris, seemed to imply matrimonial advances. The Archduchess Marie-Louise was eighteen years of age, amiable and gentle in disposition: the alliance was a brilliant one, and would permanently establish a good understanding between Austria and France. Many intrigues were now started: those of the politicians or courtiers who held to the old régime by tradition or taste were in favor of the Austrian marriage; they were supported by Prince Eugène, Queen Hortense, and even by the Empress Josephine

herself, though not avowedly. The imperial family and councillors, sprung from the French Revolution, had a repugnance to alliance with the house of Austria, as a return towards the past, which was still present to the minds of all: they dwelt upon the dangers of a rupture with Russia, who would be indignant at seeing herself scorned after being sought for. There were fewer objections on the side of Austria, already beaten and humiliated. The emperor hesitated, and twice consulted his most intimate council. At the second sitting his mind was made up. The delay of Russia had stirred up his anger, and, according to his custom, he listened only to his haughty and implacable will. Orders were given to Caulaincourt to overthrow the negotiations respecting the Grand Duchess Catherine. Marriage with the Archduchess Marie-Louise was resolved upon.

The Emperor Francis showed none of the repugnance or hesitation which irritated Napoleon against the Russians. No gloomy forecast seems to have passed through the minds of that august family, which had formerly seen Marie-Antoinette leave Vienna to sit at Paris upon a fatal throne. Yet all the efforts of both the emperors tended to suggest constant analogies. Napoleon's contract was copied from the act which united the destinies of Louis XVI. and Marie-Antoinette. The marriage ceremonial was throughout the same, with the redoubled splendor of an unprecedented magnificence. The new empress had willingly accepted the throne which was offered her. The Archduke Charles agreed to represent the Emperor Napoleon at the celebration of the official marriage. Marshal Berthier, major-general of the Imperial army, was appointed to go and fetch the princess. Her first lady of honor was the Duchess of Montebello, widow of Marshal Lannes, who was killed at Wagram. The tragical remembrances of by-gone alliances between France and the reigning house of Austria, the bitter and blood-stained recollections of recent struggles, seemed to serve only to enhance the brilliancy of the new ties uniting the two countries. The Emperor Napoleon took possession of the imperial family, as he had recently conquered their capital and occupied their palaces. The people of Paris thought they saw in this alliance a final and permanent triumph: and the magnificence of the *fêtes* given in honor of the young empress's arrival increased their intoxication. "She brings news to the world of peaceful days," was the inscription on all the triumphal arches.

In fact the world was hopeful, but men of foresight and

wisdom were not deceived. There were germs of discord everywhere, in spite of the appearance of peace. Fighting was still going on in Spain, and the obstinacy of the Spanish insurgents equalled the perseverance of Sir Arthur Wellesley. The Emperor Alexander had courteously congratulated Caulaincourt upon the assurance of peace between Austria and France, resulting from the projected union; at the same time not failing to point out the contradictory negotiations simultaneously carried on by Napoleon at St. Petersburg and Vienna. The substitution, which the emperor had just proposed, of a new convention for the articles decided upon in the Polish question, deeply excited the Czar's displeasure. "It is not I who shall disturb the peace of Europe or attack any one," said he, with a keen and determined irony; "but if they come to look for me, I shall defend myself."

Another protestation, startling in its silence, annoyed the imperious ruler of Europe. Most of the cardinals had been brought to Paris, not without some threats of physical compulsion, several of them weakly hoping to obtain important concessions. Cardinal Consalvi energetically supported the courage of a large number, who were determined to take no part in the emperor's religious marriage, as being illegal. They told Cardinal Fesch of their intention, adding, that they would afterwards wait upon the empress to be presented, but that they were bound to defend the rights of the holy seat, injured on that occasion by the appeal pure and simple to the magistracy of Paris. "That," said Cardinal Consalvi, "was wounding the emperor in the apple of the eye." "They will never dare!" answered Napoleon, angrily, when his uncle told him of the resolution of the cardinals.

Thirteen of them dared, notwithstanding. When, on the 2nd April, 1810, the Emperor Napoleon entered the great saloon of the Louvre, changed for that day into a chapel, after casting his eyes over the crowd who thronged the benches and galleries, he turned towards his chaplain, Abbé Pradt, and said, "Where are the cardinals? I don't see any." There were, however, fourteen there, though not enough to conceal the number of absentees. "There are many here," replied the abbé, "and several are old and infirm." "Ah! the idiots! the idiots!" exclaimed the emperor. He again repeated those words when the ceremony began.

Napoleon's anger was especially directed against Cardinal Consalvi. "The rest have their theological prejudices," said he,

“but he has offended me on political grounds; he is my enemy; he has dared to lay a trap for me by holding out against my dynasty a pretext of illegitimacy. They will not fail to make use of it after my death, when I am no longer there to keep them in awe!” On the day after the marriage the whole court were to defile before the new empress, and the cardinals were in attendance with the utmost punctuality, as they had announced. After the distinguished assemblage had waited three hours, an aide-de-camp came to announce the order that the prelates who had not been present on the previous evening in the chapel of the Louvre were to withdraw, because the emperor would not receive them. On the same day, Napoleon wrote to M. Bigot de Préameneu: “Several cardinals did not come yesterday, although invited, to the ceremony of my marriage. They have, therefore, failed in an essential duty towards me. I wish to know the names of those cardinals, and which of them are bishops in France, in my kingdom of Italy, or in the kingdom of Naples. My intention is to discharge them from their office, and suspend the payment of their salaries by no longer regarding them as cardinals.”

In the first impulse of his anger, Napoleon thought of summoning the rebel prelates before a special court. “Since there is no ecclesiastical jurisdiction in France,” said he to the minister of public worship, “nothing prevents them from being condemned.” He was contented, however, with making use only of his own supreme authority. Despoiled of the insignia of their ecclesiastical dignity—which procured them the nickname of the “black cardinals”—and deprived of their private fortunes as well as of the revenues of their dioceses, which had been sequestered by the treasury, Consalvi and his colleagues were interned, two and two, in towns assigned to them for the purpose, put under police supervision, and reduced to the most precarious means of living. “Without the Pope they are nothing,” said Napoleon. The Pope was still kept at Savona, meekly inflexible, like the cardinals.

A few men thus resolutely opposed their wills to the formidable power of the Emperor Napoleon. Just after the peace of Vienna, his hands filled with new conquests, he modified the frontiers of several of the states which he had recently formed or increased; some territories he yielded up, others he took back; to some he was prodigal of his favors, to others he denied them. He showed at this time special severity towards King Louis, a prince who was naturally of a serious, honorable, and

upright character, and had tried sincerely to fulfil his duties as king towards the Dutch. He thought it his duty to protect against Napoleon himself the subjects which the latter had given him, and whom he saw ruined by the arbitrary acts of the imperial power. When, at the end of 1809, the emperor's family all met in Paris, King Louis had great difficulty in persuading himself to obey the order by which he was summoned. Napoleon had already threatened Holland in his speech at the opening of the Legislative Body. "Placed between England and France, the principal arteries of my empire meet there," said the emperor. "Changes will be necessary; the safety of my frontiers, and naturally the interests of both countries, imperiously demand it." Zealand and Brabant had not been evacuated by our troops, who advanced there when the English took possession of the island of Walcheren.

It was the union of Holland and France which Napoleon then intended, and he did not conceal it from his brother. Recriminations and reproaches were only followed by an obstinate determination. "Holland is really only a part of France," said the minister of the interior, officially, "and it is time she held her natural position." This determination was announced to Louis on his arrival in Paris. "That is the most deadly blow I can inflict upon England," said Napoleon.

The King of Holland had long and frequently cursed the imperious will which had called him to the throne. He had extolled the charms of private life; when abdication was, as it were, forced upon him, he drew back and defended himself. Napoleon insisted upon having a disguised national bankruptcy, an increase of their navy for French service alone, the strict application of the "continental blockade," which till then had been frequently evaded by the Dutch merchants, the rejection of the honorary titles accepted or created by his brother for the benefit of his subjects. King Louis struggled against such hateful conditions, implying the ruin of his adopted country as well as of his personal authority in Holland. The intimate relationship of the imperial family was disturbed by the discussions carried on between the two brothers; Champagny naturally had some share in them, and Fouché also. Napoleon seemed to become more reasonable. Nevertheless, he wished to take advantage of the alarm he had caused, and make its influence extend even to England. A trustworthy agent was appointed to inform the English ministry of the impending union between France and Holland,

and the consequent danger for England; vast armaments were said to be prepared in our harbors. Peace was the only means of avoiding so many dangers; Holland would do herself honor by assisting to guarantee Europe of a rest now become possible by Napoleon's union with Marie-Louise.

Labouchère, descended from a family of French refugees, was appointed by the emperor, in the name of King Louis, to carry these overtures to the English cabinet. On account of the unfortunate campaign in Walcheren, which caused universal indignation in England, Canning and Castlereagh had been replaced in power by Perceval and the Marquis Wellesley, elder brother of Sir Arthur, formerly governor-general of India and the intimate friend of Pitt. He courteously received Labouchère, who was introduced by his brother-in-law, Mr. Baring, one of the principal bankers in London. It was not the first time that overtures of peace had reached the ministry. On his own account, and from the incessant passion for intrigue which seemed to haunt him everywhere, Fouché had instructed one of his agents to make to Lord Wellesley advances which had no real aim or earnestness. To these, as well as those, the English cabinet replied that they were firmly resolved never to abandon Spain or the kingdom of Naples to Bonaparte. Holland in King Louis' hands was unreservedly under French influence, and its union to the empire conveyed no threat of danger to England, which was, besides, well accustomed to the evils of the war, and determined to suffer the consequences to the last. Some new overtures with reference to modifying the continental blockade had been entrusted to Labouchère, but they were hampered and complicated by Fouché's intrigues. The minister of police had recently authorized Ouvrard to leave Vincennes, and employed him in those mysterious negotiations which was soon afterwards to cost him the confidence and favor of his master. At this time, however, it was against the King of Holland that the anger of the latter was let loose.

The emperor had agreed to delay his projected union, thus a second time granting his brother the honor of obedience. In accordance with his strict demands, he resolved to rectify the frontier separating Holland from Belgium, and by taking the Waal as the future limit to form two new French departments on this side the river, called Bouches-du-Rhin and Bouches-de-l'Escaut. Zealand and its islands, North Brabant, part of Guelder, and the towns Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, Bois-le-Duc,

and Nimeguen were thus taken away from Holland, with a population of 400,000 souls. Heavy conditions were imposed on the commerce; and the guard of all the river mouths was entrusted to Franco-Dutch troops under the orders of a French general.

Against this the conscience and reason of the King of Holland revolted equally. He gave secret instructions to his ministers to fortify Amsterdam, and forbid our troops to enter any stronghold. General Maison found the gates of Bergen-op-Zoom shut before him.

The action was as imprudent as the resolution was honourable. At the news of it Napoleon's violence exceeded all bounds. In accordance with the custom which he had followed for several weeks in his communications with his brother, with whom he was not on visiting terms, he wrote to Fouché, at the same time sending him a letter from Rochefoucault, the French minister in Holland:—

"I beg of you to read this letter, and call upon the King of Holland and let him know of it. Is that prince become quite mad? You will tell him that he has done his best to lose his kingdom, and that I shall never make arrangements which may make such people think they have imposed upon me. You will ask him if it is by his order that his ministers have acted, or if it is of their own authority: and let him know that if it is by their authority I shall have them arrested and their heads cut off, every one of them. If they have acted by the king's order, what must I think of that prince? And how, after that, can he think of commanding my troops, since he has perjured his oaths?"

Any personal resistance was impossible to the unhappy king of Holland, melancholy and obstinate, but without energy. He became afraid, and yielded every point; his ministers were dismissed, and the strongholds opened to the French generals. "Hitherto there has been no western empire," wrote Louis to his terrible brother; "there is soon to be one, apparently. Then, sire, your Majesty will be certain that I can no longer be deceived or cause you trouble. Kindly consider that I was without experience, in a difficult country, living from day to day. Allow me to conjure you to forget everything. I promise you to follow faithfully all the engagements which you may impose upon me."

King Louis set out again for Holland, after signing the conventions which were to disgrace him in the eyes of his sub-

jects. Only one bitter item was spared him; he was not compelled to plead bankruptcy. Henceforth the valuation of things taken was to take place in Paris, and the French troops were already seizing in the annexed provinces the prohibited goods which were stored in the warehouses; and Marshal Oudinot fixed his head-quarters at Utrecht. On the 13th March, 1810, the emperor wrote to his brother: "All political reasons are in favor of my joining Holland to France. The misconduct of the men belonging to the administration made it a law to me; but I see that it is so painful to you, that for the first time I make my policy bend to the desire of pleasing you. At the same time, be well assured that the principles of your administration must be altered, and that, on the first occasion which you offer for complaint I shall do what I am not doing now. These complaints are of two kinds, and have as their object either the continuation of the relations of Holland with England, or reactionary speeches and edicts which are contrary to what I ought to expect from you. For the future your whole conduct must tend to inculcate in the minds of the Dutch friendship for France. I should not have taken Brabant, and I should even have increased Holland by several millions of inhabitants, if you had acted as I had a right to expect from my brother and a French prince. There is no remedy, however, for the past. Let what has happened serve you for the future."

Scarcely had the King of Holland returned to his kingdom, bringing back to his subjects the solitary consolation that their national independence was precariously preserved, when the emperor, who was then travelling through Belgium, came in great pomp to visit the new departments which he had just taken from his weak neighbor. The Empress Marie-Louise, who accompanied him, was everywhere surprised at the unprecedented display of forces and the activity of the empire. Napoleon inspected Flushing, which had been recently evacuated by the English; and at Breda received deputations from all the constituted authorities, the presence of a vicar-apostolic supplying an occasion for a violent attack upon the papacy. "Who nominated you?" asked he. "The Pope? He has no such right in my empire. I appoint the bishops charged with administering the Church. Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; it is not the Pope who is Cæsar, it is I. It is not to the Pope that God has committed the sceptre and the sword, it is to me. I have in hand proofs that

you will not obey the civil authority, that you will not pray for me. Why? Is it because a Roman priest has excommunicated me? But who has given him the right to do so? Who can, here below, relieve subjects from their oath of obedience to the sovereign instituted by the laws? Nobody. You ought to know it, if you understand your religion. Are you ignorant of the fact that it is your culpable pretensions which drove Luther and Calvin to separate from Rome half the Catholic world? I also might have freed France from the Roman authority, and forty millions of men would have followed me. I did not wish to do so, because I believed the true principles of the Catholic religion reconcilable with the principles of civil authority. But renounce the idea of putting me in a convent or of shaving my head, like Louis le Debonnaire, and submit yourselves, for I am Cæsar; if not, I will banish you from my empire, and I will disperse you, like the Jews, over the face of the earth."

These irregular outbursts of arbitrary will loudly proclaiming its omnipotence were excited by the very appearance of resistance. The King of Holland had sought to defend the interests of his subjects; the captive chief of the Catholic Church sometimes allowed the remains of his broken authority to appear; the most intimate counsellors of the emperor could not always hide their disapprobation and uneasiness. Fouché had gone further still. The emperor had in his hands proof of the intrigues in which he had been engaged in Holland and England. When Napoleon returned to Paris, Fouché did not present himself at the Council. "What would you think," said the emperor, "of a minister who, abusing his position, should, without the knowledge of his sovereign, have opened communications with the foreigner on bases of his own invention, and thus have compromised the policy of the State? What punishment can be inflicted on him?" Fouché had few friends; no one, however, dared to pronounce his doom. "M. Fouché has committed a great fault," said Talleyrand. "I should give him a successor, but one only—M. Fouché himself." Napoleon, dissatisfied, shrugged his shoulders, and sent away his ministers. His decision was taken. "Your remarkable views with regard to the duties of the minister of police do not agree with the welfare of the State," he wrote to Fouché. "Although I do not mistrust your attachment and your fidelity, I am, however, compelled to maintain a perpetual surveillance, which fatigues me, and to which I ought not to be

condemned. You have never been able to understand that one may do a great deal of harm whilst intending to do a great deal of good."

Fouché was despoiled of his dignities, and relegated to the senatorship of Aix. General Savary, now become Duke of Rovigo, was chosen as minister of police. Napoleon was sure of his boundless and unscrupulous devotion, as well as of his executive ability. The decision of the emperor was ill received by the public. "I inspired every one with terror," says the Duke of Rovigo, in his "Memoirs;" "every one was packing up; nothing was talked about but banishments and imprisonments, and still worse; in fact, I believe that the news of a pestilence at some point on the coast would not have produced more fright than my appointment to the ministry of police." Savary succeeded to the ministry without any other resources than his personal sagacity and the activity of the police. Fouché had destroyed all traces of his administration. "I had not a great deal to burn, but all that I had I have burnt," said the disgraced minister, when the emperor sent to demand his papers. Many people breathed more freely when they heard this news. The Duke of Otranto became popular.

Nearly at the same moment the public interest was fastened on another rebelling personage, more worthy than Fouché of general esteem, and who had just dealt the emperor a more perceptible stroke. New difficulties had arisen between Napoleon and Louis Bonaparte, the vexations of the surveillance everywhere instituted in his States, the sufferings and the hindrances which resulted from it as regards the affairs of his subjects; the humiliation which he himself experienced from it every moment, exasperated the heart of King Louis. He wrote affectionately to the ministers whom he had been forced to dismiss. To this powerless manifestation of a natural feeling, strongly encouraged by the state of public opinion in Holland, was added the resolution to interdict the complete occupation of the territory by the French troops. The gates of Haarlem were closed to the imperial eagles. The populace of the Hague ill-treated in the street a servant of the minister of France. The emperor was only waiting for a pretext for a long time foreseen. Marshal Oudinot received orders to enter Haarlem and Amsterdam, with flags displayed. At the same time, the division of General Molitor entered Holland by the north and the south; everywhere the Netherlands found themselves

occupied. The minister of Holland at Paris, Admiral Verhuell, received his passports.

Resistance was impossible; the councillors of King Louis felt it as bitterly as he did himself. The king was resolved upon not accepting the personal yoke that his brother wished to impose upon him; he signed an act of abdication in favor of his eldest son, until then favorably treated by the Emperor Napoleon. He committed to his ministers a touching farewell message for the Corps Législatif, and secretly entering a carriage, on the night of the 1st of July, 1810, he quitted Haarlem, in order to take refuge at the baths of Töplitz. The fugitive carefully concealed his journey and his presence; he was weary of the power which he sorrowfully exercised; he remained esteemed and regretted in the country which he sadly abandoned without having ever been able to defend it.

This flight from the throne, and this mute protest against the tyranny which rendered it insupportable, caused some ill-humor in Napoleon, and constrained him to act openly, and without the soothing forms with which he had reckoned upon enveloping his taking possession of Holland. An imperial decree of the 9th of July, 1810, announced to the world that Holland was reunited to France. The abdication of King Louis in favor of his son was treated as null and void. Rome had been declared the second city of the empire after the confiscation of the Papal States. Amsterdam was promoted to the third rank. Seven new departments were formed from the territory of the Netherlands. Holland was to send six members to the Senate of the Empire, six deputies to the Council of State, twenty-five to the Corps Législatif, two Councillors to the Court of Cassation. The emperor often vaunted the rare capacity of the Dutch whom he had thus drawn into his service. The first use which he now made of his supreme authority was to reduce the public debt from 80,000,000 to 20,000,000. This act of bankruptcy introduced into the charges of the budget an economy which it was thought ought to satisfy all those who had not personally to suffer the consequences. "The Corps Législatif will be another object of economy," wrote Napoleon, on the 23rd of July, to Lebrun, his arch-treasurer, whom he had charged to represent him in Holland; "the external relations will be an object of economy; the Council of State will be an object of economy; the civil list will be still another object of economy." The emperor had not reckoned on two sentiments, more powerful than all others in this little country, which had conquered its

liberty at the price of so many sufferings. Its union to France cost Holland its national independence; the bankruptcy tainted its honor and its credit; whilst submitting to an imperious necessity, the Dutch nation never forgot it.

The condition of Europe thus underwent, under the hand of the Emperor Napoleon, fundamental modifications, of which he scarcely took the trouble to inform his allies. The Emperor Alexander alone received some explanations on the subject of the union of Holland and France. "The Netherlands have not in reality had a change of master," Caulaincourt was instructed to say; "it is a country of lagoons, ports, and dockyards. They are not much known on the continent, and have no importance except for England; the naval forces of France will be augmented by it, and the general peace will become more easy and more certain." A few months only were to pass away before Napoleon would complete his maritime lines of defence, by taking possession of the coasts as far as the Weser and the Elbe. In the month of December, 1810, a simple decree formed three French departments* from the territory of the Hanseatic towns, the States of the Prince of Oldenburg and a small portion of Hanover. In his quality of uncle to the Emperor Alexander, the Prince of Oldenburg received the town of Erfurt by way of indemnity. At the same time the territory of the Valais became French, under the name of the department of the Simplon. The former masters of the annexed countries received purely and simply a notification of the sovereign will. Irritation was everywhere increasing; no one resented these things more keenly than the Emperor Alexander, still a nominal ally of France. Meanwhile he silently waited.

Quite close to Russia, in a country recently dismembered by the Emperor Alexander with the consent of Napoleon, there was preparing at this time an event which was soon to assure to the fifth European coalition one of its most useful supports. The King of Sweden, Gustavus IV., unstable, violent, and eccentric enough to warrant doubts as to the soundness of his reason, had been deposed on the 10th of May, 1809, by the assembled States, as the result of a military conspiracy. His uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, elevated to the throne under the title of Charles XIII., had no children; the Diet designated as his successor the Duke of Augustenburg. This prince expired suddenly, in the midst of a review. The claimants were

* L'Ems Supérieur, les Bouches-du-Weser, and les Bouches-de-l'Elbe.

numerous, and the King of Sweden desired to know the wish of Napoleon. The latter secretly favored the King of Denmark, but the States were not well disposed in his favor: the emperor refused to give a decision. "A word from his Majesty would suffice to decide everything," said Désaugiers, the *chargé-d'affaires* at Stockholm. Some proposed to choose a stranger, and Marshal Bernadotte was thought of. During our occupation of Pomerania he had known how to render himself agreeable to the population over whom he ruled, and to persons of consideration who had known how to appreciate the vivacity and capacity of his mind. He was a kinsman of the Bonapartes, and conspicuous amongst the lieutenants of Napoleon. An obscure member of the Diet repaired to Paris, and knitted the first threads of an intrigue, destined to succeed by the very fact of the ignorance and illusions of its authors. By placing Bernadotte upon the steps of the throne, the States of Sweden thought to assure themselves of the good-will of the Emperor Napoleon; his name was popular amongst the lower classes. He was proclaimed Prince Royal of Sweden 17th August, 1810.

Napoleon had delayed too long to express his mind. A messenger arrived at Stockholm bearing despatches which emphatically disavowed the declarations of the partisans of Bernadotte. "I cannot think," said Napoleon, "that these individuals could have had the impudence to assert themselves to be charged with any mission whatever." The official announcement of the elevation of the Prince of Pontecorvo was already on its way to Paris. "I was little prepared for this news," replied Napoleon to the letter of King Charles XIII. He wished to wrest from Bernadotte a pledge never to bear arms against France. The marshal formally refused. For a long time in secret hostility to the emperor, he severely judged the errors of his ambition, and the consequences that would result for the peace of Europe. "Go then," said Napoleon, "and let destiny be accomplished!" On the evening of the 18th Brumaire, Bernadotte wrote to General Bonaparte: "My idea of liberty differs from yours, and your plan kills it. Three weeks ago I retired; but if I receive orders from those who have still the right to give me them, I shall resist all illegal attempts against the established powers."

The struggle was not to be long in breaking forth between the new heir to the throne of Sweden and the exacting master who claimed to subject all European powers to his laws. Everywhere the questions that grew out of the continental blockade

in right as well as in practice, brought about difficulties, and gave rise to sufferings by which all the governments were injured. In annexing Holland to France, Napoleon had authorized, under a duty of 50 per cent., the sale of goods of English production which the contraband had kept stored up in their warehouses. He conceived the idea of applying the same duty to all sales of colonial products which until then had only been able to enter France by virtue of a special license. All the merchandise of this kind found in store, either in the countries dependent on the French Empire, or in foreign territories within four hours' journey of the frontier, were suddenly affected by this tax, and placed under the obligation of a certificate of origin (5th August, 1810). In default of this justification, the goods were seized as of English production, and in consequence contraband. The colonial produce was to be sold; the manufactured articles were to be everywhere burnt. In Spain, in the Canton of Tessin, at Frankfort, in the Hanseatic towns, at Stettin, at Custrin, at Dantzic, the troops were ordered to carry out the searches and seizures. A few dependent or vanquished sovereigns—Saxony or Prussia, for example—themselves consented to make the required requisitions. The sums produced by sales made in Prussia were generously credited by the Emperor Napoleon as deductions from the Prussian debt to France. A director of the French Customs superintended the Swiss troops in their inquisitions. At all points of the immense territory subjugated by Napoleon, the merchants crowded to the markets opened for confiscated goods, whilst every article proved to be of English manufacture was delivered to the flames in public. "For confiscation, for expulsion from the country, they came to substitute the punishment of burning," writes Mollien in his *Memoirs*; "and the reading of the correspondence of commerce might have convinced Napoleon what complaint the bankers and maritime speculators were making against a policy which, in the most industrious century, was destroying by fire the creations of industry. Until then, however, French manufacturers had flattered themselves with being able to supply the consumers whom English commerce was to lose by so severe a system of prohibition; but this illusion vanished when Napoleon, seduced by the hope of assuring to France a part in the enterprises of the commercial monopoly of England, was seen to be putting in some sort up to auction the right of introducing into Europe the productions of America and India, loading several raw ma-

terials—such as cotton and wool—with enormous duties, and, by an inexplicable contradiction, rendering to the productions of English industry, by these very taxes, more advantages than prohibition caused them to lose. Then this fictitious system, which was to free the continent from the domination of English commerce, became patent to all eyes as nothing else but the most disastrous and false of fiscal inventions; for it was creating two monopolies in place of one—aggravating at once the condition of the French manufacturers and that of the speculators of all countries, and giving up the privilege of commercial speculation to a few interested adventurers.”

Hitherto the United States of America alone had protested equally against the Emperor Napoleon's system of continental blockade and the English ordinances. Already, for several months past, an embargo had been placed in their ports on French and English vessels, unless driven to take refuge in consequence of a tempest. Mistress, the one of the seas, the other of the land, it was on the United States that both England and France lavished their caresses, eager to enrol them in the service of their hostile passions. For a long time the Emperor Napoleon had required the seizure of American vessels sailing under a neutral flag, in spite of the interdiction of their government, and this rigor had been one of the causes of the dissensions between him and the King of Holland. In the month of July, 1810, he made known to Congress, that on and after the 1st of November the Americans should not be subject to the decrees of Berlin and Milan, and that they might enter into the ports of France, provided that they could obtain from England a revocation of the ordinances of the Council. “In continuing to submit to them,” Napoleon had formerly said, “the peoples who are menaced by the pretensions of England would do better to recognize her sovereignty, and America ought to press forward to return under the yoke from which she has so gloriously delivered herself.”

On its part, the English cabinet revoked the ordinances of the Council with regard to the Americans, and relieved them of the toll by way of harbor dues imposed on all other vessels; but it persisted in forbidding to neutral vessels the entry into French ports, thus confirming its system of a paper blockade. The measure was insufficient for the satisfaction of the United States; it did little harm to that commerce and industry of Great Britain which Napoleon strove so madly to injure by land as well as by sea.

A sign of the discontent of the Emperor Alexander was his clearly manifested resolution not to impose upon his subjects new and exorbitant pecuniary sacrifices. Nearly all the European powers had accepted or submitted to the decree of the 1st of August. "There are no true neutrals," maintained Napoleon; "they are all English, masked under divers flags, and bearers of false papers. They must be confiscated, and England is lost." Russia constantly refused to yield to these entreaties. Faithful to the law of the blockade as regards the capture of English vessels, the Emperor Alexander authorized navigation under a neutral flag. No seizure was effected in his States.

Sweden protested in vain. Denmark had been authorized to effect the sale of prohibited merchandise by means of the fifty per cent. tariff; the new Prince of Sweden begged a similar indulgence in favor of his adopted country. The emperor, dissatisfied, was angered. "Choose," said he, "between the cannon-balls for the English or war with France." Bernadotte consented to commence hostilities against the English; he was without resources, and without defences. "We offer you our arms and our iron," wrote he to the emperor; "give us in return the means that nature has refused to us." Other allies were soon to accept the offers of the illustrious marshal of the empire.

Meanwhile the months rolled past, and Napoleon did not quit Paris. He had just contracted new ties; he was occupied with the cares necessitated by the internal administration of the empire—with the legal creation of the extraordinary Domain, the fruit of conquests and confiscations, and which had already served to supply without control the divers needs of the emperor. The very appearance of authority was thus little by little escaping from the Corps Législatif, the retiring deputies of which had their commissions arbitrarily prolonged. The representatives of the new departments had been directly chosen by the Senate. The censorship had been re-established, and its favorable decrees did not always suffice to save works and their authors. The "Germany" of Madame de Staël had received the authorisation of the censors, when the edition was seized and placed in the pillory. Madame de Staël was compelled to quit France in twenty-four hours. The rigors of Savary with regard to the press surpassed the traditions left by Fouché; the greater number of the journals were subjected to permanent fines, under the form of pensions to literary men.

The erection of eight state prisons seemed to presage times still more harsh; however, the emperor demanded from the Council of State, in order to explain the motive for these erections, a couple of pages of clauses "containing liberal ideas." He had for a long time exercised towards France the power of words; he knew their influence and weight. More than once, in deeds of warfare his acts had gone beyond his promises; the day had come when he was about to promise more than he could perform. Liberal phrases no longer concealed from the nation the yoke which crushed it. The pompous declarations against the English leopard, hurled forth at the opening of the session of the Corps Législatif, in December, 1809, did not hasten the end of the war in Spain. The emperor did not set out as he had solemnly announced. He called Marshal Masséna, scarcely recovered from his fatigue and his wounds during the war in Germany, and confided to him the task of vanquishing the English in Portugal. Sir Arther Wellesley continued to occupy his positions between Badajoz and Alcantara. Since the battle of Talavera and the combats which then accompanied his last movements of troops, the English general had not actively taken part in hostilities.

The war had not, however, ceased in Spain, and the insurgents had not diminished their efforts. General Kellermann had depicted in its true light the particular character of the struggle, when he wrote to Marshal Berthier: "The war in Spain is not at all an ordinary affair. Doubtless one has not to fear reverses and disastrous checks; but this stubborn nation wears away the army with its detailed resistance. Independently of the regular corps, which must be faced, it is also necessary to guard against the numerous swarms of brigands and strong organized bands, which infest the country, and which by their mobility, and above all by the favor of the inhabitants, escape from all pursuit, and come up behind you a quarter of an hour after your return. It is in vain that we beat down on one side the heads of the hydra; they reappear on the other, and without a revolution in the minds of men you will not succeed for a long time in subduing this vast peninsula. It will absorb the population and the treasures of France. They wish to gain time, and to weary us by persistency. We shall only obtain their submission by their exhaustion, and the annihilation of half the population. Such is the spirit which animates this nation, that one cannot even create in it a few partisans. It is in vain to treat it with mode-

ration and justice; in a difficult moment, no governor or leader whatever would find ten men who would dare to arm for his defence. We must, then, have more men. The emperor perhaps grows weary of sending them, but it is necessary to make an end of the business, or to be contented with establishing ourselves in one half of Spain in order afterwards to conquer the other. Meanwhile, resources diminish, the means perish, money is exhausted or disappears; one knows not where to direct one's energies to provide for the pay, for the maintenance of the troops, for the needs of the hospitals, for the infinite details necessary for an army in need of everything. Misery and privations increase sickness, and enfeeble the army continually; whilst, on the other side, the bands that swarm on all sides seize every day upon small parties or isolated men, who venture into the open country with extreme imprudence, notwithstanding the most positive, reiterated prohibitions."

It was the effort of all the generals commanding in Spain to destroy the bands of guerillas, who harassed their soldiers and slowly decimated their armies. General Suchet had, more than any other, succeeded in Aragon; General Gouvion St. Cyr had been absorbed by the siege of Girone, which had at length just submitted to him when Marshal Augereau was sent into Catalonia, in order to take from him at once his command and the glory of his conquest. The end of the campaign of 1809 had been signalized by a victory, gained on the 19th of November, at Ocaña, by Marshal Mortier and General Sebastiani over the insurgent army of the centre. The central Junta had confided its powers to a commission, at the head of which was the Marquis de la Romana, always more active than effective. The insurrectional government retired into the Ile de Leon, boldly convoking the Cortes at Madrid for the 1st of March, 1810.

Marshal Soulé had become major-general of the army of Spain, since Marshal Jourdan had been recalled after the battle of Talavera; he was meditating a great campaign against Andalusia. Napoleon hesitated to consent to it; the English alone appeared to him to be formidable, and he had been wishing to concentrate all his forces against them: Marshal Mas-séna was not, however, ready to enter on the campaign. King Joseph received the authorization to advance upon Andalusia; he ordered, at the same time, Marshals Ney and Suchet to lay siege to Ciudad Rodrigo and Valencia. Both attempted opera-

tions with insufficient forces, and were to fail in an enterprise which drew upon them the bitter reproaches of the emperor. The army of the King of Spain advanced towards Seville; the defiles of the Sierra Morena had been occupied without resistance by Marshal Victor. The intestine dissensions which divided the capital of Andalusia had deprived it of its means of defence; a great part of the population took to flight. A few cannon, pointed from the ramparts, did not arrest for a moment the march of the French. Marshal Soult summoned the place to surrender, and the Junta of the province consented to capitulate. All the military chiefs recently assembled in Seville had succeeded in escaping. King Joseph made his entry on the 1st of February, 1810. Malaga and Granada were not long in surrendering.

All the leaders of the insurrection were found henceforth at Cadiz; the central Junta and its executive commission had abdicated in favor of a royal regency. The preparations for resistance in this place, fortified on the side of the land by man, as on the side of the sea by nature, disquieted King Joseph, who had long been desirous of detaching a *corps d'armée* against Cadiz. "Assure me of Seville, and I will assure you of Cadiz," said Marshal Soult. Now it was found necessary to guard Seville, Granada, and Malaga; a corps of observation was being maintained before Badajoz; the forces which were laying siege to Cadiz were necessarily restrained; everywhere the Spanish armies were forming again.

Napoleon had been for a long time weary of the war in Spain, which he had at first regarded as an easy enterprise; he had conceived ill-feeling towards his brother, whom he rightly judged incapable of accomplishing [the work which he himself had been wrong in committing to his charge. The continual demands for men and money which came to him from the peninsula hindered his operations and his schemes; he resolved upon modifying the organization of the government in Spain. On the 28th of January, 1810, he wrote to the Duke of Cadore (Champagny): "Write by the express, and several times, to the Sieur Laforest, at Madrid, in order that he may present notes as to the impossibility of my continuing to sustain the enormous expenses of Spain; that I have already sent there more than 300,000,000; that such considerable exportations of money exhaust France; that it is, then, indispensable that the engineers, the artillery, the administrations, and the soldiers' pay should be henceforth supplied from the

Spanish treasury; that all which I can do is to give a supplemental grant of two millions per month for the soldiers' pay; that if this proposition is not agreed to, it will only remain for me to administer the provinces of Spain on my own account—in that case they will abundantly supply the maintenance and pay of the army. To see the resources of this country lost by false measures and a feeble administration, and to send thither my best blood, is impossible. The provinces have plenty of money, when the soldier is not paid he will pillage, and I know not what to do with him."

It was in the midst of his joy and his easy triumph in Andalusia that the severe protests of Napoleon arrived to surprise King Joseph. A few liberalities he had permitted himself with regard to his servants had succeeded in exasperating the emperor. He decreed the state of siege in all the provinces* to the left of the Ebro, confiding the military command to four generals—Augereau, Suchet, Reille, and Thouvenot. All the administrative powers were at the same time, committed to these generals, who were to correspond directly with the emperor. The idea of Napoleon, with which he acquainted his lieutenants, was to unite to France the territories which he thus isolated from the rest of the empire, as an indemnity for the sacrifices which the war had imposed upon him. General Suchet was charged with completing the conquest of the towns in Catalonia and Aragon which were still held by the insurgents. He achieved brilliantly the siege of Lerida.

At the same time, and in order to take away from King Joseph an authority which he knew not how to use, the armies in the country were divided into three corps. The army of the south was confided to Marshal Soult; the army of Portugal was waiting for the arrival of Marshal Masséna; the army of the centre—the least important of all—was alone left under the personal direction of King Joseph, who was appointed its general-in-chief. The embassies of King Joseph, the complaint of his wife, who was still in Paris, remained without result. In place of a central, powerless, and insufficient power, Napoleon was desirous of establishing delegates of his supreme authority. He had sanctioned anarchy; the rights of the hierarchy had disappeared before the lieutenants of a chief arbitrary, but until now constantly attended by victory. Far from the presence of Napoleon, in a country given over for

* Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, and Biscay.

two years to the disorder of civil war, obedience had given place to mistrust, and regularity to disorder. Scarcely had Marshal Masséna joined the army of Portugal, of which he had accepted the command with regret, than he had immediately a perception of the difficulties which awaited it. The emperor had given orders to commence by the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Almeida. Marshal Ney and General Junot, whose corps were placed under the command of Masséna, made such clamorous protests that the old marshal was obliged to display all his authority. "They say that Masséna has grown old," cried he with just anger; "they will see that my will has lost nothing of its force." Already Sir Arthur Wellesley, become Lord Wellington, was preparing not far from Lisbon, between the Tagus and the sea, that invulnerable position which history has designated "the lines of Torres Vedras." It was thither that he counted on drawing the French army, slowly exhausting its forces before an enemy patiently unassailable. The orders of Napoleon, and the deference of Masséna to these instructions, had spared us the danger of being attacked in the rear; when the French army advanced to encounter Lord Wellington, it had taken possession of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, but the two sieges had been long and painful, having cost the lives of many soldiers; important garrisons occupied the places. In accordance with a mental habit which grew upon him through default of contradiction, the Emperor Napoleon did not admit the enfeeblement of his forces, whilst depreciating beforehand those of his enemy. "My cousin," wrote he on the 10th of September, 1810, to Marshal Berthier, "let a French officer set out immediately as bearer of a letter for the Prince of Essling, in which you will make him understand that my intention is that he should attack and rout the English; that Lord Wellington has no more than 18,000 men, of which only 15,000 are infantry, and the remainder cavalry and artillery; that General Hill has no more than 6000 men, infantry and cavalry; that it would be ridiculous for 25,000 English to hold in suspense 60,000 Frenchmen; that, by not groping about, but by attacking them openly, after having reconnoitred them, they will be made to experience severe repulses. The Prince of Essling has four times as many cavalry as he needs for defeating the enemy's army. I am too far off, and the position of the enemy changes too often, for me to be able to counsel you as to the manner of leading the attack, but it is certain that the enemy is not in a state to resist."

Marshal Masséna was wrong in accepting a mission of which he foresaw the immense dangers, and in refraining from personally impressing the emperor, by the weight of his old experience, as regards the illusions that were prevalent in Paris on the subject of the respective situations of the two armies. Counting upon victory on the day when he should succeed in meeting the enemy, he became involved, with 50,000 men in the impracticable roads of Portugal in the vicinity of Lord Wellington, already his equal in forces, and seconded by the whole Portuguese nation in insurrection against the French. The lieutenants of Masséna, as bold and more youthful, estimated as he did the disastrous chances of the campaign. "Do not stand haggling with the English," replied Napoleon. He was obeyed.

Lord Wellington remained in his retreat upon the heights of Busaco, above the valley of Mondego, in front of Coimbra; he barred the passage to Marshal Masséna, who resolved to give battle. After a furious and sanguinary combat (27th of September, 1810), the attack of the French was decisively repulsed. For the first time the Portuguese, mixed with the English troops, had courageously sustained their allies. They have shown themselves worthy of fighting beside English soldiers," says Lord Wellington in his report. The road remained closed, and the English, masters of their position, saw already Marshal Masséna constrained to retreat. He had recovered on the field of battle all his indomitable ardor. "We ought to be able to turn the hills," said he to his lieutenants, and he detached immediately General Montbrun upon the right, to traverse an unknown country, hostile, and already enveloped in the darkness of night. The perspicacity and perseverance of the marshal had not been deceived; his scouts discovered a passage which the English had not occupied. On the 29th, at sunset, Lord Wellington learnt all of a sudden that the French army had defiled by the little village of Bazalva upon the back of the mountain; it was already debouching upon the plain of Coimbra, when the English saw themselves compelled to evacuate the town in all haste: the French passed through behind them, only leaving their sick and wounded. The Portuguese militia immediately resumed possession of the town. Masséna advanced upon Lisbon by forced marches; on the 11th of October he arrived before the lines of Torres Vedras, by this time completely finished, and furnished with 600 pieces of ordnance. Behind three successive series of

formidable entrenchments, supplied with resources of every kind, and supported on one side by the Tagus and on the other by the ocean, Lord Wellington had resolved to shut up his army, until then victorious, and to wait until hunger, sickness, and exhaustion should at length deliver him from his enemies, whatever might be the difficulties of the undertaking, and the clamors that might be raised against him.

"I am convinced," wrote the English general to his government, "that the honor and the interest of the country require us to remain here to the latest possible moment, and, with the aid of Heaven, I will hold on here as long as I can. I shall not seek to relieve myself of the burden of responsibility by causing the burden of a defeat to rest upon the shoulders of ministers; I will not ask from them resources which they cannot spare, and which will not contribute perhaps in an effective manner to the success of our enterprise; I will not again give to the weakness of the ministry an excuse for withdrawing the army from a situation which the honor and interest of the country compel us to guard. If the Portuguese do their duty, I can maintain myself here; if they do not do their duty, no effort in the power of Great Britain to make will suffice to save Portugal; and if I am obliged to retire, I shall be in a situation to bring away the English army with me."

It was with this firm and modest confidence in a situation that he had prudently chosen, and of which all the resources had been multiplied by his foresight, that Lord Wellington awaited the attack of Masséna, and the seasoned troops who were deploying before his lines. The soldiers were exasperated at this unforeseen obstacle raised by the hand of man, and of which no one had penetrated the secret. "We shall succeed, as we should have succeeded at Busaco, if we had been allowed to," said the troops. Masséna judged otherwise.

On the 16th of October the marshal with his staff-officers examined with care the enemy's lines; one discharge of a cannon, one only, resounded in their ears, and the wall upon which the telescope rested was overthrown. Masséna looked at his lieutenants. "The only thing to do is to occupy both shores of the Tagus, and keep them and Lisbon blockaded," said he: "we will wait for reinforcements, and when the army of Andalusia shall have arrived we will see if, behind those cannons there, there are other cannons and other walls, as the peasants say."

In their rigid simplicity, the conceptions of Lord Wellington

had taken little account of the sufferings of the Portuguese nation. Resolved upon defending Portugal to the last extremity, he had left Lisbon exposed to cannon-balls, and the country a prey to the systematic depredations of the French. Masséna decided upon constituting a military establishment in face of the enemy's lines. Everywhere the resources of the surrounding country were stored in the magazines; an hospital was prepared; General Eblé, old and fatigued, but always inexhaustible in resources, was preparing boats in order to form a bridge. Effecting a movement in rear, Masséna and his lieutenants occupied all the positions from Santarem to Thomar, eager to instal themselves upon the two shores of the Tagus, to seize upon Abrantes, and to invest the English each day more closely in their lines. Already discontent was great in Lisbon, where provisions arrived with difficulty. Wellington urged upon the regency of Portugal the devastation of the country districts, and especially that of Alemtejo, the natural resource of the French army; the Portuguese authorities resisted. "Deliver Portugal, instead of famishing it," said they.

This was repeated in England, where the Prince of Wales had just assumed the regency, in consequence of a decided relapse into madness of King George III. The opposition thought itself returning to power; it had long sustained against the ministers of his father the policy of the heir to the throne; it now pleaded the cause of peace. The dangers to which the army of Portugal was exposed, the evils it might have to undergo, formed the subject of the debates in Parliament. The Prince Regent did not hasten to change his cabinet, but the violence of the recriminations in the ranks of the opposition affected the Marquis of Wellesley; he pressed his brother to make an effort to relieve England from the enormous weight that was crushing her. "I know it will cost me the little reputation I have been able to obtain, and the good will of the population that surrounds me," said Wellington; "but I shall not accomplish my duty towards England and this country, if I do not persevere in the prudence which can alone assure us success." Marshal Masséna had sent the eloquent and adroit General Foy to Paris, charged with representing to the Emperor the difficulties of the situation of the army, and the absolute need of a supreme effort in its favor.

The general arrived at Paris at the moment when new com-

plications were preparing. The harshness of the proceedings of Napoleon, the violence which he had displayed towards the small independent princes whose territories he had confiscated, the yoke of iron under which he claimed to place all the commercial interests of Europe, had, little by little, effaced the remains of the youthful admiration and confidence with which his brilliant genius had inspired the Emperor Alexander. Personally wounded by the sudden abandonment of the matrimonial negotiations, the Czar experienced serious uneasiness at the insatiable ambition which threatened to invade the most distant regions. He had made some preparations for defence, of little importance in themselves, and simply manifesting his fears. Napoleon took umbrage at it; the mad passion for conquests was again roused in his mind; he already meditated a new enterprise, bolder and less justifiable than all those which he had hitherto accomplished, necessitating efforts which became every day more difficult. No resource would be neglected; no reinforcement could be detached for Portugal and Spain from the armies which were being prepared in France and Germany. The intelligent ardor of General Foy, his loyal pleadings on behalf of Marshal Masséna, did not completely succeed in enlightening Napoleon as to the situation of affairs in the peninsula; he understood enough of it, however, to order new dispositions of his troops. The corps of General Drouet, in Old Castile, and the fifth corps of the army of Andalusia, commanded by Marshal Mortier, were to proceed to the aid of Marshal Masséna. The emperor recommended the latter to occupy without delay the two shores of the Tagus—to throw a couple of bridges across, as formerly over the Danube at Essling, in order to assure his communications whilst waiting for the reinforcements, which would permit him to attack the English lines with 80,000 men, perhaps to seize them, and in any case to inflict such sufferings upon the Portuguese population and upon the English that the latter should be obliged to retire. “The policy of the English Government inclines to change,” added Napoleon; “my grand and final efforts will at last bring us the general peace.” He commenced at the same moment his preparations for the Russian campaign.

“Everything depends of the Tagus!” Such was the watchword sent back to Spain by General Foy, and the tenor of the correspondence between Major-General Berthier and the leaders of the armies in the Peninsula. General Drouet began the march with his army reduced to 15,000 men, which Napo-

leon reckoned as 30,000. In consequence of the delay of the operations, only one division of 7000 men was effectively at the disposal of the general when he took the road from Santarem. General Gardanne, sent forward in advance, had become alarmed through the report of a movement of the English, and had promptly fallen back upon Almeida, leaving to the soldiers of Masséna, and to the general-in-chief himself, the wretchedness of a hope deceived. The instructions sent to General Drouet still gave evidence of the obstinate illusions of the Emperor Napoleon as regards the respective situation of the two armies in Portugal. "Repeat to General Drouet the order to go to Almeida," wrote Napoleon to Marshal Berthier, "and to collect considerable forces, in order to be of use to the Prince of Essling, and to aid in keeping open his communications. It will be necessary that he should give to General Gardanne, or any other general, a force of 6000 men, with six pieces of cannon, in order to reopen the communication, and that a corps of the same force should be placed at Almeida, to correspond with him. In short, it is important that the communications of the army of Portugal should be re-established, in order that during all the time that the English remain in the country the rear of the Prince of Essling may be securely guarded. Immediately the English have re-embarked he will make his headquarters at Ciudad Rodrigo, my intention being that only the ninth corps should be engaged in Portugal, unless the English still hold it; and even the ninth corps ought never to let itself be separated from Almeida; but it ought to manœuvre between Almeida and Coimbra."

When General Drouet, collecting all his forces, arrived at length with 8000 or 9000 men at Thomar (January, 1811). Marshal Masséna had been struggling for five months in complete isolation against a situation which became every day more critical. He had successively seized Punhete and Leyria. constantly occupied in preparing for that passage of the Tagus which Napoleon was recommending to him without fathoming the enormous difficulties of the task. The soldiers had been organized into companies of foragers, from day to day obliged to go out further from the encampments in order to be sure of some resources, exposing themselves in consequence to attacks from a population everywhere hostile. Marauders often detached themselves from their regiments, living for several weeks by veritable pillage before returning under their flags. The officers suffered still more than the soldiers, for they did

not pillage. Money and rations failed them; their clothes were worn to rags; courage alone remained inexhaustible; discipline grew feeble in every rank of the military hierarchy. The lieutenants of Marshal Masséna did not experience the same confidence in him which sustained the soldiers. The bridges at length reached completion, thanks to prodigies of perseverance and cleverness; bitter discussions arose every day as to the most favorable point for the passage, when the approach of General Drouet infused joy and hope into the entire army. General Gardanne, who commanded the vanguard, announced the arrival of all the straggling divisions of the ninth corps, and the orders sent to Marshal Soult for the movement of Marshal Mortier. Money as well as reinforcements was about to rain upon the army. The instructions of the emperor were precise. The English were to be speedily dislodged from their famous lines; and, if it was necessary still to blockade them for some time, the Tagus once crossed, the troops would no longer want for resources. The plain of Alemtejo would be open to them; the fine season was approaching; all efforts would become easy. Confidence and cheerfulness spread through all the encampments.

Marshal Masséna alone remained sad and uneasy. He had read the despatches which General Drouet brought him; he had smiled bitterly at the hopes and counsels of the Emperor Napoleon; he comprehended that the reinforcements were insufficient, and that the attempt at resistance was in advance condemned to failure. General Drouet had the order to maintain communications between Santarem and Almeida; already the insurrection had closed up all the roads behind him, and new skirmishes were necessary to open a passage. Only the corps of General Gardanne was destined to remain in the encampments, and that corps did not amount to 1500 men. Masséna resolved upon keeping General Drouet near himself; not without pain did he arrive at this conclusion. Discouragement was already penetrating the army, with a true knowledge of the situation and of the notorious insufficiency of the succors. General Foy had just arrived, accompanied by a small corps of recruits or convalescents, which he had formed at Ciudad Rodrigo. Before quitting that post, he had written to Marshal Soult, continually occupied in Andalusia: "I beseech you, Monsieur le Maréchal, in the name of a sentiment sacred to all French hearts—of the sentiment which inflames us all for the interests and glory of our august master—to present at the

soonest possible moment a corps of troops upon the left bank of the Tagus, opposite to the mouth of the Zezere. It is scarcely four days' journey from Badajoz to Breto, a village situated opposite Punhete. The English are not numerous on the left bank of the Tagus; they cannot dare anything in this part without compromising the safety of their formidable entrenchments before Lisbon, which are only eight leagues from the bridge of Rio Mazac. According to the decision that your Excellency may arrive at, the army of the Prince of Essling will pass the Tagus, hold in check the English on both banks of the river, will fatigue them, will prey upon them, will keep them in painful and ruinous inaction, will form between them and your sieges a barrier likely to accelerate the surrender of the towns; or, on the other hand, this army, failing to effect the passage that has become necessary, will be forced to withdraw from the Tagus and from the English in order to find sufficient to eat, and by the same movement will give the day to our eternal enemies, in a struggle in which till now the chances have been in our favor. The country between the Mondego and the Tagus being eaten up and entirely devastated, there can be no question as to the army of Portugal having to make a retrograde step of about five or six leagues. Hunger will follow it even into the provinces of the north. The consequences of such a retreat are incalculable. It appertains to you, Monsieur le Maréchal, to be at once the saviour of a great army and the powerful instrument in carrying out the ideas of our glorious sovereign. On the day when the troops under your orders shall have appeared on the banks of the Tagus, and facilitated the passage of this great river, you will be the true conqueror of Portugal."

When Marshal Soult received this eloquent and truthful summing up from General Foy, already forestalled by the formal orders of the emperor, he was personally in a grave embarrassment. Like Masséna in Portugal, he was disposing in Andalusia of forces less considerable than Napoleon estimated them in France. General Suchet, after having brilliantly accomplished his enterprise against Tortosa, which was reduced on the 2nd of January, had immediately commenced the difficult siege of Tarragona, which occupied almost all his forces. General Sebastiani with difficulty sufficed for guarding Granada; Marshal Victor was detained before Cadiz, where the Cortes had solemnly assembled on the 4th of September. The resistance was to be long, the place being manned by good

troops, and constantly revictualled by the English vessels. Generals Blake and Castaños had collected their forces, and ceaselessly harassed the corps occupied by the sieges, as well as the armies which kept the country. Marshal Soult had just asked for important reinforcements from Paris, when he received the order to attempt the difficult enterprise of an expedition into Portugal. He thought he had the right to comment on the instructions sent to him, and whilst urging the obstacles which were opposed to his prompt obedience, he announced his intention of proceeding to the aid of Marshal Masséna, by reducing the hostile towns found upon the road to Portugal. The sieges accomplished, nothing more would hinder the march upon Santarem. He advanced then, with Marshal Mortier and the fifth corps, to the attack of Olivença, which did not oppose a long resistance. On the 27th of January he invested Badajoz.

The place was strong, protected by the Guadiana and by solid ramparts; it communicated by a stone bridge with Fort St. Cristoval, built upon the right bank, and defending the entrenched camp of Santa Engracia. At the moment when Marshal Soult approached Badajoz, the corps of the Marquis de la Romana, formerly occupied in Portugal in the service of the English, and recently recalled by the Spanish insurrection, took possession of these entrenchments; its indefatigable chief had just died at Lisbon. It was in presence of these hostile forces that the fifth corps commenced the work of a siege destined to detain them for several weeks. A successful attack on a little detached fort permitted the marshals to attempt the passage of the Guadiana, then much swollen by the rains, and to give battle to the Spanish army. On the 19th of February, in the morning, upon the banks of the Gevara, the corps of the insurgents were completely defeated, without having been able to succeed in establishing themselves in the entrenched camp of Santa Engracia. Marshal Soult was now in a situation to hasten the taking of Badajoz, and to push forward into Portugal before the Spanish army could be re-formed. He does not appear to have conceived this idea, and resumed with perseverance the work of the trenches. "I hope that Badajoz will have been taken in the course of January, and that the junction with the Prince of Essling will have taken place before the 20th of January," wrote the emperor, meanwhile. "If it is necessary, the Duke of Dalmatia can withdraw troops from the fourth corps. I repeat to you, everything depends upon the Tagus."

The cannon of Badajoz were heard at Santarem and at Torres Vedras, and the hearts of the two armies beat with uneasiness and hope. Upon the arrival of General Foy, in presence of the insufficiency of the disposable forces, the question lay between a retreat upon Mondego and an attempt at the passage of the Tagus. The wish of the emperor strongly expressed to Foy himself, the patriotic honor which animated all the generals, even the most dissatisfied, had made the balance incline in favor of a prolonged occupation. It was necessary, then, to attempt to cross the river; the distress which reigned in certain divisions, absolutely reduced by famine, did not permit of hesitation; the shores of the stream were reconnoitred with care. For a moment the idea was entertained of making use, as a guiding mark, of the isle of Alviela, situated in the midst of the river, as the isle of Lobau was found placed in the midst of the Danube. The materials of the bridge were collected at Punhete, but horses were wanting. General Eblé opposed an attempt, the advantages of which were to be too tardily recognized. The passage from Santarem to Abrantes offered the inconvenience of an immediate attack from the enemy in possession of that town, recently fortified by General Hill. It was resolved to wait for the arrival of Marshal Soult, or for the reinforcements which he had been ordered to send into Portugal. Masséna had never believed, and did not believe, in the promises which had been made him on this side; he consented, however, upon the advice of all, to retard for a few days a retrograde movement which became necessary, the impossibility of attempting alone the passage of the Tagus being recognized. The enemy had occupied the isle of Alviela; all the local resources were exhausted; the reserve of biscuit assured still fifteen days' provisions to the army. The weeks passed without news: the wind no longer brought the sound of the cannonade; the soldiers felt themselves abandoned at the end of the world; the anger of the generals no longer permitted them to reanimate the failing courage of an army famished and without hope. Masséna commenced the skilful preparations for his retreat upon Mondego. Under pretext of effecting a concentration of the corps necessary for the passage of the Tagus, he detached Marshal Ney towards Leyria, with a view of cutting off from the enemy the roads to the sea, in order to form afterwards a rear-guard. The wounded and the sick had been taken on before. On the 5th of March, at the end of the day, the whole French army was on the march, sad

and gloomy in spite of their joy at quitting the places where they had suffered without compensation and without glory. The materials of the bridges, prepared with so much care by General Eblé, were burnt. General Junot pressed forward, in order to occupy Coïmbra and the Mondego—a rallying-point indicated beforehand to all the corps.

Lord Wellington issued forth from his entrenchments on learning the movements which announced to him our retreat. His accustomed prudence kept him from precipitating the pursuit by an effort that might become dangerous; the well-known character of Marshal Ney protected the rear-guard no less than the valor of his troops. He ranged his forces in order of battle before Pombal, which obliged Wellington to recall the troops which he had detached for the succor of Badajoz. But the hurry of the retreat had resumed possession of the mind of General Drouet, ever haunted by compunctions for his disobedience to the formal orders of Napoleon. Ney was not in a position seriously to defend his positions against the English; after a brilliant skirmish, he fell back upon Redinha. His division of infantry had constantly fought under his orders in all the campaigns of the six previous years; it disputed the land, foot to foot, with the 25,000 English, who followed the French army, without letting itself, for a single moment, be troubled or pressed by the superiority of the enemy. The least offensive movement of the English columns was responded to by a charge from our troops, which soon re-established the distance between the two armies. Masséna, who was present at the manœuvres of Marshal Ney, admired them without reserve, beseeching his clever and courageous lieutenant not to abandon the heights, in order to give the other corps the time and space necessary for the continuance of their march. A last engagement, which took place upon the banks of the Soure, in front of the position of Redinha, permitted Ney at last to cross the river, and gain the town of Condeixa.

The position was strong, and Masséna counted on the energetic resistance of his rear-guard, in order to hinder the English, and leave time for the different corps to reassemble at Coïmbra. Marshal Ney on this occasion failed to realize the just hopes of his chief; after a slight skirmish, he abandoned Condeixa, and overtaking in his haste the corps that his movement had exposed, he fell back upon the main body of the army. A position at Coïmbra became impossible, as Lord

Wellington was following closely on our divided forces. Masséna gained the Alva by a series of clever manœuvres, constantly thwarted by the want of discipline in his lieutenants. Marshal Ney had let himself be surprised at Foz d'Arunce by the English; General Regnier extended his camp to a distance, without care for the safety of other corps; the position of the Alva was no longer tenable. Masséna, exasperated and grieved, continued his march towards the frontier of Spain; re-entered it without glory, after having displayed, during six months, all the resources of his courage, and the energy of his will in a situation which had been imprudently imposed upon him by peremptory orders. He led back an army inured to fatigue and privations, but disorganized by an existence at once idle and irregular, directed by chiefs soured and discontented. The consequences of this state of things were not long in bursting forth; scarcely had the troops taken a few days' rest in Spain, when Marshal Masséna conceived the idea of assuming the offensive by descending upon the Tagus by Alcantara, in order to re-enter Portugal and recommence the campaign. Marshal Ney frankly refused to follow him without the communication of the formal orders of the emperor. In consideration of this act of revolt, twice repeated, Masséna took from Ney the command of the sixth corps, which was confided to General Loyson. Ney obeyed, not without some regret for his conduct; the ill-humor of all the chiefs of the corps rendered the resumption of the campaign in Portugal utterly impossible: the army was cantoned between Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Salamanca. The emperor had just confided the general command of all the provinces of the north to Marshal Bessières; the latter had promised much to Marshal Masséna, who still nursed the hope of a great battle. Lord Wellington, following the French, had entered Spain.

The situation of affairs became critical, in spite of the *éclat* of the taking of Badajoz, which had been at length reduced to capitulate, on the 11th of March, on the eve of a general assault. Marshal Soult now found himself pressed to fly to the assistance of Cadiz. Marshal Victor was threatened in his positions of siege by the Spanish general Blake, and by an English corps recently embarked at Gibraltar. But already the energetic defence of Victor had triumphed over the enemy in the battle of Barossa. The assailants had retired, but remained in a threatening attitude. The army of Wellington, formerly kept immovable by Masséna at Torres Vedras,

became every day a danger for those who had not been able, or who had not been willing, to go to the aid of the expedition in Portugal. Our forces, everywhere dispersed, were everywhere insufficient. Marshal Soult, justly uneasy, demanded reinforcements from all sides. General Foy had returned to Paris, in order to explain to the emperor the retreat of Masséna.

Great was the wrath of Napoleon. He had not yet opened his eyes to the profound causes of so many repeated checks. He did not comprehend the lessons which events were pointing out to his conquering ambition. He imputed to his lieutenants faults sometimes inevitable, or easily to be foreseen, in the circumstances in which they were placed. The inexhaustible resources of his military genius were not, however, at a loss on the occasion of this first outburst of embarrassments, destined daily to increase. He recalled Marshal Ney, incapable of serving under any other than himself, and replaced him by Marshal Marmont, more docile, more skilled in questions of military organization, and very earnest in the service of Marshal Masséna. The latter was charged with watching Lord Wellington, and with closely following the English army. Marshal Soult received the reinforcements which had become necessary to him in order to defend the frontiers of Estramadura. The garrison of Badajoz was insufficient; that of Almeida had been furnishing provisions for several weeks to the troops of Masséna cantoned in the environs of the place; resources began to be exhausted. Wellington was triumphing in Portugal, in Spain, and even in England. His detractors had been constrained to admire the wisdom of his contrivances, and to admit their success; the opposition loudly proclaimed it in Parliament; the war party prevailed in the councils, and nobody any longer haggled over the succors to the victorious general. Past clamor did not trouble Lord Wellington; the flatteries of public favor did not intoxicate him. He decided on laying siege to the places recently conquered by the French. He himself proceeded to the environs of Badajoz, in order to settle his plan for the campaign. The bulk of his army were menacing Almeida.

Masséna was informed of the departure of Wellington; he conceived the hope of profiting by his absence to inflict upon the English a startling defeat. Hastily collecting a convoy of provisions destined to revictual Almeida, he pressed Marshal Bessières to join with him in order to attack the army of the

enemy. Bessières lingered; the lieutenants of Masséna did not give evidence of the ardor which still inflamed the heroic defender of Genoa. Using on this occasion all his rights as general-in-chief, Masséna ordered at length the concentration of the forces. He was getting ready to set out, "without bread, without cannons, without horses," wrote he to Marshal Bessières, resolved upon no longer deferring his attack. The Duke of Istria (Bessières) arrived at last, on the 1st of May, with a reinforcement of 1500 horses and a convoy of grain. When the troops quitted Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 2nd of May, they had appeased their hunger. About 36,000 men were under arms. Wellington had had time to rejoin his army.

The English occupied the village of Fuentes d'Onoro, between the two streams of the Dos Casas and the Furones; they covered thus their principal communications with Portugal by the bridge of Castelbon over the Coa, and defended against us the road of Almeida. The combat began (3rd May, 1811) upon the two shores of the Dos Casas. Extremely furious on both sides, it left the English in possession of the village. Our columns of attack found themselves insufficient, and dispersed over too wide an extent of country. They occupied, however, both shores of the stream, when, night falling, caused the combat to cease. On the morrow Marshal Masséna, changing the point of his principal effort, marched with the main body of his forces upon Pozo-Velho. He attacked on May 5th, at daybreak. Some brilliant charges of cavalry threw the English into disorder, but the guard refused to act without the orders of Marshal Bessières, who was not found in time on the field of battle. The division of General Loyson went astray in the woods, while General Reynier limited himself to keeping back the English brigade, which was directly opposed to him. The ammunition failed; Marshal Bessières, alleging the fatigue of the teams, refused to despatch immediately the wagons to Ciudad Rodrigo, where there was a store of cartridges. Discussion and want of discipline had borne their fruits. The first glorious outburst at the beginning of the day remained without result. Masséna slept upon the field of battle, within range of the guns of the English; but the latter had not recoiled, and everywhere maintained their position. When the marshal, provided with ammunition, wished to recommence hostilities, the most devoted amongst his lieutenants dissuaded him from the enterprise. Discouragement spread among the soldiers, as ill-

humor among the officers. With despair in his heart, Masséna remained in face of the English whilst he gave orders to blow up the ramparts of Almeida. The movement of retreat had scarcely commenced, on the 10th of May, when the explosion was heard which announced the execution of the orders given. The town of Almeida existed no longer. The garrison had succeeded in escaping the watchfulness of the English, rejoining the corps of General Heudelet, who had been sent to meet it. "That act is as good as a victory!" cried Lord Wellington in anger. Masséna, however, did not allow himself to be deceived.

A few days later (16th May, 1811), Marshal Soult failed in his turn to overcome the resistance of the English posted before Badajoz, on the shores of the Albuera. A corps of the Anglo-Spanish army had laid siege to the place. The efforts of the French general to seize the village of Albuera were not successful. The marshal was constrained to place his cantonments at some distance, without, however, withdrawing from Badajoz. Masséna had just been recalled to France, and replaced in his command by Marshal Marmont. He had the misfortune to be constantly sacrificed to an ambition bolder and cleverer than his own, and to bear more than once the punishment for faults which he had not committed. His soul remained indomitable, even in his bitter sorrow; but his military career was terminated. Henceforth he was to fight no more: none of the last efforts of Napoleon were confided to the warlike genius of an ancient rival, who had become a loyal and useful lieutenant, without ever sinking to the rôle of the courtier or the servant.

For three years past, the stubborn antipathy of the Spaniards to the foreign yoke had been struggling foot to foot against the power of Napoleon. For two years the most brilliant efforts of our courage had been vainly employed against the boldly-planned resistance of the English. The enormous sacrifices necessitated by the conquest of Spain were not compensated for, either by repose or glory. The armies were exhausted, and the generals grew weary of struggling with enemies impossible to destroy, whilst they fled only to form again immediately, like the Spaniards; or whilst they defended intrepidly positions cleverly chosen, like the English. The power and the reputation of Wellington went on increasing in proportion to our defeats. King Joseph, feeble and honorable, unjustly imposed by a perfidious contrivance on a

people who repelled him, carried to France the recital of his griefs and sorrows.

Such was the situation in Spain in the month of May, 1811, after the hopes and long illusions of the campaigns of Andalusia and Portugal. The emperor had just experienced a great joy; he possessed at last a son. The King of Rome was born at Paris on the 20th of March. But day by day the situation was becoming more grave. The rupture with Russia was imminent. We had lost one after the other our most important colonies. In 1809 the English had seized upon our factories in the Senegal, and had succeeded in destroying our power in St. Domingo; in the months of July and December, 1810, the Isle of Bourbon and the Isle of France were in their turn snatched away. Our courageous efforts on the seas were powerless to defend the ancient possessions of France, as our brilliant valor failed in Spain to assure us an unjust conquest. In the interim, the industrial and commercial crisis was developing, though the superabundance of production in face of a European market more and more restricted. At the same time the Emperor Napoleon found himself battling with the heedlessly contracted difficulties of the spiritual government of the Catholic Church. The new prelates were still waiting for their bulls of institution, and the Pope still continued a prisoner.

Napoleon took his decision. He gave orders to the appointed bishops of Orleans, St. Flour, Asti, and Liège to repair to their sees without any other ecclesiastical formalities. He had elevated his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, to the archbishopric of Paris, after the death of Cardinal de Belloy. Fesch provisionally accepted, whilst continuing to hold his archbishopric of Lyons, the titles of which were canonically regular. The emperor flew into a passion. He had been to pay a visit to Notre Dame without being received by Cardinal Fesch. "I expect," said he, "to find the Archbishop of Paris at the door of his cathedral." He ordered the newly-elected prelate to take possession of his see. "No," said the cardinal; "I shall wait for the institution of the holy father." "But the chapter has given you powers." "It is true, but I should not know how to use them in this case." "Ah!" cried the emperor, "you condemn those who have obeyed me. I shall certainly know how to force you to it." "*Potius mori*," replied the cardinal. "Ah! *mori, mori*," repeated the emperor. "You choose Maury; you shall have him!"

Cardinal Maury, formerly the fiery defender of the rights and liberties of the Catholic Church before the Constituent Assembly, was appointed Archbishop of Paris on the 14th of October, 1810. On the 22nd, Osmond, the Bishop of Nancy, was called to the vacant archbishopric of Florence. Command was given to the two prelates to take possession of their sees. From Savona, Pius VII. had often succeeded in causing some canonical dispensations and some indications of his spiritual authority to reach the French and Italian clergy. Several associations were formed in order to supply him with the means for doing so. The Pope profited by them to send to Cardinal Maury, as Archbishop of Florence, a prohibition against ascending episcopal chairs without his institution. The brief addressed to Florence was promptly circulated in the city. A canon and two priests were on this account thrown into prison. At Paris the brief was secretly committed to the Abbé d'Astros, grand capitular vicar, cousin of Portalis, the councillor of state, and the son of the former minister of religion. The canon was moderate in his opinions as in his conduct; he conformed, however, to the instructions of the holy father. When Cardinal Maury wished to have the episcopal cross borne before him, the chapter abandoned him *en masse*, in order to retire to the sacristy. A second brief from the Pope fell into the hands of the police, "removing from the appointed archbishop all power and all jurisdiction, declaring null and without effect all that might be done to the contrary, knowingly or through ignorance." The emperor flew into a rage, attributing the resistance to the Abbé d'Astros, whom he violently apostrophized in public in a reception at the Tuileries. "I avow that I had kept myself a little on one side," Astros himself says; "but I did not wish to have myself sought for, and I always presented myself when the emperor asked for me." "Before all, monsieur, it is necessary to be a Frenchman," cried Napoleon; "it is the way to be, at the same time, a good Christian. The doctrine of Bossuet is the sole guide one ought to follow. With him one is sure of not losing one's way. I expect every one to acknowledge the liberties of the Gallican Church. The religion of Bossuet is as far from that of Gregory VII. as heaven is from hell. I know, monsieur, that you are in opposition to the measures that my policy prescribes. I have the sword on my side; take care of yourself!" The Abbé d'Astros was put in prison at Vincennes, and was to remain there until the fall of the empire. It was

not long before the Cardinals de Pietro and Gabrielli were brought there also. Portalis had secretly learnt of the papal interdiction from his relative. He limited himself to informing Pasquier, recently charged with the direction of the police. He was expelled in full sitting of the Council of State by the emperor, with the most harsh reproaches on his perfidy. "Go, monsieur," said he to him, "and let me never again see you before my eyes!" At the same time, and in accordance with formal orders received from Paris, Pius VII. was surrounded with the most paltry vexations; henceforth he was deprived in his captivity of all his old servants. The papers and portfolios of the Pope were all seized. "Never mind my purse," said the holy father; "but what will they do with my breviary and the office of the Virgin?" He did not consent to deliver to Prince Borghese the ring of the Fisherman, which he wore habitually on his finger, until he had himself broken it. About the same time, on several occasions, Italian priests who had refused to swear allegiance to the new state of things were transported to Corsica. Napoleon had himself given his instructions to the minister of religion. The boundaries of the dioceses and parishes in the Pontifical States underwent a complete alteration. Their number was much restricted. All the archives of the court of Rome were transported to Paris.

The emperor had not lost the remembrance of the concessions he had formerly obtained from Pius VII. when strong and free: he had reckoned upon a complete submission from the aged prisoner. Already the refusal of the holy father to the insinuations of the Cardinals Spina and Caselli had disquieted Napoleon: he had formerly flattered himself that he could make the Pope accept the suppression of his temporal power and the confiscation of his states by offering him palaces at Paris and Avignon, a rich income, and the noble grandeur of his spiritual authority over the whole Catholic Church. The extent of this authority, such as the emperor conceived it, was beginning to reveal itself. Napoleon wished to be the master in the Church as in the State. The authority of the Czar over the Russian Church, or of the Sultan over the Mussulmans, could alone satisfy his ideas. "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," limiting within the narrowest boundaries that portion which he still ostentatiously reserved for God. He thought for a moment of regulating by a law the question of episcopal institution. Diverted from this project by the wise counsels of Cambacérès and of Bigot de Préameneu, he

resolved upon consulting a commission of ecclesiastics upon the convocation of a national Council. Already a first Council had been gathered, at the time of the debates on the investiture of the bishops. The illustrious Superior of St. Sulpice, the Abbé Emery, had sat in it, strongly against his will. "The emperor has appointed a commission of bishops and cardinals to examine certain questions," wrote the Abbé Emery, to his disciple, the Abbé Nageot, Superior of the Seminary of Baltimore. "He has desired that I should be added to it. All that I can say to you is, that I have come forth from it without having anything to reproach myself with; that I think God has given me the spirit of counsel in this affair. I am sure that He has given me the spirit of power through His holy mercy."

The Emperor Napoleon judged soundly of that spirit of power and counsel for which the Abbé Emery piously ascribed to God all the praise. "M. Emery is the only man who makes me afraid," said he; "he makes me do all that he wishes, and perhaps more than I ought. For the first time, I meet a man gifted with a veritable power over men, and from whom I ask no account of the use to which he will put it. On the contrary, I wish to be able to confide to him all our youth; I should die more reassured as to the future."

Notwithstanding the ascendancy which his holy character and the firm moderation of his spirit exercised over the emperor, the Abbé Emery was not deceived as to his personal action in the ecclesiastical commission. "Permit me," he wrote to the minister of religion, "out of respect for the bishops, to abstain from taking any deliberative part, and only to have a consulting voice; that is to say, that I may simply furnish upon the matters which may be discussed the lights and documents which my studies and experience may enable me to give." The Superior of St. Sulpice was once more to give his opinion freely before the impatient and haughty master, who claimed to subdue all wills and all consciences to his empire. "I do not call in question the spiritual power of the Pope," said Napoleon one day, when he had called the Ecclesiastical Commission to the Tuileries: "he has received it from Jesus Christ; but Jesus Christ has not given him the temporal power. It was Charlemagne who gave it to him, and I, as the successor of Charlemagne, wish to take it away from him, because he does not know how to use it, and because it hinders him from exercising his spiritual functions. What inconvenience will there be in the Pope being subject to me, now that

Europe knows no other master?" "Sire," replied Emery, "your Majesty is better acquainted than I am with the history of revolutions. The present state of things may not always exist. It is not, then, necessary to change the order wisely established. The holy father will not agree to the concessions which your Majesty demands from him, because he cannot do it." Napoleon did not answer. The Abbé Emery had refused to sign the propositions accepted by the Ecclesiastical Commission; he dreaded the Council. "How is it that our bishops do not see," wrote he, "that the means of conciliation which the emperor demands from them are only a trick on his part to impose upon the simple, and a mask to cover his tyranny? Let him leave the Church tranquil; let him restore their functions to the Pope, the cardinals, and the bishops; let him renounce extravagant pretensions, and all will soon be arranged." The emperor, meanwhile, let it be known amongst the delegates that he intended to send to Savona to have an understanding with the Pope. "This is a good time to die," said Emery. God granted him this favor. He had suffered long, and on the 28th of April, 1811, he breathed his last.

It was at this very moment that the Archbishop of Tours and the Bishops of Nantes and Treves set out for Savona, charged to obtain from the Pope the concessions necessary for the re-establishment of ecclesiastical order. Already the Council had been ostentatiously convoked without the circular letters making mention of the name of Pius VII. "One of the contracting parties has disowned the Concordat," said the summons to attend; "the conduct that has been persevered in, in Germany for ten years past, has almost destroyed the episcopate in that part of Christendom; the Chapters have been disturbed in their rights, dark manœuvres have been contrived, tending to excite discord and sedition among our subjects." It was in order to prevent a state of things contrary to the welfare of religion, to the principles of the Gallican Church, and to the interests of the state, that the emperor had resolved upon collecting, on the 9th of July following, in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, all the bishops of France and Italy in national council.

The prelates delegated to Savona had for their mission to announce to Pius VII. the convocation of the Council and the repeal of the Concordat. "We intend," said their instructions, "that the bishops should be instituted according to the Concordat of Francis I., which we have renewed, and in such

a manner as shall be established by the Council, and shall have received our approbation. However, it would be possible to revert to the Concordat on the following conditions: 1st. That the Pope should institute all the bishops that we have appointed; 2nd. That in future our appointment shall be communicated to the Pope in the ordinary form; that if three months after the court of Rome has not instituted, the institution shall be performed by the Metropolitan." A letter, almost threatening, written by nineteen bishops assembled at the house of Cardinal Fesch, accompanied the officious propositions of the emperor. The anger of Napoleon had weighed heavily on the Council. On the 9th of May the three prelates arrived secretly at Savona.

Chabrol, the Prefect of Montenotte, announced their visit to the Pope. "They can come in when they wish," replied Pius VII. For four months the old man had been living alone, without external communication, deprived of his friends and his servants, without pen and ink, gently accepting his sufferings, but visibly enfeebled in mind and body. Disturbed at first, he soon recovered himself, talked familiarly with the bishops, and limited himself to asking that he might be granted the support of a few of his counsellors on this grave occasion. The request was denied in the most respectful manner; the prelates delegated by the Emperor Napoleon offered their assistance to the holy Father. The letter of the nineteen bishops dwelt upon the hope that the Pope would engage himself to do nothing contrary to the declarations of the Gallican Church in 1682; Pius VII. protested that he had never had any intention of doing so, but that it was impossible for him to enter into any written engagement on the subject, the declaration having been condemned by Pope Alexander VIII. He discussed, without bitterness, the question of canonical institution, whilst altogether repelling the propositions put forth by the bishops. "All alone by himself, a poor man could not take upon himself such a great change in the Church," said he, smiling.

The discussion was prolonged, not only on the part of the prelates, but also on the part of the Prefect of Montenotte, who had frequent interviews with the Pope, using by turns menaces and caresses, seeking to act on the mind of Pius VII. by the interposition of his physician, Dr. Porta, completely devoted to the imperial service. The Pope was complaining of his health; his intellect appeared at times affected by his long

anguish. "The chief of the Church is in prison, and alone," said he, "nothing can be decided by him."

The virtues of Pius VII., like his natural weaknesses, contributed to the trouble of his conscience and his mind. Gentle and good, easily tormented by scruples, he was tossed about between the conviction of the duties which he owed to the holy see, and the fear of prolonging in the Church a grave disorder, which might bring about grievous consequences. In his interviews with the bishops he yielded everything, whilst thinking he was resisting, and finished by accepting a note, drawn up under his own eyes, containing in principle all the required concessions. He had not signed it, but the negotiators were contented with what they had obtained. "This morning we have drawn up the whole clearly and in French," wrote the Archbishop of Tours. "We have presented it to the Pope, he has desired a few changes in expression, some addition of phrases, some trifling erasures, and there has resulted from it an *ensemble* quite as good, and indeed much better than we flattered ourselves on obtaining a few days ago." Next day, May 20th, in the morning, the negotiators took the road to Paris.

They had scarcely got a few leagues from Savona, and already the Pope was seized with remorse. Ill for several days past, deprived of sleep by the agitations of his mind and conscience, he reproached himself for all the articles of the note he had agreed to, and fell into a state of suffering which gravely disquieted his jailers. "I cannot conceive how I could accept these articles," repeated Pius VII.; "some of them are tainted with heresy; it is an act of folly on my part, I have been half mad." "Absorbed in a complete silence, he closed his eyes in the attitude of a man who pondered deeply," wrote Chabrol, on May 23rd; "he only roused himself to cry out, 'Happily, I have signed nothing.' I told him to put full confidence in that which he had adopted in his conscience, which had no need of signatures, nor of conventions made by civil laws. He answered me that from that moment he had lost all peace of mind, and he has again fallen into the same absorbed reverie."

Thus the courage, and even the reason, of the unfortunate pontiff momentarily gave way under the pressure of a moral suffering beyond his forces. In order to calm him, Chabrol was obliged to despatch a courier in pursuit of the bishops, withdrawing the concessions implied in the first article of the note; then, at last, the scruples of the Pope were concentrated.

"This suppression is absolutely necessary," said he, "without which I shall raise a disturbance in order to make my intentions known." In advance, and by the very fact of the violent pressure exercised over a captive, old, sick, and alone, the emperor found himself in reality disarmed in face of the Council which he had just convoked; the concession which he had snatched from Pius VII. became null, for the pope was protesting from the depth of his prison.

Napoleon judged thus; he did not avail himself of the articles immediately denied in the note drawn up by his negotiators, and painfully accepted by the Pope. In fact, the undertaking at Savona had failed; it began again at Paris, where the Council at length assembled on June 17th. The emperor had beforehand sought to intimidate a few of the priests called to take part in it. During his recent journey in Normandy he had Bois Chollet, the Bishop of Séez, called before him, accused of rigor towards the priests who had lately accepted the constitution. "You wish for civil war; you have already engaged in it," cried Napoleon, "you have embroiled your hands in French blood. I have pardoned you, and you will not pardon others, miserable wretch; you are a bad subject, give me your resignation immediately." One of the canons of Séez, the Abbé Le Gallois, learned and virtuous, and who was looked upon as exercising a great influence over his bishop, was conducted to Paris, and put in prison in La Force. "The canon is too clever," said the emperor, "let him be brought to Vincennes." Le Gallois was to pass nine months there, and only the fall of the Empire was to put an end to his detention.

"Your conscience is a fool!" said Napoleon to De Broglie, Bishop of Ghent, whom he had made a chevalier of the legion of honor, when the latter protested against a clause in the oath. He had said as much to other prelates whom he had just convoked to the Council. It is a serious case for absolute power when it enters into a struggle with the most noble sentiments of human nature. The Emperor Napoleon had come to that point when he regarded as his enemies freedom of thought and freedom of conscience amongst his subjects still suspected of independence, *littérateurs* or bishops.

Ninety-five prelates assembled, on the 17th of June, in the morning, in the church of Notre Dame. They were joined by nine bishops appointed by Napoleon, although they had not yet received canonical institution. At the second séance, when the affairs of the Council began to be seriously considered, the

Ministers of Religion of France and Italy took their places in the assembly. In opening, on the 16th, the session of the Corps Législatif, the emperor had haughtily proclaimed his supremacy. "The affairs of religion," he said, "have been too often mixed up with, and sacrificed to, the interests of a state of the third order. I have put an end to this scandal forever. I have united Rome to the Empire. I have accorded palaces to the popes at Rome and in Paris. If they have at heart the interests of religion, they will often desire to sojourn at the centre of the affairs of Christendom. It was thus that St. Peter preferred Rome to a sojourn in the Holy Land."

On taking his seat at the Council, Bigot de Préameneu, then Minister of Religion, pronounced in his turn a discourse which history ought to assign to its true origin. The emperor enumerated, by the mouth of his minister, his numerous grievances with regard to the court of Rome, dioceses without bishops, the prelates deprived of canonical institution. "By this means the Pope has tried to create troubles in the Church and in the state. The sinister projects of the Pope have been rendered null by the firmness of the chapters in maintaining their rights, and by the good feeling of the people, accustomed to respect only the legitimate authorities. His Majesty declares that he will never suffer in France as in Germany, that the court of Rome should exercise on vacancies in the sees any influence by vicars apostolic, because the Christian religion being necessary to the faithful, and to the state, its existence would be compromised in countries where vicars, whom the government might not recognize should be charged with the direction of the faithful. His Majesty wishes to protect the religion of his fathers; he wishes to preserve it; and yet it would be no longer the same religion if it ceased to have bishops, and if one claimed to concentrate in himself the power of all. His Majesty expects, as emperor and king, as protector of the Church, as the father of his people, that the bishops should be instituted according to the forms anterior to the Concordat, and without a see ever remaining vacant over three months, a time more than sufficient for its being filled up."

The declaration fell like a thunderbolt in the midst of the Council. With the exception of a very small number of prelates acquainted with the negotiations of Savona, or in the confidence of the emperor, the mass of the bishops, come from a distance, ignorant or deceived, thought to find peace accomplished, or on the way of being accomplished, in the Church

between the civil power and the holy see. On the previous evening all had applauded the words of Boulogne, Bishop of Troyes, then the most celebrated amongst the religious orators, when he cried, "Whatever vicissitudes the see of Peter may experience, whatever may be the state and condition of his august successor, we shall always be linked to him by the bonds of respect and filial reverence. This see may be removed, it can never be destroyed. They may deprive it of its splendor, they can never deprive it of its force. Wheresoever the see may be, there all others will meet. Wheresoever this see may be transported, all Catholics will follow it, because wheresoever it may be settled there will be the stem of the succession, the centre of government, and the sacred depository of the apostolic traditions." When the prelates were successively called upon to give their consent to the opening of the Council, Mgr. d'Aviau, Archbishop of Bordeaux, replied, "Yes, I wish it; excepting, nevertheless, the obedience due to the sovereign pontiff, an obedience to which I pledge myself on oath." All the members of the Council, its president, Cardinal Fesch, at the head of it, took the oath of allegiance to the Catholic Church, apostolic and Roman, and at the same time a "faithful obedience to the Roman pontiff, successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and successor of Jesus Christ."

Such was not the end which the emperor had proposed to himself in convoking the Council, and his wrath towards Cardinal Fesch was violent, as well as towards Boulogne. "I have ever in my heart the oath taken to the Pope, which seemed to me very ill-timed," wrote he to Bigot de Préameneu; "make researches to discover what is meant by this oath, and how the parliaments regarded it. Let the sittings of the Council be secret, and let it not have, either in session or in committee, any motion of order. The report that you make to the Council ought not to be printed." The commissions were to be appointed by ballot; the first elected was charged with drawing up the address to the emperor. The task was confided to the Bishop of Nantes, Mgr. Duvoisin, clever and wise, well advanced in the good graces of Napoleon, and who had been one of the delegates to Savona. To the first objections that his colleagues presented to him, the prelate responded that his draft of the address had received the approval of the emperor.

It was much to presume on the docility of an assembly, incomplete in truth, for a very small part of the Italian and German bishops had been convoked, independent, however, by

character and station. Whilst Mgr. Duvoisin submitted his draft with regret to a revision which allowed nothing to remain of the complaisance but lately evinced for the imperial policy, an obscure prelate demanded that the entire Council should entreat from the emperor the liberty of the Pope. "It is our right; it is also our duty," cried Dessolles, Bishop of Chambery; "we owe it not only to ourselves, but we owe it also to the faithful of our dioceses—what do I say, to all the Catholics of Europe, and of the whole world? Let us not hesitate; let us go, we must, let us go to throw ourselves in a body at the feet of the emperor, in order to obtain this indispensable deliverance." And as timid objections began to manifest themselves in the assembly, "What, messieurs?" resumed the bishop, "the Chapter of Paris has been able to ask for mercy to M. d'Astros, one of its members, and we will not have the courage to ask for the freedom of the Pope. And why should the emperor be provoked at it? Messieurs, the Divinity himself consents to be solicited, persecuted, importuned with our prayers; sovereigns are the image of God upon earth; by what right ought they to complain if we act towards them as towards the Master of Heaven?"

Emotion overcame all the members of the Council; the moderates and the waverers were drawn along by the ardor of the prelates personally attached to the Pope, or nobly resolved upon sustaining their convictions even to the end. The old Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Bishops of Ghent and of Troyes, claimed at once the liberty of the pontiff, and his canonical right to use the ecclesiastical thunderbolts. "Judge the Pope, if you dare, and condemn the Church if you can," cried Mgr. d'Aviau. The prelates pledged to the imperial power wished to adjourn the discussion; when they came to the vote on the draft of the address, now without color or life, Cardinal Maury proposed that it should only be signed by the president and the secretaries. This overture suited all the timid characters; the address was voted by sitting and standing. The emperor did not show himself satisfied. "The bishops are much mistaken if they think to have the last word with me," said he. The Bishop of Chambery alone found favor in his eyes. "One is never to be blamed for asking for the freedom of his chief," said Napoleon. He had an order sent to the Council to answer his message on the subject of canonical institution within eight days, without losing time in useless discussions. A few of the more moderate bishops happened to be going out of the Tuiler-

ies from the imperial mass; the emperor approached them. "I have desired to act by you as princes of the Church," said he; "it is for you to say if you will henceforth be only beadles. The Pope refuses to execute the Concordat; ah, well! I no longer wish for the Concordat." "Sire," said Osmond, "your Majesty will not tear with your own hands the finest page in your history." "The bishops have acted like cowards!" cried Napoleon, with violence. "No, sire," again replied the prelate, who had so lately accepted the Archbishopric of Florence without waiting for canonical institution, "they are not cowards, for they have taken the side of the most feeble." The emperor turned his back on him.

"The only and exclusive object of the council of 1811," the Abbé de Pradt has said in his "*Histoire des quatre Concorats*," "was to regulate the order of Canonical Institution, and to provide that it should not henceforth be hindered by any other cause than the objections urged against the appointments by the Pope. In this lay the whole dispute between the holy see and the princes. It was not only his own affairs that Napoleon was attending to in this settlement, it was also those of other sovereigns, whom he spared by his example the embarrassments which awaited them." The Council felt the extreme importance of the question. After a lively discussion, and in spite of the persistency of the prelates favorable to the court, the commission appointed for this purpose would not pronounce upon the message of his Majesty before sending a deputation to the holy Father, who might set forth to him the deplorable state of the churches in the empire of France and in the kingdom of Italy, and who might confer with him on the means of remedying these evils. "The emperor requires a decree of the Council before consenting to the sending of the deputation," repeated Cardinal Fesch and his friends. "That would be a sure method to make everything fail," cried the Bishop of Tournay, "for it would be exactly like saying to the Pope: Your purse or your life; give us the bulls and we shall be satisfied with you." Cardinal Fesch was constrained to carry to Napoleon the vote of the commission.

The emperor did not think highly either of the skill or the character of his uncle, and was not particular how he treated him. "He will not reject you," said the cardinal to a lady with a petition, "I have been turned out of doors, yes I, twice in a single day." He essayed vainly to explain to Napoleon the canonical reasons which had determined the commission.

"Still more theology," replied the emperor; "hold your tongue; you are an ignoramus. In six months I should get to know more than you. Ah! the commission votes thus! I shall not get the worst of it. I shall dissolve the Council and all will be finished. It is of small consequence what the Council wishes or doesn't wish, I shall declare myself competent, following the advice of the philosophers and lawyers. The prefects will appoint the curés, the chapters, and the bishops. If the metropolitan does not choose to institute them, I will shut up the seminaries, and religion will have no more ministers." The violence of the insult and the grandeur of the situation elevated the soul of Cardinal Fesch. "If you wish to make martyrs, commence in your own family, sire," said he. "I am ready to give my life to seal my faith. Be perfectly assured that unless the Pope shall have approved this measure, I, the metropolitan, will never institute any of my suffragans. I go even further: if one of them should bethink himself, in my default, of instituting a bishop in my province, I would excommunicate him immediately."

It was then that Napoleon recognized the advantages of the abortive attempt at Savona. "You are all noodles," said he to his ecclesiastical counsellors, "you do not understand your position. It will then be for me to extricate you from the affair; I am about to arrange everything." He dictated upon the spot the draft of a decree based upon the concessions at first accepted by the Pope. "The deputation of bishops to the holy Father has removed all difficulties," said he; "the Pope has condescended to enter into the difficulties of the Church; the sole difference is to be found in the length of the delay; the emperor wished for three months, the Pope asked for six. This difference not being of a nature to break up the arrangement already concluded, it became henceforth the duty of the Council to enact it. The deputation to the holy Father should convey to him the thanks of the prelates and the faithful."

At first the commission of the Council almost entirely fell into the trap. Could it be doubted that the authorization given by the Pope appeared to cut the question whilst reserving the rights of the holy see. The Archbishop of Bordeaux alone protested in the first place; he soon rallied to his side Broglie, Boulogne, and the Bishop of Tournay. In spite of the most ardent efforts of the bishops favorable to the court the majority of the commission ended by rejecting the decree. "You will answer for all the future evils of the Church," said

the Archbishop of Tours to the Bishop of Ghent, "and I cite you before the tribunal of God." "I await you there yourself," replied Broglie.

The emperor appeared to acquiesce without anger in the decision of the commission. "What is it in the decree that most displeases the bishops?" he asked of Cardinal Fesch. "It is the demand for it to be converted into a law of the state," replied the Archbishop of Lyons. "If that hinders them, they have only to take it out," replied Napoleon; "I can just as well make it a law of the state when I please." Cardinal Fesch gave a report of his mission; he promptly broke up the sitting (July 10th). On the following morning the Council was dissolved. In the night the bishop of Ghent, Troyes, and Tournay were arrested in their beds, taken to Vincennes, and kept in secrecy. The Duc de Rovigo was opposed to the arrest of the Archbishop of Bordeaux. "We must not touch M. d'Aviau," said he; "he is a saint, and we shall have everybody against us."

The Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr had but recently given a peremptory reason against select companies. "There are not many brave men in the world," said he; "when you collect them all in the same corps, there is not enough leaven elsewhere to make the dough rise." Deprived of the most resolute of its members, the Council found itself in the hands of Napoleon like dough, soft and unresisting. The grand reasons, the elevated and powerful arguments which the captive prelates had made so important, lost all influence over the mass of their colleagues. "One is afraid of Vincennes and one has no desire to loose one's revenues," replied Cardinal Fesch to the entreaties of the persons who solicited the fathers of the Council to use their efforts in favor of the prisoners. By fear or persuasion the bishops, when personally urged and worked upon, bent one after another under the imperial will. The news from Savona were that the Pope's health was improved and that he was inclined to go back to the original concessions. The Council, dissolved on the 11th of July, quietly assembled again on the 5th August. The signature of about eighty bishops was considered certain. The public discussion was not renewed; the Archbishop of Bordeaux alone protested against sanctioning all the imperial claims by a decree, thirteen or fourteen prelates joining their mute protest to Aviau's declaration; and the votes were decided by sitting and rising. Subject to a power which they durst not discuss, the Fathers of

the Council disliked to proclaim openly their personal subservience. The decree drawn up by the Emperor Napoleon came back to his hands confirmed by the approbation of the Council. "Our wine was not considered good in the wood," said Cardinal Maury cynically, "you will find it better in bottles." A deputation of bishops set out for Savona.

A few months afterwards, under the pressure of the same arbitrary and sovereign will, Pius VII., now alone at Fontainebleau as he had been in his prison at Savona, had in his turn to yield in a certain measure to Napoleon's demands. As it had recently been at Savona, he was destined to see his concessions deformed and exaggerated in order to serve as a basis for a convention which he never ratified. On the day after the Council he showed no displeasure to the bishops who had come as delegates, but promised the investiture of the twenty-seven prelates who were nominated, and even gave to the deliberations of the Council a sort of sanction in a brief which he reserved to himself the right of drawing up. The form of it did not please the emperor, who sent it back to the Council of State for examination. The bishops who still remained in Paris waiting for the decisions of the holy Father were sent to their dioceses. "I don't wish to have a meeting of saints always here," said the emperor to Rovigo. In summoning the Council he had made the blunder of reckoning upon the easy docility of an assembly. "To ask men questions is to acknowledge their right to be deceived," said the Parisians on the day after the refractory bishops were arrested; "why does he summon a Council to imprison afterwards those who are not of his opinion?" The triumph obtained by Napoleon over the terrified prelates did not add to his glory, though it assisted in lessening for the moment his ecclesiastical difficulties. All the dioceses were now provided with bishops, and order was restored to the chapters. That was all the emperor then wished; his outrages upon the independence of consciences and on personal liberty weighing nothing in his balance. He was accustomed to set little value on rights which prevented the accomplishment of his designs. He had brought the bishops to submission, imposed upon the captive Pope a partial acceptance of his will, loftily vindicated the heritage of Charlemagne, and proclaimed his moral and religious supremacy: and now, leaving Pius VII. still at Savona and the refractory prelates at Vences, there was nothing more to keep him in Paris. The Russian campaign was already preparing.

CHAPTER XIII.

GLORY AND MADNESS—THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN (1811—1812).

It is painful to love one's country and see it advancing to defeat; it is sad to see a great mind, whose good sense recently equalled his power, dragged to ruin by his own faults and dragging after him a wearied nation. In 1812, France began to judge the Emperor Napoleon: and long previously Europe had denounced him as an insatiable conqueror who laid her waste incessantly. She was about to learn once more that neither distance, nor the rigors of climate, nor threatening armies, afforded sufficient protection against the emperor's schemes. Whilst his armies were struggling hard in Spain and Portugal against the insurgent population assisted by England, and whilst still holding in Germany the pledges of his conquests, Napoleon made preparations to attack the Emperor Alexander, who was still officially honored with the name of "ally," and to whom he thus wrote on the 6th April, 1811, when his armaments were already everywhere being prepared: "Has your Majesty ever had reason to repent of the confidence which you have shown me?"

Several reasons urged Napoleon to begin hostilities against the Emperor Alexander—reasons which, though bad and insufficient, weighed in his eyes, and, under the influence of his personal passions, with a decisive weight in the balance. He wished to pursue, everywhere and by every means, his struggle against England and her influence in Europe. Alexander had refused to increase the rigors of the continental blockade. To this infraction of the spirit of the treaties uniting the emperors, Alexander had added, during the Austrian war, an attitude of indifference and reserve which inspired confidence in the Emperor Francis and his advisers. He had shown no eagerness for the family alliance which Napoleon twice offered, while, at the same time, the latter was not deceived as to the annoyance caused at St. Petersburg by the negotiations for the hand of the grand-duchess being suddenly broken off. In short, Napoleon was convinced that the Emperor Alexander

was preparing for war, eager to recover his liberty, and be freed from the conditions of the treaty of Tilsit. He, at the same time, believed that the renewal of hostilities would be signalized by important advantages for whichever of the two belligerents could first enter on the campaign. His main efforts, therefore, in 1811, were to hasten his warlike preparations, while using diplomatic artifices to make his adversary sleep, and, at the same time, proving to Europe that the rupture of the treaties was on the part of Alexander, and that the Russians were the first to arm. On sending him Count Lauriston, who was appointed to the replace Caulaincourt, Napoleon wrote the Czar: "The man I send you has no consummate skill in business, but he is true and upright, as are the sentiments I bear towards you. Nevertheless I daily receive from Russia news which are not pacific. Yesterday I learned from Stockholm that the Russian divisions in Finland had left to go towards the frontiers of the Grand Duchy. A few days ago I had instructions from Bucharest that five divisions had left the Moldavian and Wallachian provinces for Poland, and that only four divisions of your Majesty's troops remain on the Danube. What is now taking place is a new proof that repetition is a powerful figure of rhetoric. Your Majesty has so often been told that I have a grudge against you, that your confidence has been shaken. The Russians quit a frontier where they are necessary, to go to a point where your Majesty has only friends. Nevertheless I had to think also of my affairs, and consider my own position. The recoil of my preparations will lead your Majesty to increase yours; and what you do, re-echoing here, will make me raise new levies, and all that for mere phantoms! It is a repetition of what I did in 1807 in Prussia, and in 1809 in Austria. As for me, I shall remain your Majesty's friend even when that fatality which rules Europe will one day compel our two nations to take sword in hand. I shall regulate my conduct by your Majesty's; I shall never make the attack: my troops will advance only when your Majesty has torn up the treaty of Tilsit. I shall be the first to disarm, and restore everything to the condition in which things were a year ago, if your Majesty will go back to the same confidence."

The emperor spoke the truth, and his treatment of Russia was nothing new. It had long been a clumsy artifice of his insatiable greed for war and conquest to charge his enemies with taking the sword in hand on account of their fears or expect-

tations, the fear and expectations being usually caused by his attitude and the projects with which he was credited. Military reasons assisted at this time in encouraging him to dissimulate and talk of peace. He had conceived the idea of occupying successively the vast territories by which he was separated from Russia, and gaining first the Oder and then the Vistula before the Russians were in motion to cross the Niemen. The first links of this combination were already begun to be forged; crowds of runaway conscripts were everywhere being dragged from the woods and rocks where they hid themselves; and, by sending columns of militia to scour the provinces, garrison the villages, and freely pillage the houses of the young deserters, there were 50,000 or 60,000 men thus compelled to give themselves up, whose hiding-places had not been discovered. The emperor sent them in troops to the islands of Elba, Corsica, Ré, Belle-Isle, and Walcheren, appointing the sea to keep his deserters. Scarcely had they acquired the most rudimentary notions of military discipline, when they were despatched in a body to Marshal Davout, who was still stationed on the Elbe, with instructions to drill and form them. They often arrived still clad in their peasant's dress, their bodies ill, and their minds revolting against the existence thus forced upon them far from their home and country. About one sixth of these wretches escaped during the march, braving all the dangers and suffering of flight across an unknown country rather than be soldiers. Recruits from all the conquered nations filled up the gaps in the regiments of the ever-increasing army. War supplies as well as soldiers were also constantly accumulating in Germany. Napoleon resolved to collect at Dantzic the resources necessary to support an army of 400,000 men for a year. The marvellous fertility of his mind was entirely occupied in facilitating and rendering certain the movements of that enormous mass of men and horses during a long campaign and across vast spaces. The transport arrangements were in charge of skilled lieutenants, who had been with him in all his battles; and General Eblé was at the head of the engineer division for bridge-construction. 'With the means at our disposal, we shall eat up all obstacles,' said Napoleon, confidently.

Alliances would have been difficult and few in Napoleon's case, if he had insisted on having genuine sympathy and hearty assistance; but he did not ask so much from Prussia, nor even from the Emperor Francis, whose daughter he had just married. Fear was enough for the accomplishment of his

wishes, and in that he reckoned rightly. King Frederick William asked for Napoleon's alliance, because he dreaded seeing himself suddenly hemmed in by the attack against Russia. After leaving him for a long time unanswered, and at last bringing his preparations as far forward as he had beforehand determined, the emperor accepted the offers of the King of Prussia and his minister Hardenberg. In their anxiety to close the bargain, the Prussian diplomatist had gone so far as to say that their sovereign could place 100,000 men at the service of France. By a skilful system of rotation in their military service, the King of Prussia had been able to exercise all his subjects who were of age to bear arms without appearing to exceed the narrow limits allowed to his army by Napoleon. Thus, under the weight of unjust restriction, were sown the seeds of that military organization which afterwards proved several times so fatal to us. In 1812, Napoleon let the King of Prussia know that he had observed the state of his military resources. By the treaty of alliance, concluded in February, 1812, the Prussian contingent in the war then preparing amounted only to 20,000 soldiers. Large supplies of provisions were to be received in part payment of the war contributions which Prussia still owed France; and on this condition the emperor guaranteed the security of the territory of his new ally—recently his mangled victim. Some hopes were also allowed him of several ulterior advantages; but Napoleon refused to restore Glogau, in spite of the entreaties of King Frederick William.

Austria would have wished to avoid the necessity of joining in the war and allying herself to Napoleon; but the situation of the daughter of the Emperor Francis upon the throne of France, and the eagerness which the Austrian court had shown for the union, prevented any refusal. In his negotiations Metternich insisted that the treaty should be kept secret: "There are only two of us in Austria who wish for a French alliance," said he; "the emperor is the first, and I am the second; but Russia must not know of our feeling towards you." Some regiments were being secretly prepared in Galicia.

In a famous conversation which Napoleon had, on 15th August, 1811, with Prince Kourakin, the Russian ambassador at Paris, he said, "Is it on Austria that you reckon? You made war upon her in 1809, and deprived her of a province during peace. Is it Sweden, from whom you took Finland? Is it Prussia, whose spoils you accepted at Tilsit after being

her ally?" The same reproaches could with more justice have been applied to France—or rather, to her ruler. He was soon to understand that truth, and weigh the value of the alliances which he had imposed. On the eve of the Russian campaign he was, and seemed, more formidable than the Czar; and fear made the weak cling to his side, while they still concealed their secret hatred and long-cherished rancor.

Russia, nevertheless, was also negotiating, relying upon her rival's natural and declared enemies. The treaties were not new when they were published, on the 20th July, 1812, between the Czar and the Spanish insurgents, the 1st August with England, and on the 5th April with Sweden.

The powers hostile to France were astonished to hear of the advances made by the new Prince Royal of Sweden. From recollection of the republican enthusiasm of his youth, as well as personal antipathy, Bernadotte had never liked General Bonaparte when they were comrades and rivals for military fame. The fortune of Napoleon had dug a gulf between them. Raised to the throne by a curious freak of destiny, Bernadotte had brought to his new country no attachment for Napoleon, nor the enthusiastic recollections of France with which he was generally credited. He had asked the emperor to grant him Norway; but Napoleon did not wish to rob Denmark, and a contemptuous silence was the reply to the court of Sweden. Bernadotte pursued in another direction the same views of ambition and aggrandizement; and in allying himself to Russia he asked for Norway, urging the importance of the personal and national assistance which he could contribute to the coalition. England was not a stranger to this arrangement. Two months afterwards, disregarding his engagements with Russia, and alarmed at the huge display of Napoleon's power, the Prince Royal of Sweden proceeded to make fresh overtures to France. Norway was to remain as the price of his alliance, together with a subsidy of 20,000,000. Napoleon was extremely angry. Bernadotte had never possessed his good graces; and he, not unnaturally, felt indignant at the manoeuvres of a Frenchman who had so soon forgot his country. "The wretch!" exclaimed he; "he is true neither to his reputation, to Sweden, or his native land, but is preparing bitter remorse for himself. When Russia wants the Sound, her soldiers have only to cross the ice from Aland to Stockholm. The present opportunity of humbling Russia is unique, and he will never have such another. Never again will a man like me be seen

marching against the North with 600,000 men! He is not worth thinking about; let nobody mention him again to me; I forbid sending any communication to him, formal or informal." Thus repulsed, Bernadotte remained faithful to his engagements with Russia, and was soon after to make others, which were still more disastrous to his native country.

Soon after the official publication of the treaty uniting Sweden to the enemies of France, the Emperor Alexander concluded a war which had long occupied the greater part of his forces. The hostilities so long waged between Russia and Turkey had not contributed to the glory of Alexander's generals. "Your soldiers are very brave," said Napoleon once to the Czar's ambassador, "but your generals are not worthy of them. It is impossible not to see that they have managed their movements very badly, and acted against all the rules." The fear inspired by the Emperor Napoleon had been of still greater use to the Turks than the bad generalship of the Russians, Alexander being eager to conclude the peace, in order to concentrate his forces against an enemy more formidable than the Sultan. Admiral Tchitchakoff, at the head of the army of the Danube, was empowered to finish the war or negotiate peace. The Czar renounced part of his former claims, contenting himself with Bessarabia, and proposing the Pruth as the boundary for both empires, on condition that Turkey became an active ally. The influence of the English diplomatists turned the balance, and Mahmoud, yielding to the desire for peace, the Treaty of Bucharest was signed on the 28th May, 1812.

Napoleon was afraid of this peace, and had tried to prevent it. Perpetually trying to gain time, he succeeded in throwing off the scent Nesselrode, who had been sent with instructions to put the question of peace or war simply. Lauriston was directed to dwell constantly upon the emperor's friendly feeling towards the Czar. Napoleon was at the trouble of conversing for a long time with a Russian of position who was visiting Paris. Czernicheff was sent to gather information as to the importance of our armament, and had learned much, when the emperor sent for him to come to the Elysée, to unfold his intentions with regard to Poland. He had formerly said to Prince Kourakin, "I shall give you nothing in Poland—nothing! nothing!" Now he declared his resolution never to restore to Poland its national independence. "I had no wish to engage in the convention which was proposed to me," said he, "because that engagement was not compatible with my

dignity; but I am well resolved on that point. I have no other reason for arming except the notoriously unkind disposition of the Russian court towards me. She is deceived as to my intentions; she serves England, whose commerce extends to all parts of her territory. I only ask her to come closer; by ourselves we two shall crush all our enemies." Napoleon gave Czernicheff a letter for the Emperor Alexander, which made him a sort of accredited agent at the Russian court. "My brother, after the arrival of the courier sent by Count Lauriston on the 6th instant, I laid down my views of the troublesome events of the last fifteen months in a conversation with Colonel Czernicheff. It only depends on your Majesty to finish it all."

At the same time a despatch of the Duke of Bassano (Maret), who had succeeded the Duke of Cadore (Champagny) as minister of foreign affairs, informed Lauriston of the importance of the mission. "The emperor is anxious," said he, "that the troops should gradually advance upon the Vistula, rest there, settle there, strengthen their position, fortify their bridges; in short, make use of every advantage, and be certain of taking the initiative in military movements. The emperor has shown great kindness to Colonel Czernicheff, but I must tell you that officer has used his time in Paris intriguing and disseminating corruption. The emperor knew it without interfering. The preparations of his Majesty are really enormous, and the more they are known it will only be the better for him. The Emperor Alexander will, no doubt, show you the letter sent him by his Majesty; it is very simple. . . . The emperor has no wish for an interview, or even a negotiation which should take place out of Paris. He has no confidence in a negotiation of any sort, unless the 450,000 men whom his Majesty has put in movement, and their enormous mass of war apparatus, should have caused the cabinet of St. Petersburg to reflect seriously, and, by loyally restoring the system established at Tilsit, place Russia again in the state of inferiority in which she then was. Your single aim must be to gain time. The head of the army of Italy is already at Munich, and the general movement is being everywhere declared. Maintain on all occasions that, should war take place, it is Russia who wished for it."

It was no longer from Paris that the emperor dictated his diplomatic orders and directed the movements of his armies. Since March he had lived at St. Cloud, to avoid an opposition which vexed him to the bottom of his heart, and which he had

in vain attempted to disarm. The Parisians, long enthusiastic in favor of his glory, were showing discontent, aversion, and complaint. After the long drought of the summer of 1811, bread was dear; and the financial measures which had been tried to reduce the prices in the capital were extremely onerous for the Treasury without acting successfully upon trade. Corn was scarce, and the threat of an arbitrary tariff kept back the supply of provisions. The strain upon all the commercial relations caused by the continental blockade reacted unfavorably on the necessary resources during a dearth. The Food Council appointed by the emperor tried in vain to supply by artificial means the beneficent action of commercial freedom and confidence.

Other causes contributed to the agitation and ill-temper of the Parisians; and the discontent, as well as the suffering caused by the dearness of corn, was not confined to the capital. Too clear-sighted, in spite of the mad impulses of his ambition, not to feel what risks he was running, and making France run, Napoleon wished to provide some protection. Though long inexhaustible in men and devotion, the country was becoming tired, and about to be deprived of its means of defence at the very moment when a new European conflagration was bursting forth. The emperor had therefore ordered the formation of a certain number of cohorts of the national guard, under the name of "First Ban" (Body of Defence). Thus 120,000 men, borrowed from the "sedentary contingents" of 1809 to 1812, had been formed into regiments, on the assurance that they should not have to leave their departments. Their families, however, were deprived of them, and the present hardships combining with their fear of the future, there was great dissatisfaction in the country. The number of deserters having increased, the columns of militia recommenced their hateful work: and in the conquered countries, Holland and the territory of the Hanse towns, the conscription was violently resisted. Insurrections took place, followed by executions. Several of the regiments raised in the ancient free towns had mutinied, and kept themselves for several days in the isle of Heligoland. These troops were incorporated with Marshal Davout's army, and put under the most rigid guard. In Italy itself, and even in the army of Prince Eugène, the discontent and fatigue were unmistakable. The hard service of Napoleon had become a slavery. His severity towards the Pope also assisted in alienating the Italians, and throughout the Roman States he was hated by the population.

His pacific protestations, however, deceived nobody. The Czar had no wish for war; he dreaded it, and his people had also long dreaded it; but now he felt it to be inevitable, and the patriotic passion of defending their soil took possession of the Russian nation. Lauriston was besieged with attentions, but he lived alone, having no intercourse with the Russian upper classes, who were now urging the emperor forward. "Everything will be against us in this war," said Napoleon boldly to some of those about him who knew Russia well, especially Caulaincourt and Ségur. "On their side, love of country and independence; all private and public interests, even to the secret wishes of our allies! On our side, against so many obstacles, glory alone, even without the hope of plunder, since the frightful poverty of those regions renders it impossible."

The events proved, in a startling manner, the justice of what the military diplomatists anticipated. From the history of the secret negotiations we learn that advices and promises were largely bestowed by Austria and Prussia upon the Emperor Alexander. The leaders of our armies, which had for several months occupied Germany and Poland, could not pretend not to see the increasing hatred which was silently brooding under the disguises of popular submission and princely attentions. General Rapp, who commanded at Dantzic, felt it his duty to inform Marshal Davout of the precarious state in which our rule in Europe then stood. "If the French army has a single check," wrote the general, "there will quickly be from the Rhine to the Niemen only one single insurrection." Davout, in transmitting this information to Napoleon, made only one remark: "I recollect, sire, true enough, that in 1809, without the miracles wrought by you at Ratisbon our situation in Germany would have been very difficult."

It was upon those miracles of his genius, and upon a destiny which he justly considered superhuman, that the Emperor Napoleon always reckoned. The information brought vexed him without persuading him, and made him somewhat distrust those who ventured to give it him. The brilliant renown of Marshal Davout, the justice and consistency of his administration in Poland, and the admirable order which reigned in his army, had made Napoleon somewhat displeased and gloomy. The rivals and enemies of Davout skilfully utilized the occasion. "One would think that the Prince of Eckmühl commanded the army," they said constantly in the emperor's

presence. Some even accused him of aiming at the throne of Poland. Napoleon had dispensed with Masséna's services; and now he showed a coolness towards Davout, as if he were jealous of his glory and power, and at the moment of engaging in the supreme struggle wished to be surrounded with servants only!

Marshal Davout, nevertheless, went on his way, executing the emperor's instructions with consummate skill and prudence. There were now 450,000 men marching against Russia; an army of reserve of 150,000 men was about to be formed in Germany from the recruits sent from all parts of France; 120,000 men of the national guard were to protect the French soil, in combination with 150,000 soldiers, sick or new, who were still in the military depots. According to the "cadres," which were often deceptive, there were 300,000 men engaged in Spain. On leaving Italy to march to Germany, Prince Eugène had left about 50,000 soldiers in the strongholds. Thus for one man's quarrel, and in his name, there were under arms more than 1,200,000 soldiers. The Russian army did not exceed 300,000 men: on their side they had the weather, extent of country, and climate. "Don't come into collision with the Emperor Napoleon," said Knesebek, the Prussian envoy to the Czar; "draw the French into the interior of Russia. Let fatigue and hunger do the rest." The Emperor Alexander had just learnt that Davout had appeared at Elbing: having crossed the Vistula, he was on his way to the Niemen. The feeling of the people as well as the ardor of the court called the Czar to head-quarters, but he still hesitated, having a repugnance to give the sign of general conflagration; and at last, on the 21st, set out for Wilna after telling Lauriston that there was still time for negotiations. The population of St. Petersburg were all present at his departure, earnest and full of interest; and the churches were crowded with people praying at the altars. "I go with you. God will be against the aggressor." Such was the Czar's proclamation on reaching his head-quarters.

Europe was no more deceived than Russia and France herself; in spite of Napoleon's precautions, nobody was ignorant as to the real aggressor. The emperor remained at St. Cloud till 9th May, 1812, waiting till an act of the Czar's should give him the liberty of his movements. Before leaving France, and as a last indication of his pacific intentions, he despatched Narbonne to Wilna, with instructions to propose to the Czar an interview and armed negotiation, on the Niemen. "My aide

de-camp, Count Narbonne, who is the bearer of this letter to your Majesty, has at the same time important communications for Count Romanzoff," wrote Napoleon on the 25th April; "they will prove to your Majesty my desire to avoid war, and my constancy to the sentiments of Tilsit and Erfurt. In any case your Majesty will allow me to assure you, that if fate renders this war inevitable between us, it will make no change in the sentiments with which your Majesty has inspired me, and which are safe from all vicissitude or alteration."

It was at Dresden, whither he had gone on leaving France, that Napoleon received the refusal to negotiate, brought by Narbonne from the Czar. England had replied by a similar refusal to the pacific manifesto which the emperor, as usual, had addressed to her before recommencing new hostilities in Europe. The orders for the positions of the troops were already given. Davout was to concentrate between Marienwerder, Marienburg, and Elbing: the Prussians had been appointed to the advance-guard, and still remained on their right, advancing to the banks of the Niemen. Marshal Oudinot occupied the suburbs of Dantzic, forming Davout's right; while Ney's body, at Thorn, supported his left. Prince Eugène, with the Bavarians, advanced to Plock, on the Vistula; the Poles, Saxons, and Westphalians were united at Warsaw, under the orders of King Jerome; and the guard, who held Posen, were commanded by Mortier and Lefebvre. General St. Cyr was appointed to lead the Bavarians in the field, and General Regnier was responsible for the Saxons. The Austrians were to invade Volhynia. Already wherever the troops passed there was raised a chorus of complaints from the pillaged and ill-treated populations, and from the King of Prussia, who had seen Spandau and Pillau occupied by the French troops, on pretext of depositing the war-material there. King Frederick William had set out for Dresden, to present his claims personally to the conqueror.

In the sight of the crowned crowd which at Dresden thronged around Napoleon, there was something at once brilliant and sad. Amongst the sovereigns who claimed the honor of presenting their homages, there were very few who did not cherish against him some secret grievance or bitter rancor. All dreaded some new misfortunes, and were endeavoring to charm them away by servile flatteries. The Empress Marie Louise accompanied her husband, showing her delight and want of tact in displaying her splendor so near her native

country, before the eyes of her father and mother-in-law, who had just met her in Dresden. All purely military display had been forbidden at the magnificent court around Napoleon. Murat and King Jerome themselves had been ordered to their head-quarters, yet the couriers followed each other night and day, frequently disturbing the brilliant *fêtes* by the fear of the first cannon-shot ready to go off. At Paris, Prince Kourakin, discontented and uneasy, had asked for his passports, thus anticipating the official rupture. At St. Petersburg, Lauriston received the order to join the Emperor Alexander at Wilna, and again lay before him the proposals of peace. It was necessary to let the grass grow—to let the sun dry the roads—to give Napoleon's emissaries the opportunity of acting on the minds of the Poles, and stirring up amongst them a national movement in favor of France, a mission to which Abbé Pradt, afterwards Bishop of Malines, had been appointed. Talleyrand, of whom the emperor at first thought, did not then enjoy his good graces. "Set out, my lord," said Napoleon to the bishop, "set out at once; spare no expense; rouse their enthusiasm; set Poland a-going without embroiling me with Austria, and you will have well understood and fulfilled your mission." The prelate's vanity was fired, surrounded as he was by the apparatus of his new grandeur. He set out to stir up Poland in the name of France!

The work was more difficult then than it had been in 1807, when Napoleon had personally remarked the distrust of the great lords and the apathetic indifference of the peasantry. The formation of the grand-duchy of Warsaw did not please the Poles, who had already seen their hopes vanish. They were poor, and a large number of their best soldiers were serving under Napoleon. The continental blockade had ruined the trade of the Jews, who had always been numerous and influential in Poland. The Abbé Pradt had to use his efforts in the midst of an excited people, who wished for the future something different from promises. His mission was to produce but trifling results, because the penetration of the Poles guessed Napoleon's thoughts, and his resolution to wage no decisive battle in their favor. He set no great value on the political spirit of the race, their patriotic passions meeting with scarcely any response in him. He wished to drag the living force of Poland in his train, in order to support him in his struggle; but it was in vain that he gave to the new aggression which he was about to attempt the name of a second

Polish war—the public voice was no more deceived than history. The campaign of Russia was about to begin.

On leaving Dresden, Napoleon at last urged forward the advance of his armies. In spite of the precautions he had taken, the transports moved slowly and with difficulty, the staff officers dragging after them much useless baggage, and on reaching Thorn he ordered some important reductions. When pushing on towards Marienburg and Dantzic he was attended by Davout and Murat. Cold in his manner to Davout, who was perpetually quarrelling with Marshal Berthier, he was uncivil to Murat, who was tired and ill. "Are you not satisfied with being king?" he asked, dryly. "I scarcely am king, sire," retorted Murat. "I did not make you kings, you and your brothers, to reign as you liked, but as I liked," returned the emperor; "to follow my policy, and remain French on foreign thrones." Napoleon had given orders for the last supply of provisions for the strongholds, and completed the organization of inland navigation by streams and rivers. On the 17th June he arrived at Intersburg, having resolved to cross the Niemen at Kowno, in order to direct his march upon the Dwina and Dnieper by the road leading to Moscow, passing first by Wilna, the capital of Lithuania. It was, in fact, upon those two rivers, the real frontiers of the Russian empire, that the Emperor Alexander had concentrated his forces. The army of the Dwina was commanded by General Barclay de Tolly; the army of the Dnieper marched under the orders of Prince Bagration. The emperor went straight towards the enemy, hoping to open the campaign by one of those brilliant strokes by which he had been accustomed to terrify Europe. He reckoned upon passing the Niemen on the 22nd or 23rd, and on the 16th wrote from Königsberg, authorizing Lauriston to ask his passports. The despatch was dated the 12th, from Thorn, the ambassador having been told of the artifice. Napoleon soon learned that Lauriston had not been allowed to leave Wilna. It mattered little now; having reached the banks of the Niemen, his proclamation was everywhere read to the troops:—

"Soldiers! The second Polish war is begun. The first finished at Friedland and Tilsit! At Tilsit Russia swore an eternal alliance with France, and war with England. To-day she is violating her oaths. She will give no explanation of her strange conduct unless the French eagles recross the Rhine, thus leaving our allies to her discretion. Russia is drawn on by fate; her destiny must be accomplished. Why does she

think we are degenerated? Are we no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She places us between dishonor and war. Our choice cannot be doubtful! Let us march forward; let us pass the Niemen; let us carry war into her territory. The second Polish war will be glorious to French arms; but the peace which we shall conclude will bring with it its guarantee; it will bring to a close the fatal influence which for fifty years Russia has exercised upon the affairs of Europe."

The river was there, rolling at Napoleon's feet, like a natural and majestic barrier, fulfilling its function of holding him back from ruin; the enormous mass of his army surrounded him; on the opposite bank reigned silence and solitude. Several sappers who had crossed in a small boat, having landed, a Cossack came up to them, in charge of a patrol, who followed him at a short distance. "Who are you? and what do you want here?" he asked. "We are Frenchmen, and we are come to make war upon you," replied one of the sappers. The Cossack turned his horse round, and disappeared in the forest, unhurt by the bullets which they fired after him. They were there to throw a bridge across.

On the morning of the 25th, Napoleon himself crossed the river on horseback, galloping as if he wished to find the enemy, still absent and invisible. The light cavalry had already taken possession of Kowno. The emperor wishing bridges to be thrown over the Vilia, ordered a squadron of Polish lancers to cross the river, in order to sound the depth, and a large number of the unfortunate men perished in the attempt. When they felt themselves carried away by the current, they turned round to shout "Long live the emperor!" Meanwhile the army was still defiling across the Niemen, and it was only on the 30th June that it had entirely reached the left bank.

After a violent discussion among the Czar's advisers, Alexander decided to evacuate Wilna, the minister of police being appointed for the last time to carry a conciliatory message to Napoleon. A detachment of cavalry disputed for a moment with the French the gates of the capital of Lithuania, the passage being forced by Murat. On the 28th June, about mid-day, Napoleon made his entry into Wilna, annoyed at not meeting the enemy, whom he would have liked to fight, overcome, and crush on the first day. The Lithuanians received him eagerly, as in expectation of freedom. The same day the Diet assembled at Warsaw proclaimed the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, and several members of the Senate

hastened to Wilna, to announce officially to Napoleon the resurrection of their country. "The Poles have never been subjected by either peace or war," said they, "but by treason! They are therefore free *de jure* before God as well as before men, and to-day they can be so *de facto*; and their right becomes a duty. We demand the independence of our Lithuanian brothers, and their union to the centre of all the Polish family. It is from Napoleon the Great that we ask this word, 'The Kingdom of Poland exists!' It will then exist if all the Poles devote themselves ardently to the orders of the chief of the fourth French race, before whom the ages are but a moment, and space an infinitesimal point."

Napoleon did not believe in the restoration of Poland, and was resolved not to create beforehand an insurmountable obstacle to peace by forming engagements with the Poles. He received the deputies of the Diet coldly, and did not yield to their desire of seeing Lithuania at once joined to Poland. A special government had just been organized, which seemed to be entrusted to the great Lithuanian lords, but was practically administered by young "auditors" of the Council of State. Distrust had already secretly begun, and mutual recriminations; the Lithuanians dreaded the vengeance of Russia, not being certain of having permanently got rid of her government; robbery was scandalously common; the weather was bad, and many soldiers were ill. Everywhere throughout the province, corn, cattle, and forage were requisitioned for the army, and a dearth threatened Lithuania as soon as the French entered upon their soil. Half of the carriages, a third of the horse, and a fourth of those in charge of the transports, had already perished on the roads from the Elbe to Wilna. Napoleon had ordered a levy of four regiments of infantry in Lithuania, and five regiments of cavalry; but the money and military outfits were both wanting. It was necessary to organize some columns of militia, to pursue those who pillaged, and protect the peaceful inhabitants. Our soldiers were ordered to look after the burial of the dead. From the reports of chiefs of divisions the emperor was fully informed of some of the wretched consequences. The Duke of Trevisa wrote:—"From the Niemen to the Vilia I saw nothing but houses in ruins, wagons and carriages abandoned; we found them scattered on the roads and in the fields; some upset, others open, with their contents strewed here and there, and pillaged, as if they had been taken by the enemy. I thought I was

following a routed army. Ten thousand horses were killed by the cold stormy rains and the green rye, which is their only food, and new to them. They lie on the roads and encumber them; their bodies exhale a poisonous smell—a new plague, which some compare to famine, though the latter is much more terrible. Several soldiers of the young guard have already died of hunger.”

The necessity for a speedy victory was being already felt. The Russian army had been cut in two by the rapid march of the French, Prince Bagration being isolated on the Dnieper, where Marshal Davout was already hemming him in, and soon after gained an important victory, at Mohilew, 23rd July, 1812. The Czar, with General Barclay de Tolly, had fixed himself in the intrenched camp at Drissa before the Dwina; and it was upon this principal division that Napoleon directed his march when he left Wilna, on the evening of the 16th July. Murat commanded the advanced guard, followed first by Ney, and then by Oudinot; Prince Eugène, who advanced towards the right, was to join Marshal Davout. The forces of King Jerome and Prince Poniatowski remained in the rear. Desertion and fatigue were already decimating the soldiers. The King of Westphalia, placed under Marshal Davout's orders, had with difficulty accepted that secondary position. Difficulties having arisen, the prince returned towards Germany, and thus lessened the marshal's success at Mohilew.

Before leaving Wilna the emperor had dismissed, without satisfying him, Balachoff, the bearer of the Czar's last offers. Napoleon repeated his former complaints, going back bitterly to the happy future which was unrolled before Russia when her emperor walked in harmony with France. “What an admirable reign he might have had, if he had liked!” repeated Napoleon; “all that was necessary was to keep on good terms with me. I gave him Finland, and promised him Moldavia and Wallachia, which he was about to obtain, when all at once he allowed himself to be surrounded by my enemies, and turned against me the arms he ought to have reserved for the Turks; and now his gain will be having neither Wallachia nor Moldavia. And now, what is your object in coming here? What are the Emperor Alexander's intentions? He is only general on parade: whom will he put against me? Kutusof, whom he does not like, because he is too Russian? Benning-sen, who is old and only recalls to him frightful memories? Barclay, who can manœuvre, who is brave, who knows war.

but who is a superannuated general? Bagration is the best soldier; he has no imagination; but he has experience, quickness of vision, and decision; he cannot prevent my throwing you beyond the Dnieper and Dwina. These are the results of your rupture with me. When I think of the reign which your master might have had!" Napoleon summed up by a demand to occupy Lithuania, Russia to undertake to resume permanently her alliance against England. Balachoff set out again, assuring Napoleon that if the sentiment of religious patriotism had disappeared throughout Europe, it still remained in Spain and Russia. The bitterness of the discussion envenomed several wounds already deep enough. When Balachoff rejoined the Czar in order to give account of his mission, Alexander was no longer at Drissa. Waiting in an entrenched camp tired and humiliated the Russians. The plan of campaign was the work of Pfuhl, a German general, high in the emperor's favor; but the feeling of the whole army was expressed so emphatically against the tactics at first adopted, that the Czar agreed to quit head-quarters, and fall back with his staff upon Moscow. There, they assured him, the mere fact of his presence was enough to animate the national enthusiasm of the old Russians, and stir up the whole country against the invader. General Barclay, henceforward free in his movements, began on the 10th July to march up the Dwina as far as Vitebsk, hoping to be joined by Bagration opposite Smolensk. Our road to Moscow was thus intercepted; and Count Wittgenstein, with 25,000 or 30,000 men, was to cover St. Petersburg between Polotsk and Riga. Marshal Macdonald, at the head of the left wing of the French army, threatened the coasts of the Baltic.

Napoleon guessed this movement of the Russian general, and determined to push forward, prevent the junction of the two armies of the enemy, attack them by suddenly crossing the Dwina, and thus render impossible the continuous retreat of the Russians, who were now drawing him in their pursuit into the interior of the empire, without giving him an opportunity of striking the blow which was to be their destruction. He therefore left Gloubokoé on the 23rd July, advancing upon Vitebsk; and two brilliant engagements of the advance-guard, by Murat and Ney, on the 25th and 26th, redoubled the ardor of our troops. On reaching Vitebsk after another engagement, the Russian army was seen, drawn up in order of battle, beyond a small tributary of the Dwina. Napoleon urged for-

ward the march of all his forces. The Russian forces seemed to count about 90,000 or 100,000 men. The French army was reduced by illness, by the desertion of some Poles and Germans, and by the death of young recruits who could not endure the heat, fatigue, and bad food. The body accompanying the emperor, however, still amounted to 125,000 men, excellent troops. Napoleon felt certain of success.

Barclay de Tolly was of the same opinion. At first he had resolved to give battle, in order to keep the roads open for Prince Bagration, with whom he had made an appointment to meet at Babinowiczi; but the news of the check received by the Russian army at Mohilew convinced him that their junction must now be delayed, and that his colleague felt himself compelled to look forward to a long movement before succeeding in passing the Dnieper. A battle was no longer necessary, and, on the night of the 27th, Barclay raised his camp, to advance upon Poreczie, behind the Kasplia. Thus the St. Petersburg and Moscow roads were covered by the Russian army, and the two main divisions might look forward to a junction in the neighborhood of Smolensk.

Napoleon was excessively annoyed on learning of the enemy's retreat, and in spite of the overpowering heat ordered immediate pursuit. Count Pahlen, however, at the head of the Russian cavalry, protected their main body, while at the same time retiring before us. After a day's work as fatiguing for the troops as a long engagement, Napoleon returned to Vitebsk, where he encamped several days, in order to rest his soldiers, and rebuild the store-houses, everywhere overthrown by the Russians, who also destroyed the crops and every kind of forage. Up to this point, in spite of his able combinations, the plan of campaign decided upon by Napoleon at Wilna was a complete failure; and by the persistent retreat of the Russians, the circle of his operations had to be constantly increased. The immense space spread out before us, solitary and vacant; and for the future it was impossible to prevent the junction of the enemy's forces. On our side Marshal Davout had just joined the great army; and the emperor took advantage of this combination of the greater part of our forces to inspect his troops. In every regiment, except the old guard, the leaders were struck with consternation at the results ascertained by the roll-call.

It is a good thing to know the cost of enterprises begun in folly and pursued through excessive difficulties, whatever may

have been the superior genius, the consummate foresight and experience, of the general. Ney counted 36,000 men as they crossed the Niemen, but only 22,000 were in line at Vitebsk. The King of Naples had lost 7000 men out of 28,000. The young guard had seen 10,000 men disappear out of 28,000. Prince Eugène reckoned 45,000 on the banks of the Dwina, and entered Kowno with 40,000. Even Davout, the most skilful in drilling and managing his soldiers, saw his 72,000 men diminished by 20,000. In King Jerome's division, 22,000 were wanting, the number formerly being nearly 100,000 men. The emperor still had at his disposition 255,000 soldiers; but Macdonald on the Baltic, and Oudinot at Polotsk, ought still to have 60,000, and General Reynier remained on the Dnieper with a body of 20,000 soldiers. Napoleon already spoke of calling Marshal Victor, with his 30,000 men of reserve, cantoned between the Niemen and the Rhine. Thirty thousand Austrians advanced towards Minsk under the orders of Prince Schwartzemberg. The emperor sent orders to Paris to despatch all his guard still left in the depots. He rejected the idea of an establishment on the Dnieper and Dwina being a sufficient result of the campaign. Better than all his lieutenants he at last foresaw the dangers and difficulties of the work which he had undertaken, which he still wished, but which he was anxious to finish in a brilliant manner. Europe was waiting for the news of a victory. Napoleon had reached the centre of the Russian empire, but without a battle. The pretige of his glory and his power demanded a decisive blow; and the emperor prepared for it at Vitebsk.

Marshal Macdonald, however, had taken possession of Courland, after one battle before Mittau. The Russians everywhere retreated before him, evacuating even the stronghold of Duna-burg. The marshal laid siege to Riga, but his forces were insufficient to guard this vast territory, and he in vain asked for reinforcements. Everywhere the men succumbed under the extent of the task imposed upon them. Marshal Oudinot, who formerly supported Macdonald at Polotsk, had crossed the Dwina, and was advancing, by the emperor's orders, against Count Wittgenstein. After a brilliant engagement at Jakoubowo on the 20th July, he found it prudent to retreat upon the Drissa. On the 1st August there was another successful battle, but the troops were tired, and had lost many men; the enemy were threatening. Oudinot returned to Polotsk, requiring rest and more soldiers, like Macdonald. The marshal

did not succeed in demolishing the entrenched camp at Drissa, as he had been instructed to do.

On the south-east, in the upper part of the course of the Bug, General Reynier found himself at last obliged to retreat, in order to protect the grand duchy of Warsaw, and invade Volhynia. This expedition was at first intended for the Austrians, but the will of the Emperor Francis, as well as that of Napoleon, called them to head-quarters; and Reynier's forces were to replace them in the posts which they held.

Nevertheless, the Russian General Tormazoff threatened the grand duchy, after taking possession of Kobrin, which was badly defended by the Saxons. The Diet of Warsaw took alarm. A large number of wealthy Poles collected their most valuable property, and crossed to the left bank of the Vistula. They asked assistance from the Abbé Pradt, who was as disturbed as the Poles. He wrote to Wilna, where Bassano was installed as the emperor's representative, and at the same time addressed himself to General Reynier. The latter having called Prince Swartzenberg to his assistance, they both advanced upon the Bug, thus protecting the grand duchy, without being able to rejoin the grand army or support the general movement. Admiral Tchitchakoff had just signed the peace with the Turks, and was expected to come to Tormazoff's assistance.

Following Marshal Davout's advice, after mature consideration the emperor resolved at Vitebsk to advance with his main body from the banks of the Dwina upon those of the Dnieper, cross the latter at Rassasna, and ascend quickly to Smolensk. He reckoned upon finding the town without defence, and then by a sudden movement taking the Russian in flank, and so at last inflicting upon his enemies a great military disaster. The movements of the French army were to be concealed from the enemy behind the forests abounding everywhere. It was important to conceal our march from the Russians, who were about to form their junction at Smolensk.

The Emperor Napoleon was not alone in his enthusiastic ardor for battle. Prince Bagration was, like him, fervently wishing for the moment of conflict. The soldiers of high rank who were of Russian birth and manners, were greatly vexed and prejudiced against Barclay de Tolly, and his prudent tactics, every day accusing him of cowardice, and suspecting his patriotism. Born of a Scottish family which had long been settled in Russia, Barclay was ardently devoted to his adopted

country, and could scarcely endure their unjust reproaches. The passion of the Russian generals at last gained the day, and the council of war resolved to take the offensive against the French cantonments. The projected march of our armies was unknown to the enemy when, on the 9th August, their vanguard made an attack upon General Sebastiani, who was badly defended. He at once called General Montbrun, and they both charged the Russian squadrons forty times in the course of the day, and then fell back upon Marshal Ney's forces. The Russians observed the solidity of our lines, saw the large force under Prince Eugène, and believed there were indications of a march towards St. Petersburg. Barclay took advantage of the uneasiness which he saw around him, and fell back upon Smolensk. The Emperor Napoleon now commenced the march.

On the morning of the 14th August, the whole army had crossed the Dnieper. With 175,000 men under the flags, an immense artillery, wagons and innumerable troops, the vast solitude of the ancient Borysthenes was suddenly transformed into a camp. The march continued towards Smolensk: before Krasnoe, after a rather keen fight, General Névéroffskoi was driven back to the town of Korytnia. Nearly all the corps had rejoined the emperor when, on the 16th August, the advance guard debouched before Smolensk. At a single glance of the eye, the generals were convinced that the town was in a state of defence. A useless attempt was made to take the citadel by storm; Ney, who had imprudently advanced, fell into an ambush, and was only with difficulty rescued by his light cavalry. The Russians were already seen occupying the heights on the right bank of the Dnieper, in the suburbs, and above the new town. Barclay had taken up his position there, and a large force occupied the old town on the left bank, both parts of the town being connected by a bridge. Prince Bagration had advanced beyond Smolensk, to protect the banks of the Dnieper, and prevent Napoleon, on crossing the river, from attacking the town and its defenders from behind.

Though the taking of Smolensk formed no part of his original plan, Napoleon was obliged to make the attack. The possession of that ancient and venerable town had great importance in the eyes of Russians. Nevertheless the emperor had the river sounded some distance off, hoping to find a ford which would allow of a surprise. It was impossible to throw over bridges, on account of the nearness of Prince Bagration, whose

troops lay on the banks of the Kolodnia, a tributary of the Dnieper; and, so far as these observations were taken, the river was not fordable. Napoleon waited for a day, hoping that Barclay would leave the heights of the new town to offer him battle; and, on the Russian making no movement, the assault was ordered.

The fighting was continued a whole day on the 17th. The suburbs of the old town were in our hands, but the old enclosure, with its irregular brick towers, still resisted our attack. The Russians no longer made sallies, but defended themselves heroically behind the walls. Most of the emperor's lieutenants had been opposed to the siege, and Murat, it is said, wished to be killed. He went to a part which was incessantly battered by the guns from the ramparts, and said to his aides-de-camp, "Leave me alone here." Napoleon gave orders to cease the assault. Marshal Davout sent a party to reconnoitre, General Haxo braving a storm of fire to discover the weak point of the enclosure: and the attack was to begin again next morning at daybreak. "I must have Smolensk," said the emperor.

The Russians had already seen Napoleon's obstinacy, and felt that they could no longer repulse the efforts of our arms. The bombshells had already set fire to several parts, and during the night the whole of the town was in flames, kindled by the Russians. Their battalions were withdrawn, and the old town gradually evacuated. Barclay de Tolly prepared to follow their example. At sunrise Davout entered without difficulty into Smolensk in flames. The women and children, collected in the ancient Byzantine cathedral, seemed the mere remnant of a wretched population. Many men had fled; and the bridge, which joined both banks, being cut, the Russian army had started before us on the road to Moscow, without any possibility of our at once pursuing them. Napoleon passed on horseback through the smoking and blood-stained streets. Surgeon Larrey, faithful to the sentiments of humanity which always distinguished him, had the Russian wounded collected as well as the French.

The emperor looked gloomy and discontented. Though victorious, the army was depressed: the first town taken by assault, burnt before them by the determined hatred of its defenders, seemed to the soldiers a sinister omen. They were all tired of a war which imposed upon them unheard-of efforts without any glory coming to console them with its accustomed

intoxication. "The war is not a national one," said Count Daru recently at Vitebsk; "the importation of a few English goods into Russia, or even the rising of the Polish nation, is not a sufficient reason for so remote an enterprise. Neither your troops nor your generals understand the necessity of it. Let us stop while at least there is still time."

The same advice was repeated at Smolensk, on that bank of the river gained by such bravery, and difficult to leave without danger, in order to plunge into an unknown and hostile country, far from the reinforcements which were still being prepared in Germany. Before attacking Smolensk, Napoleon said to Prince Eugène, "We are going to give battle, and then we shall see Moscow." "Always Moscow! Moscow will be our ruin," muttered the Viceroy of Italy as he left the emperor. Nearly all the military leaders felt the same fears.

Marshal Ney rushed with his troops in pursuit of Barclay, and overtook two Russian columns on the plain of Valoutina behind a small muddy stream, over which they had to throw a bridge. Here a keenly contested fight cost us the life of General Gudin, when obstinately carrying the passage at the point of the bayonet. Our columns were embarrassed in their attack by the marshy ground. The Russians kept their positions till night; and when at last obliged to quit the plateau more than 13,000 to 14,000 of both sides lay dead on the field of battle. The enemy's columns resumed their retreat, and continued to intercept our route to Moscow.

Thus, without a single check to diminish the prestige of our arms—after constantly defeating the Russians in the partial engagements which had taken place—after occupying, without fighting or taking by assault, every place in our way, we found ourselves, after two months' campaigning, with an army less by a half, in the very heart of Russia, unable to reach the enemy, who were retreating without running away—further than when at Wilna from that peace, desired by all, which Napoleon wished to impose under glorious circumstances immediately after a victory. The pacific messages of the Emperor Alexander had long accompanied our invasion of his states. Now they ceased, and the sudden summer of the north was soon about to disappear. "That would make a fine station for a cantonment," said Count Lobau, the heroic General Mouton, as he looked at the position and old walls of Smolensk. The emperor made no reply.

He was hesitating or reflecting, because he waited. On our

right, General Reynier and Prince Schwartzenberg, with the Saxons and Austrians, had dislodged the Russians from the important position of Gorodeczna at several leagues from Kobrin; thus opening, with considerable difficulty, the intercepted road to the grand duchy. On the left, Marshal Oudinot, hurt at the emperor severely blaming him because when victorious he took the position of the conquered, had advanced against Count Wittgenstein, although the Russians would not accept battle. The marshal again fell back on the Drissa and Polota; a strong detachment, however, covered the latter river, and on the Russians presenting themselves for the attack they were repulsed. Oudinot was wounded, and the command devolved upon General Gouvion St. Cyr, who was also slightly wounded. On the 18th August, having resolved to give battle, he directed his troops from a small Polish carriage, which was overturned in the thick of the conflict, and the general was trodden under foot. In spite of the exhaustion of the soldiers, and their leader's pain and ill-health, the feigned retreat which had deceived the Russians, as well as the battle itself, were crowned with brilliant success. After the battle of Polotsk, Wittgenstein was compelled to withdraw, and Gouvion St. Cyr received at last his marshal's baton. His instructions were to guard the Dwina, while Macdonald was kept before Riga, unable to take it or raise the siege. The two corps were now deprived of communication, as soon as the main body was still further removed from its wings, now isolated on the right and left. The emperor was resolved to leave Smolensk, and at every cost pursue the battle which was running from him. Davout and Murat, always at the head of the army, and perpetually at strife in their military operations, agreed, however, in affirming that the Russians certainly showed a real intention of fighting. Napoleon went himself towards Dorogobouje.

A last effort was attempted by those about him to make him stop at Smolensk. General Rapp, just arrived from Germany, could not conceal his emotion and astonishment. "The army has only marched a hundred leagues since the Niemen," said he. "I saw it before crossing, and already everything is changed. The officers, arriving by posting from the interior of France, are frightened at the sight which meets their eyes. They had no conception that a victorious march without battles could leave behind it more ruins than a defeat." "You have left Europe, as it were, have you not?" said Murat and

Berthier. "Should Europe rise against your Majesty, you will only have your soldiers for subjects, and your camp for empire; nay, the third of that even being foreign, will become hostile." Napoleon granted the truth of the facts. "I am well aware that the state of the army is frightful. From Wilna half of them could not keep up, or were left behind; and to-day there are two thirds. There is therefore no more time to lose. Peace must be had at any cost, and it is in Moscow. Besides, this army cannot now halt; its composition and disorganization are now such that it is kept up by movement alone. One can advance at its head, but cannot stop or retreat. It is an army of attack, not of defence; an army of operation, not of position. I shall strike a great blow, and all will rally."

When leaving Smolensk, on the 24th August, with his guard, the emperor had not yet come to a final decision as to his advance, but all his measures were taken with that result in view, and his skilful lieutenants were not deceived. Marshal Victor was already on his way to Wilna, and Napoleon sent him orders to march at once towards Smolensk. Two divisions of the army of reserve, left in Germany under the orders of Marshal Augereau, were summoned to Lithuania. When the emperor learned, on arriving at Dorogobouje, that the enemy was again escaping from him, he concluded that General Barclay was ready to fight him, and was seeking for a favorable position. "We are told that he awaits us at Wiazma," wrote Napoleon to the Duke of Bassano on 26th August; "we shall be there in a few days. We shall then be half-way between Smolensk and Moscow, and forty leagues, I believe, from Moscow. If the enemy is beaten there, nothing can protect that great capital, and I shall be there on the 5th September."

The day was in fact come, and the battle which Napoleon had so long desired was at last to be offered, given, and gained—with no other result except more deeply involving us in a desperate enterprise and consummating our ruin. The Russians having evacuated Wiazma, it was only at Ghjat that the emperor at last felt certain of encountering the enemy. The command of the Muscovite armies had changed hands: the cry raised since the beginning of the campaign against Barclay's prudent tactics, at last overbore the Czar's confidence in that able general, and old Kutusof had been placed at the head of the troops. Keenly patriotic, and long engaged in the struggle against the man who had conquered him at Austerlitz, the

new general-in-chief appealed to all the national and religious passions by which his soldiers were animated. "It is in the faith," said he, "that I wish to fight and conquer; it is in the faith that I wish to conquer or die, and that my eyes shall see victory. Soldiers, think of your wives and children who claim your protection; think of your emperor who is looking upon you; and before to-morrow's sun has disappeared, you shall have written your piety and fidelity upon the fields of your country with the blood of the aggressor and his legions." The priests, clothed in their most sumptuous robes, were already carrying the holy images at the head of the regiments, while the soldiers knelt down to receive absolution. The French army was near.

The emperor having been ill for several days, his assistants found him depressed and undecided at the very moment when he was at last attaining the object of his desires. There was still a constant quarrel between Murat and Davout. The marshal blamed the King of Naples for imposing too much work upon the cavalry, and forbade the infantry of the advanced guard to manœuvre without his express orders. The complaints of his lieutenants reached Napoleon, but he made no more efforts to reconcile them. Having a fixed ill-will against Davout, he compelled him to place under Murat's orders one of his divisions which had been refused to the King of Naples. The emperor had shown more ill-temper than usual; and on one occasion he said to Berthier himself, the most devoted of his old friends "And you, too, are you one of those who wish to stop? As you are only an old woman, you may go back to Paris. I can do very well without you." For several days the Prince of Neuchâtel refused to appear at the emperor's table.

The imperial staff had now left Wiazma. When occupying that small town, Napoleon had himself run after and horse-whipped some soldiers who were pillaging and destroying a shop. He pursued his journey under the blue sky and an exhausting heat, listening to the simple talk of a young Cossack, who had been taken prisoner that very morning amongst the Russian soldiers who had lagged behind. Lelorgne d'Ideville, the excellent interpreter who attended the emperor, put questions to the soldier. "Nobody wishes to keep Barclay," said the young Cossack; "they say that there is another general. They would all have been beaten long ago but for the Cossacks. No matter, there is going to be a great battle. If it takes place

within three days, the French will gain it; but, if it is delayed longer, God only knows what will happen. It seems the French have a general called Bonaparte, who has always conquered all his enemies. Perhaps he will not be so fortunate this time; they are waiting for large reinforcements in order to make a stand." The emperor having made a sign, Lelorgne leant over towards the young Cossack's saddle and said, "That is General Bonaparte beside you—the Emperor Napoleon." The soldier opened his eyes and looked at the face of the great conqueror whose name had, like some tale of wonder, reached even his savage tribe: he said nothing, when Napoleon gave orders that he should be restored to liberty.

The weather becoming bad, the rain fell in torrents, and rendering the march of the army difficult, many soldiers left the ranks to pillage, their provisions being short; and the emperor bitterly reproached his lieutenants with a state of things which they could not prevent. "The army is in that way threatened with destruction," wrote Napoleon, "even from Ghjat. The number of prisoners made by the enemy amounts every day to several hundred. Let the Duke of Elchingen know that he is daily losing more men than if we were fighting, and that it is therefore necessary that the foraging expeditions should be better managed, and the men should not go so far away."

Order was not restored in the army when, on the 5th September, it debouched upon the plain of Borodino. Following the table-lands extending between the Baltic and Black Sea, we descended the slopes by which the Moskwa on the left, and the Protwa on the right, flow towards the Oka, a tributary of the Volga. The rain ceasing, Napoleon was encouraged by the appearance of the sky to hope for fine weather. At one time he thought of returning towards Smolensk; but when the sun reappeared he cried, "The lot is cast; let us set out." He at last found himself face to face with the Russians.

General Kutusof had taken advantage of the natural position. Entrenched on the left behind the river Kolocza, he had raised a series of earthen redoubts, furnished with a formidable artillery, to defend the small heights at the foot of which were extended the Russian battalions. The course of the river changing its direction at the point where the village of Borodino was placed, the heights were there protected only by hollows. It was this position which Napoleon first gave orders to attack, in order to carry a detached redoubt placed

on a mamelon. Our troops had scarcely arrived, and night was approaching, but after a very severe engagement the advanced work of Schwardino remained in our power. The whole of the 6th of September was spent in reconnoitring. Several of the corps had not yet joined the main body. Marshal Davout proposed to cross the thick curtain of forest extending on the left of the Russian army, and by taking the old Moscow road, turn the enemy's positions and seize their troops between two fires. Napoleon refused, thinking this movement too dangerous. He himself seemed disturbed and ill at ease; with his head in hand, and deeply plunged in thought, he all at once tore himself from his meditations to make sure of the execution of some orders. "Are you confident of victory?" he asked General Rapp, abruptly. "Certainly," replied he, "but with much bloodshed." "Ah! that is true," said the emperor. "But I have 80,000 men; if I lose 20,000, I shall enter Moscow with 60,000; the soldiers who have fallen behind will join us, and then the marching battalion. We shall be stronger than before the battle." In enumerating his forces, Napoleon did not reckon his cavalry or the guard. He was still ill, being under an attack of fever, but it was with a voice of the greatest firmness that he again harangued his troops. "Soldiers!" said he, "this is the battle which you have so much wished for. The victory now depends upon yourselves. It is necessary for you; it will give us abundance, good quarters in winter, and a ready return to our own country. Behave as you did at Austerlitz, Friedland, Vitebsk, and Smolensk, and so that the most remote posterity may quote your conduct this day. Let them say of you, 'He was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow!'"

On the 7th, before daybreak, Napoleon was already on the battlefield, near the redoubt which had been gained on the evening of the 5th. The troops had received orders to look their very best. Stretching his hand towards the sky the emperor exclaimed, "See! it is an Austerlitz scene!" The bright rays, however, were in the soldiers' faces, and the Russians had more advantage from their brilliancy than we. At seven o'clock the combat broke out on the left: Prince Eugène carried the village of Borodino, but his troops, being too eager, crossed the bridge instead of breaking it down, and were crushed under the fire of the enemy's artillery, placed on the heights of Gorki. The attack became general—so passionate and violent, that on both sides they scarcely took time to ma-

nceuvre. For the first time in his long career as head of an army, the emperor remained in the rear, looking on the struggle without taking part in it, yet opposing the eager demands of his generals for reinforcements. "If there is a second battle to-morrow, what troops shall I give it with?" he replied to Berthier, who entreated him to send assistance to Murat and Ney, on their carrying the enemy's redoubts. Generals fell on every side, dead or severely wounded. They hurriedly bound up the wounds of Marshal Davout, who was seriously hurt; and Rapp, wounded for the twenty-second time in his life, was carried before the emperor. "Always Rapp!" said Napoleon; "and what is going on over there?" "Sire, they want the guard, in order to put an end to it," replied the general's aide-de-camp. "No," retorted the emperor, "I won't have them destroyed. It is not when 800 leagues from home that one risks his last resource."

During this long day this was Napoleon's constant reply to all the leaders of divisions who believed they held in their hands the foretaste of victory, or who saw officers and soldiers slaughtered around them. Napoleon was waiting for a propitious moment, to decide himself the success of the day. "It is too soon," he repeated several times; "the hour for me to join in the fight personally is not yet come; I must see the whole chess-board more clearly." The reserve artillery, however, had been authorized to advance, and crowned the heights which had just been taken from the Russians. The enemy's cavalry came to dash against that unsurmountable obstacle; their infantry fell in dense files, without withdrawing or breaking. For two hours the Russian regiments remained exposed to this terrible fire. Marshal Ney at last turned what were left of this heroic corps, commanded by Prince Bagration. The struggle gradually ceased in the plain; the heights remained partially in the hands of the Russians; Prince Eugène used his utmost endeavors to take the great redoubt; and Prince Poniatowski was unable to force the old Moscow road. In vain did Murat and Ney demand loudly for the advance of the guard, still remaining motionless. For a moment the arguments of General Belliard seemed to take effect, and the order to march was given to the young guard. Count Lobau was already putting them in motion under the pretext of rectifying their lines, but Kutuzoff, till then motionless and inactive, had anticipated Napoleon in his final determination, and throwing forward his cavalry of reserve, the forces again

formed in the plain, and a charge of the enemy, came pouring upon the divisions which held it. The emperor stopped the guard, forbidding an operation which, though recently likely to be successful, was now dangerous from the delay. The gap made in the centre of the Russian army by the untiring efforts of Murat and Ney was now closed up; the Russians again occupied their outer works; their ardor and courage never slackened under the fire of our artillery. The great redoubt, however, having been carried, and the Moscow road being abandoned, the generals who still miraculously survived after having a hundred times exposed their lives, asked to try a supreme effort to throw back the enemy and drive him into the Moskwa. Napoleon left his post, and came to inspect himself the point of attack. Marshal Bessières was not disposed to risk the guard; and Napoleon once more resisted all urgent demands. He instructed Marshal Mortier to occupy the field of battle with the young guard; and night being come, the battle at last ceased. "I do not ask you to advance, or commence any engagement," repeated Napoleon twice; and calling back the Marshal as he was going off, "You thoroughly understand? Keep the battle-field, without advancing or retreating, whatever may happen." The Russians had not yet evacuated all their positions, and the conquered and conquerors, both equally heroic, were extended in confusion on the plain. Several Russian detachments threw up a rampart of dead bodies. When on the morrow General Kutuzoff effected his brave retreat, he left no soldiers lagging behind, and the wounded who died on the march were religiously buried. The Emperor Alexander's army left 60,000 dead or dying on the plain of Borodino—or the battle-field of the Moskwa, as Napoleon himself named that terrible day. Prince Bagration was killed.

The battle of the Moskwa caused in our ranks 30,000 dead and wounded. Ten generals had succumbed, including Montbrun and Caulaincourt, brother of the Duke of Vicenza. Thirty-nine general officers were wounded: and ten colonels killed, and twenty-seven wounded. Three days were scarcely sufficient to attend to the dead and wounded. The abbey of Kolotskoi and the neighboring villages were converted into provisional hospitals, under the direction of General Junot, commandant of the Westphalians. The emperor had advanced towards Mojaïsk, and Murat followed with his decimated regiments. Napoleon refused Davout the command of

the advanced guard. The town was attacked on the 9th: some attempts had been made to set it on fire, but the walls and houses were still standing when the emperor fixed his abode there for several days. It was there that he reviewed the state of his losses on the 7th. He had gone over the battlefield, showing more emotion and compunction than usual at the sight of the frightful carnage which had signalized the battle. Only 800 prisoners remained in our hands. The soldiers well knew that the number of captives was an indisputable sign of the importance of a victory. They beheld with terror the heaps of their enemies' corpses. "They all prefer death to being taken!" said they. "Eight days of Moscow," exclaimed the emperor, "and the enemy will not be seen again." He still remained ill and moody, however; and on the previous evening wrote to Marshal Victor, "The enemy when attacked in the heart no longer attends to his extremities; tell the Duke of Belluna to direct everything, battalions, squadrons, artillery, and isolated men, upon Smolensk, so that he may come from there to Moscow."

It was indeed upon Holy Moscow, the traditional capital of old Russia, that the hopes of Napoleon were now concentrated, hoping there to conclude a peace, and finish a war which he himself felt to be above human strength. Several weeks previously the Czar had left Moscow and returned to St. Petersburg, whence he watched at a distance, and without military skill, the defence of his empire. He upheld the courage of his subjects, however, and had personally obtained from them great sacrifices. The lords assembled round him, in the cradle and tomb of nobility, as they called Moscow, had voted the levy of every tenth serf, armed, equipped, and supplied with three months' provisions. The merchants offered the emperor half their wealth. On the approach of the French, and while waiting for the defence of the old capital, the orders of Rostopchin, the governor, forbade the evacuation of the town. Women, children, old men, on carts and carriages, loaded with goods, money, and furniture, slowly removed from the town, where their husbands, sons and brothers still remained. "The less fear the less danger," said the governor. Kutuzoff's proclamations at first represented the battle of Borodino as a disputed combat, which left the Russian army standing, and capable of defending Moscow; but when their battalions appeared before the gates of the capital the sad truth struck the eyes of all. Whatever it might cost the invader, the national

army was beaten, and Moscow could not repulse an attack. There was an immediate and constantly-increasing rush to leave the place. Popular rumor described the French as fierce monsters, worthy of that emperor whom Alexander himself had portrayed as a "Moloch, with treason in his heart and loyalty on his lips, come to efface Russia from the surface of the world."

In his real heart Kutuzoff had decided what to do. Skilful and cunning, without presence of mind or great courage on the field of battle, he could direct the operations of a campaign, and choose the proper mode of leading his country's enemies to their downfall. Nevertheless, he held a council of war, being determined to make the other generals share the weight of a terrible responsibility. Must they defend Moscow by a second battle in open field, wait for the enemy behind the walls, and dispute with him, foot by foot, the possession of the town? Must they abandon the capital, and, as it was recommended by Barclay de Tolly, always bravely true to his original purpose, retreat to Vladimir, and thus cover the road to St. Petersburg? All these proposals were proposed, and keenly discussed. Several spoke in favor of immediate and unflinching resistance, who would have bitterly regretted the adoption of their advice. At last the old general rose: he had listened to all their speeches without speaking, and only shook his head, to signify, as it were, his strong conviction that whether his head were good or bad, it had to make the final decision of the question.

He gave his orders, which showed great skill and prudence. The army was to pass through Moscow without halting, without assisting in any preparation for resistance, or joining in any skirmish even when on the rearguard; then falling back upon Riazan, it was, after several days, to occupy the road to Kalouga, and thus intercept the way to the French, while preserving communication with the provinces in the south of the empire, which are the richest and most fertile. The troops at once began to defile. Behind them long convoys hurried to escape the French. Five sixths of the population had quitted the town when the columns of those wounded in the battle of Borodino appeared at their doors, and they were obliged to crowd their hospitals and churches with 15,000. By abandoning their capital the Russians entrusted these wretches to the pity of their enemies.

The governor of Moscow, Count Rostopchin, had not yet

left the town. On the previous evening he trusted to the assurances of Kutuzoff, that the capital would be keenly defended. "There will be fighting in the streets," said he, in his proclamations. "The courts are already closed, but that does not matter; there is no need of courts to do justice to ruffians. I shall soon give you the signal; take care to provide yourselves with hatchets, and especially three-pronged forks, for a Frenchman does not weigh more than a sheaf of corn. I shall have mass said for the wounded, and holy water to hasten their cure. I shall then join General Kutuzoff, and we shall soon set about sending those guests to the devil, forcing them to give up the ghost, and reducing them to powder."

Kutuzoff, nevertheless, withdrew, not less resolute, but more skilful than Count Rostopchin. It was then that the latter conceived an idea, the responsibility of which, as well as the honor, rests entirely upon him. Nobody was consulted; and it is not known whether the Emperor Alexander, with some anticipation of gloomy fate crossing his mind, may not have beforehand granted the dread authority to the governor of his capital. For several days inflammable substances had been collected in the garden of his palace. At the moment of leaving the town, Rostopchin ordered the prisons to be opened, and the hideous crowd of condemned prisoners jostled and mixed with the half-frantic citizens who were fleeing before the French. The governor retained two prisoners—one a Frenchman, lately come to Moscow to earn a living; the other, a Russian, and both accused of having acted as agents of the enemy. "Go," said Rostopchin to the Frenchman, "you have been ungrateful but you have the right to prefer your country; you are now again free, go back to your own people. As for you," he added, turning to the Russian, "let even your own father be your judge." An old merchant came near, tottering under the weight of his grief. "You may speak to him and bless him," said the governor. "Me bless a traitor!" exclaimed the old man; and, raising his hands to heaven, he cursed his son, who was immediately beheaded. The mob showed their keen vindictiveness in their treatment of his body.

Count Rostopchin at last left Moscow, letting all precede him, like the captain who hesitates to abandon the sinking ship. He had given all his instructions. All the baggage all the wealth, he took with him, were the fire engines of that great city, which was nearly entirely built of wood. "Of

what use are those in the country?" asked Colonel Wolzogen, with astonishment. "I have my reasons," replied the governor; then, leaving the last friends who still accompanied him, he turned round, and pointing with his finger to Moscow, and then touching the sleeve of his coat, he said, "I take away nothing except what is on my back." He went towards his country house at Voronovo.

Meantime, however, the French advanced guard were approaching Moscow. Several slight skirmishes had taken place during the march, and Kutuzoff succeeded in protecting his retreat. When Murat appeared at the head of the first columns, General Miloradovitch, who commanded the Russian rearguard, made a verbal agreement with the King of Naples to suspend hostilities for several hours, for the protection of the troops, and the safety of the citizens. Murat agreed to it, limiting himself to the pursuit of the Russians when they should have completed their evacuation of Moscow.

The soldiers, as well as the generals and Napoleon himself, were delighted at the distant sight of that town, illuminated by the rays of the setting sun, which brought into full relief the Oriental brilliance of its palaces and churches. "Moscow!" "Moscow!" they repeated from one end of the ranks to the other. The emperor added to the enthusiastic expression of his troops another thought: "Not a moment too soon!" he muttered.

The great conqueror was deceived, and divine justice punished more completely than he anticipated his guilty ambition and insatiable pride. The dense ranks of the French soldiers presented themselves before the gates of the capital, without any one coming to open them. Several ragged wretches, with gloomy looks appeared on the turrets of the Kremlin and fired a few shots; but while passing along the streets of Moscow, among palaces mixed with cottages—before golden-domed churches, adorned with paintings of a thousand colors—our soldiers wondered, and felt uneasy at the solitude which reigned around them. "What is become of them?" they asked. It was not thus that the French army had entered Berlin or Vienna. "Let the head men of the town be brought to me!" ordered the emperor. The population of Moscow had no longer any head men. Those who hid themselves in terror in the houses, or wept in the churches, felt themselves at the mercy of the ruffians whom the governor, by quitting Moscow, had let loose upon them. The door of the Kremlin had to be

burst open with cannon-balls before the old palace of the Czars could be rid of the wretches who had shut themselves up in it. Napoleon took possession of it, without at first fixing his abode there, curious to admire its barbarous magnificence, not yet subjected to the influence of French elegance like the houses of the rich merchants already occupied by his generals. The whole army gazed with delight upon this strange and long-anticipated sight. On the 15th September, 1812, the Emperor Napoleon and his soldiers passed through the streets of Moscow, deserted, but still standing. They examined the concentric quarters, like a series of ramparts round the Kremlin; the old or Chinese town, the centre of Oriental commerce; the white town, with its broad streets and gilt palaces, the quarter of the great nobles and rich merchants; and all round the privileged districts: the "land town," composed of villages and gardens, interspersed with magnificent houses.

All the military posts were chosen. On the north-west, south-west, and south-east, between the roads to Riazan and Vladimir, the forces of Prince Eugène, Davout, Poniatowski, and Ney had taken their quarters. The guard occupied the Kremlin. Soldiers and generals enjoyed the luxury which had been preceded by the cruel privation of the months immediately preceding. "We have provisions for six months," said the soldiers.

On the morning of the 16th fire broke out in a spirit-warehouse, and some hours afterwards in a magnificent bazaar which was filled with valuable goods. The officers blamed for it the stupidity of a drunken soldier. They at once battled with the fire, but the wind was contrary, and the wealth heaped up in the warehouses became a prey to the flames and pillage, which it was impossible to prevent. The fire soon spread even to the neighborhood of the Kremlin, and the sparks, carried by the equinoctial breeze, fell from all parts on the gilded roofs. The courts of the palace being crowded with artillery wagons, and the cellars heaped up with ammunition which the Russians had neglected to take with them, a horrible catastrophe seemed imminent. The generals had great difficulty in persuading Napoleon to leave the Kremlin. The imperial guard, acting as firemen, inundated incessantly the roofs and walls. The fire-engines of the city were searched for in vain. Soon there was a rumor spread that incendiaries had been arrested in several quarters.

The emperor ordered these wretches to be brought before

him. They were proud of the terrible mission with which they had been entrusted, taking a delight in the fatal disorder produced under their hands, pillaging and murdering in the houses which they delivered up to the flames. They all made a bold declaration of the orders they had received, and underwent unflinchingly the extremest punishment. The poor population, who had remained concealed in the lowest haunts of the capital, now fled in terror, the women carrying with them their children, the men dragging behind them the most valuable of their household goods, or the shameful results of pillaging the shops. The flames extended from street to street, house to house, church to church: thrice the wind seemed to fall, and thrice it changed its direction, driving the fire into quarters previously untouched. The Kremlin remained always surrounded by fire. The imperial guard had not quitted the palace. The army carried their cantonments outside the town. When scarcely fallen into the hands of the conquerors, Moscow succumbed before a more powerful enemy, enrolled for the defence of the country. Palaces and huts were both become uninhabitable, and the hospitals, filled with wounded Russians, had perished in the flames. The emperor quitted Moscow, and took up his quarters at Petrowskoi. For three days the conflagration remained alone in possession of the capital.

The wind falling, was succeeded by rain. The fire everywhere brooded under the dead ashes, ready to burst out afresh at the contact of air; but the spectacle had lost its avenging beauty. The roofs left standing were relieved against the columns of smoke. The Kremlin still rose majestic, and almost untouched, as if protecting the city against its various enemies. The soldiers soon began to steal from their cantonments into the streets; and in the cellars of the houses, under heaps of rubbish, protected by walls blackened with the flames, they found provisions collected by households for the winter; valuable clothes; plate which had been carefully concealed in hiding-places which no longer existed; objects of art, of which the finders did not know the value; strong drink, which they madly used to intoxicate themselves. After the fire, in spite of the efforts of the officers, Moscow was delivered up to pillage.

So much disorder and mad prodigality shocked all the Emperor Napoleon's instincts of order and government. Returning hastily to Moscow, he repressed by his mere presence the

outrages of the soldiers. Regular search was everywhere organized for the collection of provisions buried under the ruins, and bringing them into stores. The resources collected in a few days were sufficient to supply the troops for a long time. Forage alone was wanting, and companies were formed for the purpose of scouring the country round Moscow. The prices offered to the peasantry for their stock was expected to encourage them to supply the markets of the capital. Napoleon even considered the interests of the wretches who wandered, defenceless and houseless, in the streets of Moscow, or timidly glided into the town at the opening of the gates to look for those they had been compelled to abandon, and the remainder of their property concealed under ruined walls. Huts were erected to shelter them.

The desire for peace daily took stronger possession of Napoleon's mind, and he had already authorized several indirect overtures. On the 20th September he thus wrote the Czar:

"My brother, having learned that the brother of your Imperial Majesty's minister was at Moscow, I sent for him, and had some conversation with him. I requested him to wait upon your Majesty, and acquaint you with my sentiments. The handsome and superb city of Moscow no longer exists. Rostopchin has had it burnt. Four hundred incendiaries were taken in the act; and having all declared that they had lighted the fire by order of that governor and the director of police, they were shot. The fire at last seems to have ceased. Three fourths of the houses are burnt, and one fourth remain. Such conduct is atrocious, and serves no purpose. Was the intention to deprive us of some resources? But those resources were in the cellars, which the fire could not reach. Besides, why destroy one of the finest towns of the world, and the work of ages, to accomplish so paltry an object? It is the procedure followed since Smolensk, and it has reduced 600,000 families to beggary. The fire-engines of Moscow were broken or carried off, and some arms from the arsenal given to ruffians, who could not be driven from the Kremlin without using cannon. Humanity, the interests of your Majesty and this great city, demanded that it should have been entrusted to my keeping, since it was deserted by the Russian army. They ought to have left administrations, magistrates, and civil guards. That is what was done at Vienna twice, at Berlin, and Madrid; and what we have ourselves done at Milan, when Souwarof entered. Incendiarism causes pillage, the soldier abandoning himself to

it to rescue what is left from the flames. If I thought such things were done by your Majesty's orders, I should not write you this letter; but I consider it impossible that, with your principles, heart, and sense of justice, you have authorized such excesses, unworthy of a great sovereign and a great nation. While carrying away the fire-engines from Moscow, they left 150 field caannon, 60,000 new muskets, 1,600,000 infantry cartridges, more than 200 tons of powder, 150 tons of saltpetre, and also of sulphur, etc.

"I made war upon your Majesty without animosity. A letter from you before or after the last battle would have stopped my march, and I should have been ready to forego the advantage of entering Moscow. If your Majesty still retains aught of your former sentiments, you will take this letter in good part. In any case, you must feel indebted to me for giving an account of what is taking place in Moscow."

When thus writing to the Emperor Alexander, Napoleon well knew that the material disasters of the burning of Moscow were exceeded by the moral results, and that the ruins of the capital were a proclamation to the French army, to Russia, and to the whole of Europe, of the implacable resolution of the old Muscovites. Rostopchin himself had written on the iron door of his splendid country-house at Voronovo: "For eight years I have been improving this estate, and have lived here happy in the bosom of my family. The inhabitants of this estate, to the number of 1720, leave it at your approach, and I set fire to my house that it may not be polluted by your presence. Frenchmen, I have left you my two houses in Moscow, with contents worth half a million of roubles. Here you will find nothing but ashes."

The hatred which he had excited against the invader was afterwards to fall back upon himself. Count Rostopchin, driven from Russia by the execration of all those whom he had ruined, was compelled to take refuge in France, where he died in peace, honored by his former enemies. He had nevertheless rendered to Russia one of those terrible services excused by a state still half barbarous, and that violent patriotism by which the soul is possessed in presence of foreign invasion. He revived in the Russian people the unconquerable ardor of resistance. Moscow on fire was an appeal to the eyes and hearts of all.

Napoleon understood this well. Besides, other difficulties were becoming extreme. Time was passing; no reply arrived

from St. Petersburg, and the emperor's overtures made to Kutuzoff by Lauriston remained without result. The attempt to continue hostilities was unsuccessful, General Sebastiani having been deceived as to the direction taken by Kutuzoff, and, after following him in vain for two or three days, compelled to return to Moscow. Murat being again put in command of the advanced guard, met the enemy on the Pakra, after being joined by Marshal Bessières. In spite of the cries of his army, who were furious at the burning of Moscow, and wished to march to battle, Kutuzoff slowly retreated before the French generals, and finally pitched his camp at Taroutino on the road to Kaluga. Two cavalry engagements terminated successfully for our arms. Napoleon's lieutenants waited for his orders. A sort of armistice reigned between the two armies. Murat had several times seen Kutuzoff; and the Russian officers overwhelmed him with attentions. He showed himself in favor of peace, concluded by him and through his exertions. The Cossack chiefs celebrated his exploits, one of them surnaming him the "hetmann." Kutuzoff had sent Prince Wolkonsky to St. Petersburg, with instructions to communicate to the Czar the pacific advances which had been made. Alexander replied on the 21st October: "All the opinions which you have received from me, all the determinations expressed in the orders addressed to you by me—everything ought to convince you that my resolution is immovable, and that at the present moment no proposal of the enemy can make me think of terminating the war, and so failing in the sacred duty of avenging our outraged country."

Before the Emperor Alexander thus expressed his resolution of listening to no offers of peace, his enemy had already evacuated Moscow—beginning, whatever pain it cost him and whatever care he took to conceal it, a retrograde movement, which was soon to be the consummation of his ruin. Napoleon long hesitated as to what route he should take. By advancing upon Kaluga in pursuit of Kutuzoff he should plunge further into Russia, towards regions where he should be without winter-quarters and communication with the rear. By resuming the road to Poland, as all his lieutenants wished, he should tacitly admit his defeat. He conceived the idea of making the Duke of Belluna march upon St. Petersburg, reckoning that, on his arrival and while threatening the capital and court, he could effect an oblique movement northwards by Woskresensk, Wolokolamsk, and Bieloï, and then

concentrate all his forces at Smolensk. Winter being past, Napoleon would then be in a position to attack St. Petersburg in earnest. To satisfy his own mind, the emperor wrote out this plan before speaking of it to the generals, who were waiting, full of serious thought, to know his determination.

They all opposed Napoleon's new plans: all repeating that he did not take into account the hardships of the army, that he over-reckoned the strength of the corps, that the soldiers were incapable of any fresh effort. He went over, with Count Lobau, the statistics of the different regiments and the detachments in charge of generals at a distance. "There, six thousand." "Four thousand, sire," said the general. "Ten thousand here." "Five at the most." "You are perhaps right," the emperor admitted. But on coming to sum up the total of his resources, he always went back to his first inaccurate reckoning, the truthful and blunt obstinacy of Lobau being unable to overcome his master's voluntary illusions. Nevertheless, Napoleon understood that he could now no longer, by the mere superiority of his genius, take his lieutenants along with him without discussion or hesitation. He did not insist upon marching northwards. Count Daru's proposal was to spend the winter in Moscow. From his administrative experience, he concluded that their supplies were sufficient for the army, while the troops should thus be spared all the hardships and difficulties of travelling. In spring, all the army corps would be again brought together, there would be a rising in Lithuania, and the emperor could complete his conquest. Napoleon turned toward his faithful servant, and looked upon his energetic features, his robust figure, and the resolution which shone in his looks. "My dear Daru," said he, "that advice is lion-like, but I should require lions to put it in execution. You are right, Moscow is not a military position, it is a political position. Yet what would be said in Paris? what would become of France during that long absence, without possible communication? No, it is impossible. Austria and Prussia would take advantage of it to betray me."

The emperor came back to the idea of marching upon Kaluga, and driving Kutuzoff from the camp of Taroutino, summoning the Duke of Belluna to join him in order to keep up communications with Smolensk, at the same time leaving Marshal Mortier in the Kremlin with 10,000 men to occupy and preserve Moscow. Preparations were being made for this purpose, when, on the 18th of October, cannon were heard on

the road which Napoleon was making ready to follow, and speedily one of Murat's aides-de-camp appeared. The King of Naples, who had long complained of the isolation in which he was left, was careless in his guard, and had been attacked by Kutuzoff at Winkowo. The Russian army taking advantage of all the delays which gradually diminished our forces, had increased theirs; and their general had 100,000 men at his disposal, when he yielded to the urgent request of his lieutenants, and all at once made an attack with two corps upon our positions. Murat's personal courage and skill in the field partly compensated for the faults of his imprudence. He repulsed the enemy's attack, and fell back upon Voronovo, continuing to cover the road to Moscow. Kutuzoff, however, held our positions, and the King of Naples lost the greater part of his cavalry. Napoleon immediately resolved to march to the enemy. According to the plan already decided upon, Mortier fixed his quarters at the Kremlin, over the mines laid ready to blow up the citadel and palace of the Czars. All the rest of the army defiled through the open gates of the city, recently so eagerly longed for, and now only occupied for thirty-seven days, which had been full of agitation and terror. The long trains of carriages, the soldiers' booty heaped upon the wagons or their shoulders, the furs fastened to their haversacks or arms, were all proof enough that the troops were no more deceived than the generals as to the possibility of a return to Moscow. The Duke of Trevisa's friends and comrades looked upon him as a man condemned beforehand to death, and sorrowfully bade him adieu without shaking his courage. The French families formerly settled in Moscow fled from the anger of the Russians, and joined the march of their fellow-countrymen. The long train on its march seemed more like a convoy defiling, than the progress of an army advancing against the enemy. Napoleon, however, had not yet said anything to imply that the evacuation was final; he was marching against Kutuzoff, whom he wished to chastise, and, if possible, crush. Before leaving Moscow, his last instructions were devoted to the defence of the Kremlin.

It was on the morning of the 20th October that the emperor left the city, in fine autumnal weather which prevented any one from yet anticipating the rigors of winter. On reaching the castle of Troitskoi, he was struck with a new idea; Kutuzoff held the old Kaluga road, and a battle was necessary to dislodge him; and the French, even if victorious, would lose

men and be encumbered with a crowd of wounded. The new road to Kaluga was protected by Broussier's division, and had not been cut up by the passage of troops; if it were possible to deceive Kutuzoff by a sudden *détour* to the right, and to gain the new road, Kaluga would be reached without a battle, and the positions for winter secured. The occupation of Moscow must now no longer be insisted upon, and Mortier immediately instructed to leave Moscow and join them. Having made up his mind, the emperor in the evening sent his orders to the Duke of Trevisa: "My cousin," said Napoleon to the Marshal Berthier, "give orders to the Duke of Trevisa to put on march, to-morrow, at daybreak, all the tired and lame soldiers of the corps of Prince Eckmühl and the viceroy, of the foot-cavalry, and the young guard, and to direct the whole upon Mojaïsk. On the 22nd or 23rd, at two o'clock in the morning, he will set fire to the brandy storehouse, the barracks, and the public buildings, except the Foundling Hospital.* He will have the palace of the Kremlin set on fire. He will take care that all the guns are broken into pieces, that powder is placed under the towers of the Kremlin, that all the gun-carriages are broken, as well as the wagon wheels.

"When these orders are attended to, and the Kremlin is on fire in several places, the duke will leave the Kremlin, and advance on the Mojaïsk road. At four o'clock, the officer of artillery appointed to that duty will blow up the Kremlin, according to instructions.

"On the march he will burn all carriages left behind, use every endeavor to bury all the dead, and burn all the muskets he can find. On reaching the Gallitzin palace, he will take the Spanish and Bavarians stationed there, and put fire to the ammunition wagons, and everything which cannot be removed. He will collect all the commanders of posts, and order the garrisons to fall back.

"He will reach Mojaïsk on the 25th or 26th, and there receive further orders to put himself in communication with the army. He will naturally leave a strong advanced guard of cavalry on the Mojaïsk road.

"He will be particular in remaining in Moscow till he has himself seen the Kremlin blown up; and also in setting fire to the governor's two houses and that of Rasomowsky."

* This establishment, founded by the dowager empress, had been patronized by Napoleon. The governor, General Toutelmine, had been one of the agents of his communications with St. Petersburg.

Thus Napoleon himself put hands to that burning of Moscow with which he had recently blamed the Russians, and the originator of which he did not forget to punish even then! The march upon Kaluga was already begun, and one of Prince Eugène's divisions, being in advance, had already occupied Malo-Jaroslawetz, on the Lougea. General Delzons, who was in command, was engaged in repairing the bridges, when Kutuzoff was informed of the direction which the French seemed to take. General Doctoroff at once advanced with a large body, and Kutuzoff raised his cantonments to follow him.

The small town of Malo-Jaroslawetz was built on a chain of heights, of which the Russians at once took possession, cannonading the French, who in their turn dislodged them. Six times was the town taken and retaken, the fire of the burning houses combining with the cannon-balls to repulse the combatants on both sides. Seven French generals fell on the field towards evening; yet, in spite of the keen determination of the Russian recruits, who had scarcely arms or clothes, the ruins of the town remained in our hands. When the emperor arrived on the banks of the Lougea with the main army, he beheld a sight as painful in proportion to its extent as had been the plain of Borodino. Many of the corpses were scorched by the fire. Ten thousand men fell on both sides. The emperor saw that all future movements implied new and terrible battles. The generals appointed to reconnoitre, considered the enemy's positions impregnable; and on Napoleon himself going to take observations he narrowly escaped being taken by a body of Cossacks, who surprised him when crossing the Lougea. General Rapp had only time to get him out of the way of those troublesome enemies, bands of whom incessantly harassed the army. A council was held in a ruined hut on the banks of the small river.

The emperor was still inclined to attempt a march towards Kaluga, for the sake of the battle, victory, and consequent rest in a rich district not yet exhausted. The generals were as confident as their chief in the success of our arms, but they thought that the loss of 20,000 men and a charge of 10,000 wounded would themselves constitute a check in presence of the Russian army, constantly recruited by new forces. A retreat to Mojaïsk and thence to Smolensk, was decided upon. The attempt on Kaluga had cost ten days, and exhausted the greater part of the provisions brought from Moscow, and it was now



RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.



CROSSING THE BEREZINA.

necessary to submit to a retreat pure and simple. Marshal Davout proposed to effect this by a new road, which should still supply some resources for the troops; but his advice was not listened to. A passionate desire for return, and terror of the frightful evils which threatened the army, had seized all those men who were recently so daring, and ready to try any danger. Napoleon still hesitated. "What do you think about it, Mouton?" he asked Count Lobau, standing beside him. "That as quickly as possible, and by the shortest road, we must get out of a country where we have stayed too long," was the immediate reply of the hero of so many battles. The emperor hung down his head. In his inmost soul he felt himself beaten.

The whole army also felt itself beaten, and every heart was filled with dejection. Already, during the march from Moscow to Malo-Jaroslawetz, many carriages and badly harnessed wagons were left behind; but the train was still enormous, accompanied by defenceless women and children. The wounded of the last battle had been distributed amongst the different wagons and carts. The dying were abandoned to their wretched fate on the battle-field, under the cold rain which began to fall, or in the huts to which they had been carried. The army left Malo-Jaroslawetz on the 27th October, marching to Vereja, where Marshal Mortier rejoined them after accomplishing his terrible mission. The ground was still quaking under his feet when he left Moscow, bringing with him all the wounded. Such was the emperor's express order, though the army convoys were already insufficient for that necessary duty.

Mortier brought to Napoleon a prisoner, Count Wintzingerod, who had fallen into his hands during the second burning of Moscow. That general was in command of a body of partisans, and believed the French had evacuated the capital. The emperor's anger burst forth against this German on finding him in the Russian ranks. "You belong to no country!" he exclaimed excitedly. "I have always found you among my enemies—with the Austrians when I fought with Austria, with the Russians when Austria became my ally. Yet by birth you belong to the Rhenish Confederation; you are a traitor—I have the right to judge you. You will be tried by court-martial." Then pointing to Count Narischkin, Wintzingerod's aide-de-camp, "This young man does you too much honor by serving with you."

The general made no reply, even by the slightest movement or gesture. The emperor's staff looked on in silence, and the French officers tried by their attentions to make the prisoner forget the treatment. Every one knew the cause of so much bitterness rising from Napoleon's heart to his lips. For the first time in his life the conqueror was retreating.

He was retreating, and every day of their march made them feel more and more the terrible difficulty, while proving its necessity. Napoleon marched at the head of his army with his staff, without joining the main body of the troops, or troubling himself about the fatigue and difficulty experienced at every step by Marshal Davout, who had been appointed to command the rear-guard and protect the retreat. General Grouchy's cavalry were already exhausted, and could not assist him in this painful duty. The marshal's old foot-soldiers alone remained—those who had so long fought under his orders, having been formed under his strict and severe discipline, and loving him while they feared him. At every stage Davout found some carriage or cart had disappeared, left behind by the exhausted horses and drivers, and he heard the cries of the wretched wounded men, henceforward delivered up to the lances of the Cossacks or the severities of the approaching winter. He saw unrolling and lengthening out before him that train behind the army, despised by the soldiers remaining under arms, and reinforced every day by laggards from all the corps. He was the last to arrive at the hindmost posts after the troops defiling past had eaten up all the resources of the villages and farms, burnt the shelters, and sacked what they were unable to carry off. The complaints and demands of the distinguished chief of his rear-guard made no impression on Napoleon. "March quicker!" he kept repeating, without admitting the marshal to see him, without ever going himself towards the rear of his army—apparently indifferent to the sufferings he had produced, absorbed in gloomy silence, surrounded by his lieutenants equally dejected. When passing Borodino, where the battle-field was still covered with the corpses, of which savage beasts were in undisputed possession, the rear-guard were still further encumbered by the transport of the wounded, who had formerly been left at Kolotskoi. Those whose wounds did not allow them to be removed were entrusted by Dr. Larrey to the cares of the Russians, whom he had cured. The army left Ghjat on the 1st November.

In spite of what was constantly being left behind from the

baggage train, the difficulty of the march daily increased on account of fatigue, the want of horses, and the rigor of the climate. Marshal Davout often found himself compelled to blow up artillery wagons which he could not take further with him; and the cannon which were still dragged on became for the most part useless. Immediately before him marched Prince Eugène's forces. The viceroy, young and courageous, had not yet gained consummate experience of war: the marshal urged him to make haste first in crossing the Czarewo-Zaimitché and afterwards in the suburbs of Wiazma. Kutuzoff, at first deceived as to our movements, had advanced southwards after the battle of Malo-Jaroslavetz, but soon changed his direction and marched upon Wiazma. A preliminary engagement near the bridge of Czarewo had opened a passage for us. Then the march was again interrupted before Wiazma. The Russian army occupied the ground on the left of the road. Prince Eugène's forces, embarrassed by the convoy, had an engagement with the enemy on the morning of the 2nd November, and the cannon were making havoc in his ranks when Davout came to his assistance, and General Gerard making a dash at the enemy's artillery, quickly cleared the road again. At the noise of the cannon Marshal Ney halted in his march, and advanced behind a small tributary of the Wiazma. The battle began so vigorously on the part of our old soldiers that General Miloradowitch, who commanded the Russians, did not dare longer to intercept their retreat. The regiments defiled into Wiazma, but still continued firing. General Morand, who was in command of the last battalions, was not rid of the pursuing enemy till he reached the very camp, his soldiers presenting their bayonets. The troops, who had thus gained another victory, encamped in the woods, with no resource except the dying horses, which they slaughtered as they required them, roasting the joints at the bivouac fires. The exhausted soldiers slept.

Marshal Ney, in his turn, had charge of the rear-guard. The emperor felt himself condemned by the stern and impassible judgment of Davout, whom he had left alone to bear the heaviest burden; and he blamed the slowness of his movements for the unfortunate battle of Wiazma, and the responsibility of all the hardships undergone by the rear-guard. Like Masséna in Portugal, Davout found himself in disgrace because he was blamed with faults which he had not committed, and which he was unable to rectify.

Meantime they had approached Smolensk. Alarming news awaited Napoleon at Dorogobouje. He had long reckoned on the assistance of the 9th corps, which Marshal Victor was bringing him from Germany. Scarcely had the new troops arrived at Smolensk, according to the emperor's order, than they found themselves obliged to go to the assistance of our left wing, which was threatened by Count Wittgenstein. A large reinforcement had joined the Russian army at this point. After a conference at Abo, in Finland (28th August, 1812), between the Prince Royal of Sweden and the Emperor Alexander, the Russian forces promised to Bernadotte for the conquest of Norway had advanced from Finland into Livonia. Marshal Macdonald was compelled to abandon the siege of Riga in order to support the Prussians on the lower Dwina. Marshal St. Cyr, in his turn, found himself threatened on the 18th October by forces superior to his own, and had fought a second battle before Polotsk, and successfully defended the town; but when attacked by Wittgenstein and the forces arrived from Finland, on both banks of the Dwina, he was compelled to withdraw behind the Oula (connected with the Berezina by the Lepel canal). Being severely wounded in the last engagement, he had given up the command to Marshal Oudinot, who was anxiously waiting for Marshal Victor's arrival. The approach of Admiral Tchitchakoff was already announced; returned from Turkey with a large army, the negotiator of the treaty of Bucharest had, with Tormazoff's assistance, driven General Reynier and Prince Schwartzenberg behind the marshes of Pinsk; and, after leaving General Sacken with 25,000 men to keep the allies in check, was now advancing towards the upper Berezina, to support Count Wittgenstein. Thus, on reaching Smolensk, Napoleon was about to find the place almost destitute of troops, while the left wing was in very great danger, attacked at the same time by Wittgenstein, the Finland troops, and Tchitchakoff. The supplies even were smaller than was expected, on account of the difficulty of conveyance. The soldiers were delighted as they came near Smolensk. The emperor knew that the halt must be short; nevertheless, he ordered Victor to join Oudinot immediately in order to make a joint attack upon Wittgenstein; and wrote General Reynier and the Austrians to pursue Admiral Tchitchakoff. He also asked for one of the divisions of Marshal Augereau to be sent from Germany; and separating the troops which still remained, in order to facilitate the food-supply during their journey, he

continued his march upon Smolensk, whilst Prince Eugène took the road for Doukhowtchina, with instructions to protect Vitebsk if necessary.

The main army resumed its march on the 6th November. On the 7th and 8th the cold became so keen, and the ice on the roads so dangerous, that the horses could not advance, and it was necessary to leave behind some cannon. On the 9th the viceroy reached the banks of the Vop, a small stream which in winter becomes a rapid torrent, its channel being already choked with ice. Before the engineers had completed a bridge, the crowd of the soldiers and runaways rushed headlong upon it and broke it down. The cavalry forded the stream, the troops following them with the water up to their shoulders. The field-pieces, the baggage, and ammunition-wagons, one after another crushed down the banks and ploughed through the channel, frequently plunging into the mire, and being left there. It became impossible to cross; and the wretches who were following the army found themselves left behind, and delivered up to the vengeance of the Russians or the cruelties of the Cossacks, who ran up in eager hordes. In despair and terror, they struggled to cross the river, leaving behind them the wagons which still afforded them some supplies, and many perished. Even the soldiers who had fallen behind the army pillaged the baggage which had been abandoned on the bank. Blood flowed also in the midst of this horrible confusion, for the Cossacks, eager for booty, joined with the disbanded soldiers. Some brave men several times braved the dangers of crossing the stream to save the lives of the defenceless women and children.

On reaching Doukhowtchina, Prince Eugène learned that Vitebsk had fallen into the hands of Wittgenstein. Thus the cruel day's march just made by the army of Italy proved useless. The viceroy set fire to the small town where he found temporary shelter and a few supplies, and then advanced towards Smolensk, where Napoleon had arrived on the evening of the 9th.

There also there was nothing but discontent, dejection, and, for a short time, disorder. The emperor had only allowed the guard to enter the town, and both lodgings and provisions were reserved for this favorite corps, the only remnant saved from shipwreck, who had only undergone the hardships of the campaign without any share in the battles. The mob of camp-followers, deaf to discipline, forced open the gates, and general

pillage had commenced when the emperor's order was modified. The troops lay down in the streets and squares, overpowered by fatigue, and fell down exhausted beside the fires which had been lighted. Then arrived Prince Eugène's troops, more decimated than all the others by the frightful disaster on the banks of the Vop. Marshal Ney had been fighting since they left Dorogobouje, sustaining all his soldiers by his indomitable courage and the steadiness of his physical and mental energy, playing in turns the part of general, captain, and soldier, seizing the musket as it fell from the hands of a dying grenadier to fire, himself, upon the enemy, and purposely slackening the march of the rear-guard in order to give time to all to reach Smolensk.

The news brought there from all quarters, like bulletins of some deadly agony, no longer allowed even the soldiers the vain hope of several days of rest. General Hilliers, who had advanced according to orders on the Jelnia road, was surprised by the Russians, and having lost 2000 men, returned to Smolensk, to find himself degraded in the eyes of all the army, and was sent back to France, to be tried there by court-martial. Prince Schwartzenberg was doubtful, he said, about leaving Warsaw unprotected; and Admiral Tchitchakoff advanced unchecked, and was already threatening Minsk, where the great bulk of our supplies was collected together. Victor and Oudinot had not dared to risk a decisive engagement; and the two Russian armies were about to combine in order to bar our passage over the Berezina, the only way of safety to return to Poland. There was not a moment more to be lost in effecting that fatal junction. The emperor resolved to march immediately towards Vilna, still intending to make an attack upon Admiral Tchitchakoff, and entrusting the leaders of his left wing with the duty of at last defeating Wittgenstein. But by one of those blunders which seemed to indicate some failure in his genius and foresight, he ordered the marshals to follow him one after another; and taking no account of Kutuzoff's army, he left Smolensk on the 14th November. Prince Eugène, Davout, and Ney were to evacuate their cantonments on the 15th, 16th, and 17th respectively, and the gallant leader of the rear-guard was to bury the cannon, destroy the ammunition, and blow up the walls surrounding the town. The great army by this time scarcely amounted to 36,000 fighting men; and the cavalry, entirely under the orders of General Latour-Maubourg, only counted 1800 horse. Napoleon

followed on the left bank the road from Smolensk to Orscha, without taking the precaution to place between him and General Kutuzoff the rapid current of the Dnieper. He was soon to pay dearly for this fault. Scarcely had he reached Krasnoe than he found General Sebastiani, who had preceded him, blockaded in a church by a body of the enemy. Kutuzoff was approaching with 50,000 soldiers, and making ready, with the assistance of several bands of Cossacks, to cut our long columns. On his march Napoleon found at every step ambulance-wagons, and those of runaways, half buried in the snow, and still containing frozen corpses. The emperor halted to wait for those corps which were to rejoin him, and were seriously exposed by their isolation. Prince Eugène had already forced a passage before Krasnoe upon the Lossmina, being therefore compelled to sacrifice Broussier's division, which remained in battle order, threatening the Russian army with a renewal of the attack upon the heights which had been vainly attempted on the evening before. All the rest of the main army succeeded in escaping, with the assistance of the darkness, and the snow, which deadened the noise of the footsteps. The troops left in the rear could only be saved by the approach of Davout and Ney.

On this occasion, once more, Napoleon recovered that unconquerable resolution which had carried him to the summit of power. Determined not to leave his army and lieutenants, he marched before them on the Smolensk road with his guards, who were henceforward subjected to all the hazards of battle. The village Koutkovo, occupied by the Russians, was retaken, the emperor himself being on foot, because the icy ground made riding impossible. The Russian batteries ploughed up the ground held by the French, and the noise of the battle was heard. Davout was at hand, after rallying the poor remainder of the Broussier division, and the artillery with Generals Lariboisière and Eblé; and dashing in dense columns with his four divisions upon General Miloradowitch, who defended the valley of the Lossmina, he soon opened a bloody passage, and rejoined the guard grouped round Napoleon. Krasnoe was thus surrounded by a semicircle of our troops, disputing the enemy's positions step by step; but Admiral Tormazoff was now on our rear, in order to hold the Orscha road. The emperor saw that he should be speedily hemmed in, and resolved to resume his march, without waiting for Ney's regiments. He thus devoted him to certain loss; but in the stern neces-

sity which compelled him, Napoleon had not the courage to accept the responsibility of the act which he was about to accomplish. Ordering Mortier to start with the guards, he imposed on Davout the double duty of waiting for Ney and not separating himself from Mortier. In presence of these contradictory instructions, and with an overwhelming sense of their responsibility, Davout made an effort to hold his ground, his divisions having replaced on the plateau of Krasnoe the regiments of the young guard, which had now begun defiling towards Orscha. Napoleon marched in front with the old guard, undergoing as they went a deadly fire from the Russians. Tormazoff's columns seemed to wait for the final orders to cut the passage of what were left of the great army. Kutuzoff resisted the urgent advice of Tormazoff as well as the arguments and excitement of General Wilson, who had been sent to him by the English Government. "You think the old man is a fool," he said repeatedly, "that he is timid, and without energy: you are young, and don't understand. If Napoleon turned back, none of us dare meet him; he is still terrible. If I bring him back to the Berezina, ruined and without an army, I shall have accomplished my task." Thus protected by the terrible renown of his name, the emperor advanced to Liady.

Davout resisted to the last moment; but Marshal Mortier, who was hurrying to leave Krasnoe, urged him to start. The roads were about to be barred; the bullets were falling in showers on the little town; the marshal's three divisions only amounted to 5000 men, and all the rest of the army were being withdrawn. As he left the plateau of Krasnoe, Mortier ordered the guard to keep step. "You hear, soldiers?" cried General Laborde; "the general orders the ordinary step. Slow time, soldiers. March!" It was in the same way that Davout's troops defiled, constantly turning round to fire at the squadrons of the enemy's cavalry, closely pursuing them. When the exhausted corps were again brought together at Liady, the faces of all were still more gloomy than on the previous evening. Besides their physical sufferings, there was now added the burden of a bitter regret. Their desertion of Marshal Ney weighed on the consciences of all.

Ney had been warned neither of the danger which threatened him nor of the isolation in which he was to be left, because a courier sent by Davout was taken by the enemy. When he came face to face with Kutuzoff's army, before Krasnoe, he still felt sure of passing there, where his comrades

had gone before him. A determined attack under a rain of shot having been unsuccessful, the marshal saw the uselessness of the attempt, and without for an instant losing his presence of mind or his courage, he resolved to effect a movement during the night towards the Dnieper, cross the river, and escape by the right bank, in order to regain the main army. "But if the Dnieper is not frozen, what shall we do?" said some of the officers. "It will be frozen!" retorted the general, curtly; "besides, frozen or not, we shall do as we can—but we shall cross."

They did cross, to the profound astonishment of the Russians, who believed the general and his soldiers were at last caught, and to the unspeakable delight of the forces collected at Orscha. Prince Eugène and Marshal Mortier took up their positions in front of their companions-in-arms, saved by a determination and courage really marvellous. Only 1200 men rejoined the army, out of 7000 forming the third corps when they left Smolensk. On the plateau of Krasnoe, in the skirmishes against the Cossacks of Platow, and by the sides of the ice-covered roads, Ney had everywhere left dead bodies, wounded and dying men, besides men overpowered by the hardships and incapable of any effort.

Even at Orscha the disorder was so great that it threatened to infect the regiments of the old guard. The emperor harangued them energetically. "Grenadiers," said he, "we are retiring without being conquered by the enemy; let us not be so by ourselves; let us give the example to the army! Several from amongst you have already deserted their eagles, and even their arms. It is to you alone that I address myself to have this disorder stopped. Act justly towards each other. It is to yourselves that I entrust your discipline!" An appearance of order was restored; but the regular distributions were impossible. Famishing wretches, soldiers, and those of the camp-followers who still remained, all rushed upon the provision-stores. Panics also continually increased the tumult. "The Cossacks! There are the Cossacks!" was frequently shouted.

At Orscha, moreover, as well as at Smolensk and Dorogouboje, ominous news reached the emperor. Tchitchakoff, who had not been pursued by Schwartzenberg, had carried Minsk, one of the most important rallying-points on the Vilna road, and the centre of our principal supplies. The Polish general Bronikowski, being unable with 3000 men to defend the place,

had joined Dombrowski, who was covering the Dnieper, and both guarded the bridge of Borisow on the Berezina with insufficient forces. Should the bridge fall into the hands of Admiral Tchitchakoff, the army would be blockaded behind the Berezina, or compelled to ascend to its source at the risk of being attacked by Count Wittgenstein. Marshals Victor and Oudinot, with their weak and decimated regiments, could not succeed in dislodging the enemies from their position near Smoliantzy on the Oula. Thus marching a second time over the roads which he had recently trod full of hope, Napoleon found himself threatened on his left by Tchitchakoff holding Minsk, on his right by Wittgenstein and Steinghel; behind him Kutuzoff was advancing; before him it was now doubtful if the Berezina could be crossed. The conception of a last and powerful combination arose in that inexhaustibly fertile mind. He sent to Oudinot the order to march towards the Berezina to support the Poles at Borisow. Victor was to check Wittgenstein, so as to give the great army time to cross the river. Napoleon could then rally the two marshals, whose forces still amounted to 25,000 men; he should attack and recover Minsk, send for Schwartzenberg, and when thus master of all the scattered remnants of his army, make a crushing attack upon the Russian troops, and gain a victory before returning to Poland. With this hope, Orscha was evacuated on the 20th November, under a cold rain, which penetrated the soldiers' clothes, and then froze on their bodies. The emperor ordered the greater part of the convoys to be sacrificed. The leaders of divisions alone kept carriages. The wounded and several fugitive families still followed with great difficulty on carts and wagons.

On the 22nd, at Tolocsin, the emperor learned that, after a keenly-fought battle, the Russians had taken Borisow and the bridge over the Berezina. He dismounted, and showing more uneasiness than he had yet done, called to his side General Dode de la Brunerie, an officer of the engineers, whom he had already distinguished. "They are there!" said he, without further explanation. The general easily divined the emperor's meaning. They both entered a hut, and Napoleon, spreading out his maps on a rickety table, discussed with Dode the resources still at his command. The general's plan was to ascend the course of the Berezina, declaring that he knew several fords, and that they could then advance quickly upon Wilna by Gloubokoi. They might indeed be met by Wittgenstein,

but Tchitchakoff covered Borisow, and would be certain to burn the bridge over the Berezina if he saw it threatened.

The emperor listened as he kept looking at his maps. At last something arrested his attention, the sight of a name of ill-omen: "Poltava! Poltava!" he repeated. Then, as if more conscious than ever of the superiority of his glory and destiny over the heroic adventures of King Charles XII., he went up to General Jomini, who had just entered, and said, "When one has never met with defeats, he ought to have them great in proportion to his success." At the same time, while considering vaster plans, now chimerical by reason of the exhaustion and dejection of his troops, he resolved to push on to the Berezina, retake the bridge of Borisow, and throw another over the river in spite of the Russians, and thus, at any cost, recover Wilna by the shortest road. Scarcely was his mind made up, when the means of effecting it were presented. General Corbineau, formerly despatched by General St. Cyr to assist the Bavarians, found himself at liberty on account of their inactivity; and conceiving the idea of rejoining the great army, he crossed the Berezina by a ford which he had long known, and brought Napoleon 700 horse, a valuable reinforcement at such a moment of extreme distress. He learned at the same time, that Marshal Oudinot had driven the Russians from Borisow without being able to prevent them from burning the bridge. He could there check Tchitchakoff, and leave Napoleon time to throw over the ford at Studianka a simple bridge of tressels, which was the only apparatus General Eblé had been able to preserve during their rout. The engineers were secretly and expeditiously ordered to go to this place.

The attempt was one of difficulty and danger, but it was still possible, and offered several chances of success. General Eblé, still indomitable in spite of his age and the fatigues of the campaign, collected his workmen, and made them understand that the fate of the army depended upon their exertions. Exhausted by marching and want of food, the soldiers bravely went into the icy water, and worked incessantly during the 25th and night of the 26th, in the midst of frozen blocks perpetually dashing against them, without time to eat, without rest, without even a dram of spirits. The houses of Studianka having been demolished, their beams were utilized as buttresses and tressels for the bridge; and on the 26th, at daybreak, preparations were made for crossing. The Russians, deceived by a pretended attempt near Borisow, had not moved far from that

quarter; General Corbineau had already crossed the ford with his cavalry, to protect the right bank. The hopes and looks of all were concentrated upon the exertions of the bridge-makers, who worked incessantly, and seemed to be unconscious of fatigue. On the right, one of the bridges was at last opened for infantry and cavalry, and they began to defile across; the passage was to occupy two days. When the second bridge was completed, Eblé said to the engineers, "Let half of you lie down on the heaps of straw; the others will watch the passage, and sleep in their turn"—he himself not having had a moment's rest by day or night. The imperfect construction of the bridges caused serious danger; the tressels shaking under the weight of the wagons and cannon; and during the night the bridge intended for the artillery suddenly gave way. The soldiers again went into the water, several times assisted by the general himself, who bravely exposed himself to every hardship and danger. The cold had now become extreme, and the bridge-engineers worked in the midst of large masses of ice; yet the work went on, and the passage was again begun. The emperor was one of the last to reach the right bank; a disorderly crowd of camp-followers and fugitives were huddled together on the left bank, encamped on the frozen marshes, and no authority was sufficient to hasten their movements. Every day the number of soldiers faithful to their colors became smaller and smaller, on account of the general discouragement and relaxation of discipline. Davout himself had not more than 4000 men in his divisions. On Marshal Victor rejoining the remains of the great army between Studianka and Borisow, his troops, though themselves weak and fatigued, were amazed at the pitiful state of their comrades, whom they had not seen for so many months. "Your turn will come," said those who were coming back from Moscow, marching in any order, officers and soldiers mixed together, all equally dejected, even though suffering did not bring all minds to one level. Human nature, often a miserable sight under disaster, then also displays its greatness. Along with a selfishness sometimes brutal, the more noble characteristics of courage and devotion raised their dejected minds. Some of the women saved their children through a thousand hardships; others remained close beside their husbands; soldiers continued loyal to their chiefs; and one officer for a long time carried on his shoulders his *half-frozen* servant, who in his turn did him the same friendly turn.

The battle which was preparing promised to be a terrible one,

as Napoleon knew; yet he insisted on leaving at Borisow the Partouneaux division, which belonged to Marshal Victor, hoping at this expense to continue the mistake of Tchitchakoff. The enemy's circle was now closing round that handful of brave men, condemned beforehand. Wittgenstein and Miloradowitch had intercepted the Studianka road. On the evening of the 27th, the Partouneaux division was attacked on both sides, and defended its positions heroically, but without being able to break through. On the morning of the 28th, after being twice summoned by the Russians, the general, in despair, gave himself up a prisoner. Almost at the same moment the second corps, under Oudinot, was attacked by part of Tchitchakoff's army, which had collected at Pahlen, on the left bank of the Berezina. Being soon wounded, as usual, the marshal was replaced in command by Ney, who made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, and drove them back to half-way between Brill and Borisow, and placed over a pass a battery of artillery, which kept the Russians at a distance. Marshal Victor had since morning kept up on the left bank a vigorous fight against Wittgenstein, to cover the passage over the bridges; on the other bank the guards used their cannon against the enemy, who were perpetually driven back by the charges of our cavalry, and perpetually returning to the charge. At nightfall they were still fighting. The Russians, however, withdrew, beaten, but carrying off their wounded, and certain of returning next day, as numerous and daring, against an expiring army, which was sustained only by despair and the tradition of an heroic past.

The soldiers fought and died with courage. The confused mob crowding on the bank of the river also died, but in all the agonies of terror and helplessness. After having for a long time refused to take advantage of the bridges, which lay open, the multitude, terrified by the noise of the cannon and the approach of the enemy, rushed in a body towards the river, heedless of discipline, or the necessity for reserving one road for those on foot and the other for carriages. The throng was so dense that they could not advance; cries were succeeded by cries, and exertions by exertions. Occasionally the hissing of a bullet was heard, as it came to open a horrible gap in the compact mass, who shrank in terror. The weak, drawn into the confused crowd, succumbed, and were trodden under foot, without those that crushed them even observing their fall. Night and darkness brought back a moment of calm. Many

of the wretches perished in the river when endeavoring to escape. The reaction of unreasonable panic kept from the bridges those who, shortly before, entreated General Eblé with tears to let them pass; nobody would venture in the darkness—the engineers, assisted by their officers, urging those who stayed behind; but they had again lighted their fires on the bank. During that long night of winter the bridges remained deserted and useless, and General Eblé, who had orders to blow them up at daybreak, delayed till eight o'clock, grieved to his very soul by the despair of the crowd, which had again begun to throng the entrances. When at last the fire appeared, with its ominous gleam, both bridges were crowded with carriages, horses, men, women, and children. The wretches plunged into the waters, and struggled vainly against the current. Their cries were mingled with those of the crowd who remained on the bank, now without defence. The Cossacks soon arriving, galloped round this human herd, and pushed them forward with their lances. When they withdrew, loaded with booty, the remains of the army took the road for Smorgoni. At every step Ney and General Maison protected the retreat, and again met the Russians at Molodeczno, after burning the bridges of Zembin. From league to league the march of the army was indicated by a long series of corpses—soldiers who had fallen in the snow without rising again, runaways who had at last succumbed under the weight of their hardships. The emperor was still surrounded by officers, some without soldiers, and generals without officers. The forces who recently rejoined him had in their turn undergone the terrible disorganization by which the whole army was infected. Napoleon saw that every chance was lost, and felt in danger of being hemmed in by the enemy, and falling alive into their hands. He was now in haste to escape finally from the overwhelming realities which urged him on every side. For several days he secretly matured a plan to set out for France alone with several faithful companions, resolving to leave to his lieutenants the glory and pain of bringing back to Germany, on a hostile though allied land, the shapeless remnant of the great army. In spite of the objections of Daru and the Duke of Bassano, to whom he had spoken and written about it, he held a council at Smorgoni of his marshals—who arrived one after another, wounded, ill, exhausted by fighting, sleepless nights, and constant vigilance, followed only by a few thousands of men. He announced his departure, saying that he handed over the command to the

King of Naples, and whom he trusted they would obey the same as himself. Then, shaking hands with some, embracing others, and talking kindly to all, even those whom he had often badly used, he stepped into a sledge during the night of the 5th December, with Caulaincourt, Duroc, Mouton, and Le-febvre-Desnouettes. His lieutenants still looked, as if to see the last trace of him in the darkness: he had disappeared, taking with him the last remnants of hope, and leaving in each of those brave hearts a deep and bitter sense of being cruelly deserted.

The Emperor Napoleon had fled—selfishly fled. He had escaped from the frightful sight of, and contact with, unlimited pain, incessantly renewed, without respite or issue, the responsibility of which rested entirely upon himself. Secondary faults had been committed by his generals, but he was really blamable for them all; for he had asked from men more than they could accomplish, without any earnest intention or proper pretext. For the first time in his life he took care, as he left Smorgoni, to address Europe in explanation of his retreat and rout. The twenty-ninth bulletin of the great army no longer resounded with the report of brilliant victory. One could read in it the secret humiliation of a pride which admitted of no conqueror but winter, and did not yet confess its lamentable errors. It appeared that the Russians had in no way assisted towards this defeat, which had to be recognized, and that the French army were everywhere victorious. “The army was in good condition on the 6th November,” wrote Napoleon, “and till then the weather had been perfect. The cold began on the 7th, and from that time we lost every night several hundred horses, which died during bivouac. Soon 30,000 had succumbed, and our cavalry were all on foot. On the 14th we were almost without cavalry, artillery, and transports. Without cavalry we could gain no information beyond a quarter of a league. Without artillery we could not fight a battle, or keep positions steadily. It was necessary to march, to avoid a battle, which the want of supplies made undesirable. It was necessary to occupy a certain space, to avoid being taken in flank, and that without cavalry to gain information and unite the columns. This difficulty, together with the excessive and sudden cold, rendered our position difficult. Some men, whom nature had tempered strongly enough to be above all vicissitudes of fate and fortune, seemed staggered, lost their cheerfulness and good humor, and thought of nothing but disaster and

destruction; those whom she has created superior to everything, preserved their cheerfulness and usual disposition, and saw a new glory in the various difficulties to be surmounted.

“The enemy, seeing on the roads traces of the frightful calamity which struck the French army, tried to take advantage of it. Our columns were all surrounded by Cossacks, who, like Arabs in the desert, carried off the trains and carriages which had separated from the army. That despicable cavalry, which comes silently, and could not repulse a company of light-horse soldiers, became formidable under those circumstances. The enemy, however, had reason to repent of every attempt of importance which he made, and after the French army crossed the Borysthenes, at Orscha, the Russian army, being fatigued, and having lost many men, ceased from their attempts. Nevertheless, the enemy held all the passages over the Beresina, a river eighty yards wide, and carrying much ice, with its banks covered with marshes 600 yards long, all rendering it very difficult to cross. The enemy’s general placed his four divisions at different points, where he concluded the French army would pass. On the 26th, at daybreak, the emperor, after deceiving the enemy by several feint movements made on the 25th, advanced to the village of Studianka, and, in spite of the presence of one of the enemy’s divisions, had two bridges, thrown over the river. The Duke of Reggio crossing, attacked the enemy in a battle lasting for two hours; the Russians withdrew to the head of the Borisow bridge. During the whole of the 26th and 27th the army crossed. To say that the army has need of being redisciplined and reformed, and of being re-equipped in cavalry, artillery, and supplies, is to be inferred from the statement just made. Rest is its principal want. Supplies and horses are arriving. General Bourcier has already more than 20,000 new horses in the different depots. The artillery has already repaired its losses. The generals, officers, and soldiers have greatly suffered from fatigue and scarcity. Many have lost their baggage on account of their horses being lost, and several by the Cossacks in ambush. The Cossacks took a number of isolated men—engineers who were surveying, and wounded officers who marched imprudently, preferring to run risks rather than march regularly in the convoys.

“Throughout all those operations, the emperor has always marched in the midst of his guard; the cavalry under the Duke of Istria, and the infantry under the Duke of Dantzic.

Our cavalry was deprived of horses to such an extent that the officers who were still mounted had to be collected, to form four companies of 150 men each. Their generals acted as captains; the colonels as under-officers. This sacred squadron, commanded by General Grouchy, and under the orders of the King of Naples, did not lose sight of the emperor in all his movements. The health of his Majesty has never been better."

It was always a part of Napoleon's cunning to mix truth with falsehood, and conceal his lies with an appearance of honor. The "twenty-ninth bulletin of the great army" contained facts which were partly true. He admitted the hardships, and palliated the faults; but he neither gave, nor wished to give, a true idea of the disasters, or a candid statement of the frightful miseries which had ravaged the French battalions, and reduced our army as snow is melted under the sun of summer. There were still too many who had seen those catastrophes, and undertaken to establish the truth of the facts. In Napoleon's mind the evils he had seen, and that he himself had caused, were to leave less permanent impressions. He regretted the destruction of his armies, without wishing to state all their losses. "We left 300,000 men in Russia," said Marshal St. Cyr, in Germany. "No, no!" replied Napoleon; "not so many as that." Then, after a moment's reflection, "Ah! 30,000 at the Moskwa; 7000 here, 10,000 there; and all those who strayed on the marches and have not returned. Possibly you are not far wrong. But then there were so many Germans!" The Germans did not forget it!

The solitary consolation left to the army was that which the emperor had himself presented to Europe—the presence of Napoleon; his physical and mental energy and vigor. His flight from Smorgoni deprived the soldiers of this last resource of their confidence; from that day, as soon as the report spread, despair seized upon the strongest hearts. Nothing is more enduring than the instinctive courage which resists pain and death, because it becomes a man to strive to the last. All the ties of discipline, military fraternity, and ordinary humanity were broken together. I borrow from the recollections of the Duke Fezensac, then colonel of the 4th of the line, the following picture of the horrors which he saw, and of which he has given the story with a touching and manly simplicity:—"It is useless at the present day to tell the details of every day's march; it would merely be a repetition of the same misfortunes. The cold, which seemed to have become milder only

to make the passage of the Dnieper and the Berezina more difficult, again set in more keenly than ever. The thermometer sank, first, to from 15 to 18 degrees, then from 20 to 25 degrees (Réaumur), and the severity of the season completed the exhaustion of men who were already half dead with hunger and fatigue. I shall not undertake to depict the spectacle which we looked upon. You must imagine plains as far as the horizon covered with snow, long forests of pines, villages half-burnt and deserted; and through those pitiful districts an endless column of wretches, nearly all without arms, marching in disorder, and falling at every step on the ice, near the carcasses of horses and the bodies of their companions. Their faces bore the impress of utter exhaustion or despair, their eyes were lifeless, their features convulsed, and quite black with dirt and smoke. Sheepskins and pieces of cloth served them for shoes; their heads were wrapped with rags; their shoulders covered with horse-cloths, women's petticoats, and half-burnt skins. Also, when one fell from fatigue, his comrades stripped him before he was dead, in order to clothe themselves with his rags. Each bivouac seemed next day like a battle-field, and men found dead at their side those beside whom they had gone to sleep the night before. An officer of the Russian advance-guard, who was a witness of those scenes of horror—which the rapidity of our flight prevented us from carefully observing—has given a description of them to which nothing need be added: 'The road which we followed,' says he, 'was covered with prisoners who required no watching, and who underwent hardships till then unheard of. Several still dragged themselves mechanically along the road, with their feet naked and half frozen; some had lost the power of speech, others had fallen into a kind of savage stupidity, and wished, in spite of us, to roast dead bodies in order to eat them. Those who were too weak to go to fetch wood stopped near the first fire which they found, and sitting upon one another they crowded closely round the fire, the feeble heat of which still sustained them, the little life left in them going out at the same time as it did. The houses and farms which the wretches had set on fire were surrounded with dead bodies, for those who went near had not the power to escape the flames which reached them; and soon others were seen, with a convulsive laugh rushing voluntarily into the midst of the burning, so that they were consumed also.'"

I hasten to avoid the spectacle of so many sufferings. Yet

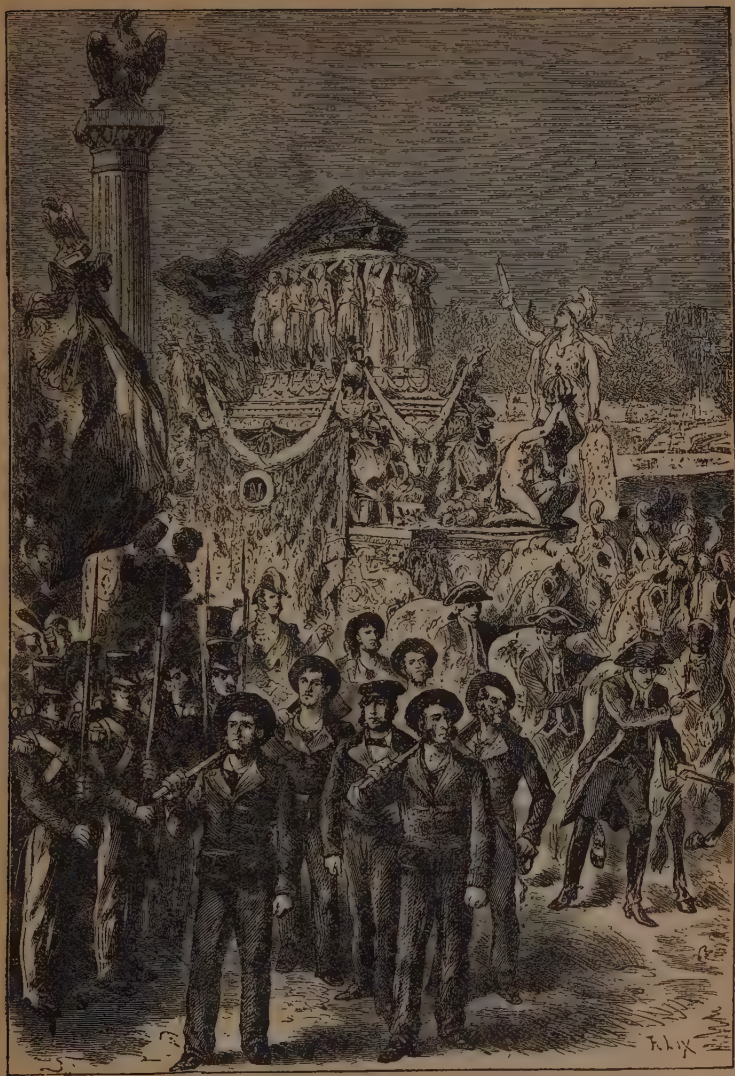
it is right and proper that children should know what was endured by their fathers. In proportion as the last survivors of the generations who saw and suffered so many evils disappear, we who have in our turn undergone other disasters owe it to them to recount both their glory and their misery. The time will soon come when our descendants in their turn will include in the annals of history the great epochs through which we have lived, struggled, and suffered.

Napoleon crossed Germany like an unknown fugitive, and his generals also made haste to escape. They had at last reached Wilna, alarming Lithuania by their rout, and themselves terror-struck during the halt on ascertaining the actual numbers of their losses, and the state of the disorderly battalions which were being again formed in the streets of the hospitable town. For a long time the crowd of disbanded soldiers, deserters, and those who had fallen behind, were collected together at the gates of Wilna in so dense a throng that they could not enter. Scarcely had the hungry wretches begun to take some food and taste a moment's rest, when the Russian cannon was heard, and Platow's Cossacks appeared at the gates. The King of Naples, heroic on the battle-field, but incapable of efficient command in a rout, took refuge in a suburb, in order to set out from it at break of day. Marshal Ney, the old Marshal Lefebvre, and General Loyson, with the remains of the division which he recently brought back from Poland, kept back the Cossacks for some time, and left the army time to resume its deplorable flight. A large number of exhausted men fell into the hands of the enemy; the fragments of our ruined regiments disappeared piecemeal. At Ponare, where the road between Wilna and Kowno rises, the baggage which they had with great difficulty dragged so far, the flags taken from the enemy, the army-chest, the trophies carried off from Moscow, all remained scattered at the foot of the icy hill, neither horses nor men being able to take them further. The pillagers quarrelled over the gold and silver in the broken coffers, on the snow, in the ditches. Then the Cossacks coming upon them, some of the French fired in defence of treasures which they were no longer able to carry.

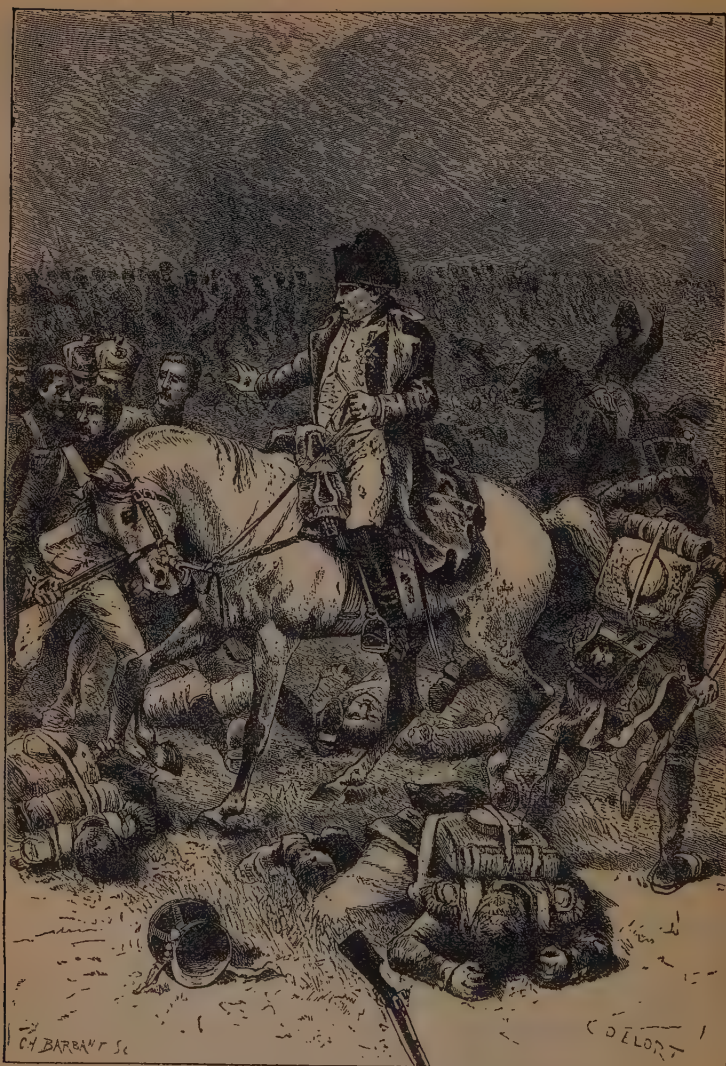
When the ruins of the main army at last reached Kowno, where they found supplies of food and ammunition, they were no longer able to make use of it, or to resist the pursuit of the Russians, still keenly determined to drive us from their territory. The generals held a council. In their weariness and

despair some gave vent to complaints against Napoleon, and Murat's words were susceptible of a more sinister meaning. Marshal Davout, honorable and unconquerable though still strongly prejudiced against the King of Naples, boldly expressed his indignation against the falling off of the lieutenants whom the emperor had made kings. All with one accord handed over to Ney the command of the rear-guard, and that defence of Kowno which was for a few minutes longer to protect the retreat. General Gerard alone remained faithful to this last despairing effort. When at last he crossed the Niemen with General Ney, on the 14th December, 1812, they were abandoned by all: their soldiers had fled, either scattering before the enemy or stealing away during the night from a useless resistance. When, in Königsberg, he overtook the remnant of the staff, Marshal Ney, with haggard looks and clad in rags, entered alone into their room. "Here comes the rear-guard of the great army!" said he bitterly.

The Prussian General York had abandoned Marshal Macdonald, making a capitulation with his forces in presence of the Russians, whose friendly intentions he had been long conscious of. Being disarmed by this neutrality of York's, Macdonald in his turn fell back upon Königsberg, pursued by the Russians. The hospitals were ravaged by disease: men who had resisted all fatigues and hardships, such as Generals Lariboisière and Eblé, at last succumbing. Murat withdrew to Elbing, to start soon after for Naples, leaving Prince Eugène in command of the remains of the army. From Paris, where he was already preparing for other battles, the Emperor Napoleon sought for his army in vain. The old guard itself only amounted at Königsberg to 1500 men, of whom not more than 500 could carry a musket. When the scattered fragments of the regiments left this last place of refuge, 10,000 sick men were still left in the hospitals.



THE REMAINS OF NAPOLEON BROUGHT BACK TO FRANCE.



NAPOLEON COLLECTING THE YOUNG GUARD.

THE HISTORY
OF
FRANCE

FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1848

BY M. GUIZOT
AND
MADAME GUIZOT DE WITT

TRANSLATED BY ROBERT BLACK

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DECLINE (1813).

It was now more than seven months since Napoleon left France. He had been living in a distant country, almost without communication, isolated by the madness of his undertaking, and was now returning, condemned by human reason and divine justice. The rumor of his defeat had preceded him, though without unfolding the extent and gravity of his disaster.

On reaching Paris the emperor addressed a message to the Senate, in reply to their solemn professions of devotion:—"Senators, what you tell me affords me great pleasure. I have at my heart the glory and power of France, but my first thoughts are for all that can perpetuate tranquillity at home, and place my peoples forever out of danger of the distractions of factions and the horrors of anarchy. It is upon those enemies of the happiness of nations that, with the will and love of the French, I have founded this throne, with which, henceforward, the destinies of our country are bound up.

"Timid and cowardly soldiers ruin the independence of nations, but pusillanimous magistrates destroy the empire of law, the rights of the throne, and social order itself. When I undertook the regeneration of France, I asked from Providence a fixed number of years: to destroy is the work of a moment, but to rebuild requires the assistance of time. The greatest need of the State is that of courageous magistrates.

"Our fathers had as a rallying cry, 'The king is dead: long live the king!' These few words contain the principal advantages of the monarchy. I think I have deeply studied the disposition which my peoples have exhibited during the different centuries; I have reflected upon what was done at the various epochs of our history. I shall continue to consider them.

"The war which I am waging against Russia is a political war. I began it without animosity. I should have wished to spare her the evils she has done to herself. I might have armed against her the greater part of her population, by pro-

claiming the liberty of the slaves: a large number of villages asked me to do so. But when I learned the savage state of that numerous class of the Russian people, I opposed that measure, which would have devoted many families to death, devastation, and the most horrible torture. If my army has undergone losses, it is on account of the premature severity of the season."

Napoleon had recently had good reason to lay stress upon the advantages of an hereditary monarchy, anciently bound up with the memories and traditions of the nation. He was at the same time brought to estimate under its value the devotion of the magistrates to whom he had in his absence entrusted the government of the empire. He was leaving Moscow on fire, and beginning the series of battles which was to be concluded by his fatal retreat, when Paris, on its awakening, was terror-struck by a vague rumor that the emperor was dead. When the minds of all were disturbed, and news of a revolution was mixed with the general belief of a catastrophe in Russia, the discovery was made of a bold conspiracy, the arrest of the conspirators, and the falseness of the information which had alarmed the capital. But a little more and the daring attempt of a monomaniac had changed the form of government in France. For a moment or two General Malet and his accomplices were masters of the police, and of part of the garrison of Paris.

Claude François de Malet was born at Dôle, in 1754. He was a man of good family, and had served in the king's armies. Becoming a keen partisan of republican principles, he had fought with some distinction from 1790 to 1799, and was opposed to Napoleon's accession to power. Unsettled, ambitious, and daring, he soon became a conspirator; and after being twice arrested, he had been at the prison La Force for several years, when he conceived the idea of attacking the imperial power. His project was already in progress during the Austrian war of 1809. The police getting a hint of his plot, Malet was separated from his accomplices, Generals Lahorie and Guidal. In 1812 he succeeded in being transferred to an asylum in the faubourg St. Antoine, and there took up the broken thread of his conspiracy. When everything was prepared, he, on the night of the 22nd October, escaped from the garden of the asylum, and putting on his uniform of general officer, went immediately to the Popincourt barracks. There, under the name of General Lamotte, he announced to Colonel Soulier,

who was in command of the 10th cohort of the national guard, that the emperor had been killed by a musket-shot at Moscow, on the 7th October; that the Senate having met secretly, had decided upon restoring the republic, and had just appointed General Malet to the command of the public forces in Paris. He was provided with the copy of a "*sénatus-consulte*," and his voice and appearance being full of authority, the colonel had not the slightest suspicion, and had his troops drawn up in battle-order in the barracks' quadrangle. Malet marched immediately at their head to the prison La Force, and ordering Generals Lahorie and Guidal to be set at liberty, made them his aides-de-camp. He then ordered Lahorie to go to the house of the minister of police and arrest the Duke of Rovigo, or, if necessary, blow out his brains. Lahorie had formerly been principal officer in Moreau's staff, a man of talent and honor, deceived most probably by Malet, but originally a republican, and with a strong personal antipathy to Napoleon. He had formerly been in the army with Rovigo, whom he found in bed, after forcing open the door of his room. "Surrender yourself!" said Lahorie. "I like you, and have no intention of harming you. The emperor is dead; the empire is abolished, and the Senate has restored the republic." Savary protested against this, declaring that he had received a letter from the emperor on the previous evening; but Guidal coming to his friend's assistance, they both conducted to La Force the amazed minister, asking himself if it was not all a frightful dream. Pasquier, the prefect of police, was there before him, also arrested at daybreak.

Frochot, prefect of the Seine, had not even been put under arrest. More credulous than Savary, he received the false decrees of the Senate without reserve, and gave orders that the Hôtel de Ville should be prepared to receive the provisional government. A note from one of his assistants, with the words "*imperator fuit*," prepared the way for Malet's daring attempt. The colonels of the garrison at the same time received orders to guard all the entrances to Paris.

Malet had himself gone to the house of General Hullin, the military governor of the capital, who showed some astonishment, and asked to see the orders. "In your private room," replied Malet. As they entered, he fired a pistol at Hullin, breaking his jawbone, and then locking the door of the room, ran to the house of Doucet, chief of his staff. He was difficult to convince, and understood by a hint from Major Laborde,

that the visitor was an escaped prisoner. At the moment when Malet was making ready to fire upon them, the two officers suddenly seized him by the arms, and threw him down. A few minutes later, the Duke of Rovigo was at liberty, as well as Pasquier. They ran to assist General Hullin; the accomplices or dupes were everywhere arrested. The victims of the daring attempt looked at each other, thunderstruck at the event which had just endangered their lives and the emperor's government. Paris, now reassured, laughed, and made fun of the police. "They have made a grand *tour de Force*," said the wits.

The conspirator and his accomplices in this one day's plot paid dearly for the anger and alarm of the great functionaries whom they had humbled. The Arch-chancellor Cambacérès had not been taken in Malet's net, but his customary moderation could not restrain Savary's vengeance, much less the military indignation of the Duke of Feltre. The three generals, the colonels, and their agents, were brought before a court-martial, presided over by General Dejean. "Who are your accomplices?" asked the judge, of General Malet. "The whole of France," replied the accused; "and you also, Dejean, if I had succeeded." When put on his defence he said, "A man who has undertaken to be his country's avenger, needs no defence; he triumphs or he dies." Fourteen prisoners were condemned to death, two only obtaining delay of punishment. "I die," exclaimed Malet to the soldiers appointed to shoot him; "but I am not the last of the Romans. I die, but I have made the enemy of the republic tremble." When Napoleon returned to Paris, Frochot, the prefect of the Seine, appeared before the Council of State, was deprived of his office, and compelled to leave Paris. "Frochot is an idiot," said the emperor, "but he is not a republican."

It was with as much annoyance as astonishment that Napoleon, at Dogoborouge, received the news of Malet's conspiracy, proving how precarious was the edifice which he had erected. "What!" he said, again and again, "did nobody think of my son, my wife, or the constitutions of the empire?" It showed him the uncertainty of human affairs, and the gulf ever open beneath his feet. Malet had not succeeded, and could not succeed; "but," says Rovigo in his memoir, "the emperor understood the danger better than any one else—not from what Malet had done, but from what had not been done by those whom he had invested with his confidence in the dif-

ferent branches of his administration." His anger and uneasiness caused by the conspiracy hastened his departure from Russia. "I am wanted in Paris," said he repeatedly.

It was the fundamental error in that constitution of the empire, so wisely combined and powerfully organized from an administrative point of view, that the government properly so called depended on a single will, and rested on a single person. In his immense states, which were strangers to each other in origin, interests, and language, Napoleon's presence was necessary, and his absence was felt by most disastrous results. His distance from Paris made Malet's daring attempt possible. By leaving his army, at the end of the cruel Russian campaign, he had delivered them up to the last extremity of despair. The disgust which he felt for the Spanish war, and the neglect with which he treated his lieutenants there, while despotically imposing his plans upon them, powerfully assisted towards the disasters by which we were pursued in that corner of the world. Marshal Suchet had indeed reduced Valencia, and been victorious at Albufera; on the 12th June, 1812, the battle which he gained before Tarragona put that important place in our power, and finally assured us the possession of Catalonia and Aragon. Yet these advantages did not compensate for our checks, and in particular they did not give to the command that unity which was necessary for success. Napoleon wished for it, but wished for it in his own hands; and now he had set out for Russia, and Lord Wellington was at the head of the English in the Peninsula. However displeased with his Portuguese and Spanish allies, he still succeeded in imposing his plans upon them, and the general direction of the war was entrusted to him. He pursued his operations with a steady and systematic firmness, which resisted the agitations and changes of policy which his country was then undergoing in her government. The English premier, Perceval, had been killed by a pistol-shot in the lobby of the House of Commons, without the motives of the crime having ever been discovered. His successors, less determined upon a warlike policy, had to contend against the increasing sufferings of the English population, as well as the well-founded dissatisfaction of the United States. War with the United States had just broken out, being solemnly declared by President Madison on the 19th May, 1812, and already some small engagements had taken place, and the English minister had quitted the United States, when the English cabinet at last agreed to withdraw the orders in

Council which, by unfairly shackling American trade, had been the real cause of hostility between the two countries. The burden was heavy for England, and the position of her armies in the Peninsula was becoming more difficult and dangerous; but the faults of Napoleon was sufficient to restore the equilibrium. Henceforward, the difficulties of England no longer weighed decisively in the balance. From one end of Europe to the other the mad enterprises of Napoleon, and the reverses naturally resulting from them, stirred up all the sovereigns and peoples against the colossus now beginning to totter.

In January, 1812, Lord Wellington besieged Ciudad Rodrigo, resuming the campaign on Spanish territory by an assault which speedily gained him the place, and with the place important supplies of ammunition and artillery. The English at once advanced against Badajos, to the great astonishment of King Joseph's staff in Madrid, and of the Emperor Napoleon himself, who maintained that as the English general was not a madman he was certain to direct his efforts toward Salamanca. On the 7th April, after repeated attacks, and at the expense of great losses in his best troops, Wellington at last took our last fortress on the Portuguese frontier. Marmont's army was now isolated and threatened, without the hope of being successfully assisted by the armies of the north, which were occupied in guarding the places—or by the army in Andalusia, which Marshal Soult made no exertion to bring to the assistance of his companions in arms. Napoleon replied to Marmont's complaints: "He grumbles about the distances and the difficulty of food; I shall have, in Russia, very different distances to go over, and very different difficulties to overcome to feed my soldiers; well! we must do as we can." The master's difficulties brought no remedy to those of the servant. In spite of King Joseph's orders, henceforward appointed by his brother to the chief command of the troops, no reinforcement had been sent to Marmont. Soult persisted in waiting in Andalusia for the attack of the English, even after Wellington, on taking Badajos, had brought back his forces to Fuente Guinaldo, in the north of Portugal. Generals Dorsenne and Caffarelli, who held the command in the north of Spain, plainly refused their assistance or made vague promises. General Hill, however, had advanced with 15,000 men upon the Tagus, and after attacking the works and garrison which Marmont had prepared to defend the bridge of Almaraz, carried the bridge and destroyed the fortifications. Wellington commenced to march

towards Agueda, this time seriously threatening the province of Salamanca. He justly reckoned upon the discord and weakness of the government, and the jealousy which reigned among the military leaders. Unity of action in the French armies would have made his operation impossible. Yet he advanced, and Marmont, unable to resist alone, found himself compelled to evacuate Salamanca, leaving a garrison in the three fortified convents commanding the town. He withdrew first beyond the Tormes, and soon after beyond the Douro. The defenders of the convents kept Wellington for several days before their walls, but at last yielded; and on the 28th June the English occupied Salamanca. All Marmont's efforts were for the purpose of concentrating his forces, and Wellington's to prevent him from being assisted. An Anglo-Sicilian army occupied Marshal Suchet in Catalonia; and English squadrons, cruising in the Bay of Biscay, threatened the armies of the north with a disembarkation. King Joseph in vain issued orders to Soult; Marmont was obliged to measure himself alone with Wellington, against an English army equal to his own, assisted by Spanish and Portuguese troops. The marshal was both bold and conceited, but being conscious of the danger of his situation, he tried to restrain the enemy without joining battle.

Marmont's first movements were successful. He had recrossed the Douro, and the English general was compelled to retire gradually till in his turn he was protected behind the Tormes, nearer Salamanca; while the Marshal became hopeful of gaining a victory before the promised assistance could arrive. He took up position opposite the hills of Arapiles, about a league from Salamanca, fortifying the heights with its batteries of artillery. The situation of the English was becoming critical, when Marmont made a movement to outflank the enemy's right, and thus necessarily separated his left wing from the centre of the army. Wellington had left the heights which he occupied, and when he saw this movement begin he turned to General Alava, who commanded the Spanish auxiliaries, "I have them! My dear Alava, Marmont is lost!"

He was indeed lost; for the whole of the English army, in one mass, rushed like a torrent into the gap separating our two corps. The centre was keenly attacked, while General Maucune bravely met the enemy, and drove them back to the village of Arapiles. But the battle was engaged in hurriedly, without precise orders or general plan. Marmont was severely

wounded at the commencement of the battle, and also General Bonnet on succeeding him in the command. When General Clausel, young and ardent but endowed with rare self-possession, was in his turn called to direct operations, he saw that the importance of the advantages to be gained would not justify the price they should cost, and ordered the retreat, falling back behind the Tormes. The English had suffered heavy losses; but the consequences of the battle of Arapiles were more serious than had been foreseen by either of the combatants. Clausel recrossed the Douro and fell back upon Burgos, being joined on the way by King Joseph, who was bringing him, too late, a body of 13,000 men, the approach of whom he had wrongly neglected to announce in time. The campaign was finished—unhappily finished. Joseph withdrew towards Madrid, but Wellington followed him in this movement. The army of the centre, the only resource of the King of Spain, did not allow him to defend his capital, and he found himself obliged to withdraw towards Valencia. There he sent orders to Soult to rejoin him, and abandon Andalusia. A strange suspicion had insinuated itself into Soult's distrustful mind as to King Joseph's loyalty towards the emperor; and having been informed of it by accident, the sovereign's first interviews with the great military chief were so stormy as to still further increase the difficulty of combining their military plans.

Meantime, Wellington had taken up his quarters at Madrid, where the pride of the English officers, and the violence of the Spanish democrats, frequently irritated the population. They had been accustomed to the kindness and winning ways of King Joseph, who had thus almost become popular in his capital, and was well received when the English, after failing before the citadel of Burgos, were in their turn compelled to fall back upon Salamanca. The King of Spain had brought back with him the army of the centre and that of Andalusia, and effected a junction with the army of Portugal, which had been rallied and re-formed by General Clausel. Marshal Jourdan urged him to march to Arapiles where Wellington was again settled, in order to cut off General Hill's forces, then separated from the main army. The want of concord which always reigned among the feeble king's advisers delayed that operation, and a different movement was attempted too late. The English withdrew without opposition, and the concentration of the three great armies of Spain remained without any result. Madrid was now covered by 24,000 men; but not a single place.

was left us on the Portuguese frontier, and we had been obliged to evacuate Andalusia, and raise the siege of Cadiz.

In Spain, as well as in Russia, we were beaten. Europe was every day becoming emboldened against the conqueror, so long irresistible, but now at last beginning to gather the fruits of his wrong-doing—fruits which were also bitter for our country, successively engaged in senseless enterprises of which she was so long to bear the burden!

In his real mind, the Emperor Napoleon, as he left Smorgoni, wished for peace. He thought it necessary, but impossible to obtain without another grand display of his power. He was counting upon the remains of his army which were left behind. "I have 120,000 men," said he, to Abbé Pradt, as he passed through Warsaw incognito; "I am going to find 300,000 more; I shall lead them in three or four battles on the Oder, and in six months I shall be again on the Niemen. After all, I cannot prevent it from freezing in Russia!" Every post brought him news of a disaster more complete than the preceding. On General York's defection, he wrote as follows to the princes of the Rhenish confederation:—

"I flattered myself that I should have no new efforts to ask from my peoples; but that state of things has just been suddenly changed by the treason of General York, who, with the Prussian corps, 20,000 men strong, under his orders, has joined the enemy. On this occasion Prussia has given me the strongest assurances of her intentions, which I have reason to believe sincere, but which do not prevent her troops from being with the enemy. The immediate results of that treason are, that the King of Naples has had to retire behind the Vistula, and that my losses will be increased by those yet to be made in the hospitals of Old Prussia. A remote result may be a war in Germany. I have used all proper measures to guard the frontiers of the confederation; but all the confederate states ought, on their side, to feel the necessity of making efforts proportioned to the demands of circumstances. It is not only against a foreign enemy that they have to guard themselves; they have a more dangerous one to dread—the spirit of revolt and anarchy. The Emperor of Russia has appointed Baron Stein a minister of state: he admits him into his most intimate councils—him and all those who, aspiring to change the face of Germany, have long been trying to succeed by overthrow and revolution. I ought to expect that the confederate princes will not neglect their own interests and betray their own cause; they would

betray it by not assisting me by every means in their power, or by not doing all they can to baffle the enemy's plans. They would also betray it by not rendering agitators of every kind powerless to injure, by allowing the public sheets to lead men astray by lying news, or corrupt them by pernicious doctrines; or by not anxiously watching what is preached, what is taught, and whatever can in any way influence the public tranquillity."

That fermentation of men's minds which in France Napoleon termed "ideology," and had violently attacked in a speech recently addressed to the Council of State, was characterized in Germany, and especially in Prussia, by an ardent and patriotic enthusiasm. For a long time the evils and humiliations undergone by Germany had kindled in men's hearts a deeply-seated feeling, which secretly increased under the yoke of silence. The disasters of the Russian campaign loosened their bonds, and broke the seal which had been placed on every lip. An explosion of hatred against France was everywhere manifested, with enthusiastic trust and admiration for the Czar, though he had not fought, and had only allowed old Kutuzoff, with the assistance of the cold, to triumph over an enemy come to brave the deserts and formidable climate of his country. Alexander hastened to Wilna, intoxicated by his triumph, no longer modest and distrustful of himself, but eager to put himself forward as the liberator of Germany, welcoming all who had fought against the French power, and laboring to rally round him a new coalition. The thoughts of the enemies of France were of course mainly directed to the King of Prussia; no one had suffered as he had done by Napoleon's greedy ambition; no one was conscious amongst his people of a more ardent passion of vengeance. At Berlin, in spite of the presence of our troops, the universal joy insulted our reverses, and French soldiers had great difficulty in getting food. The same sentiment burst forth throughout all Germany, together with that idea of national unity which is easily produced in the minds of conquered races by conquests and arbitrary power.

The perplexity of King Frederick William was great. Still convinced of Napoleon's preponderating power, he dared not yet openly abandon him, but hoped to profit by our misfortunes so far as to obtain some improvement of his position. He sent Hatzfeldt with his instructions to Paris, and backed up his demands by increasing his armaments. In case his claims were rejected, the King of Prussia gave it to be understood

that he should consider himself free from his engagements with France.

Austria was united to Napoleon's fortunes by closer ties, yet she also felt the thrill by which Germany generally was stirred. The Emperor Francis, as well as Metternich, began to modify their policy, hitherto more French than not, suited to the state of affairs and public opinion. Austria wished for peace; but while making the independence of Germany its basis, she also reckoned upon herself deriving several advantages. War preparations were begun in her states as well as in Prussia. Metternich, by skilful manœuvring, disseminated everywhere the idea of a German peace, and in France he laid stress upon the necessity for a glorious repose. Bubna was sent to Paris to offer for this purpose Austria's intervention with Europe.

In reply to the ideas thus communicated, Napoleon wrote to his brother-in-law, after much discussion in Council, and not without hesitation; at one time he thought of addressing himself to the Czar directly. Recapitulating the causes of his checks, he said,—

“In such a horrible tempest of cold, bivouacking became insupportable. The soldiers sought for houses and shelter in vain. That is how the Cossacks captured thousands. It is a fact that from the 7th to the 16th November the thermometer went down from ten degrees to eighteen, and even to twenty-two, and 30,000 of our horses in the artillery and cavalry died. I left several thousand artillery, ambulance, and baggage carriages, from the loss of horses. My losses were great, but the Russians cannot take any glory from the fact in any shape; I defeated them everywhere. I wished to enter into these details, not from military susceptibility, but because it seemed necessary in order that your Majesty might form a proper opinion of the present situation.” This picture of our losses was succeeded by another of our resources, intended to impose fidelity through fear. “The necessary result of all this is, that I shall take no steps towards peace,” continued Napoleon, “because the last circumstances having turned to the advantage of Russia, it belongs to her cabinet to take steps, if they understand the position of affairs. Nevertheless, I shall not object to those made by your Majesty.”

Then, unfolding his plans respecting the projected negotiations, the emperor declared that he was ready to relax in favor of Russia the conditions of the peace of Tilsit, which hampered her commercial liberty; but that he could not yield

up a single village of the grand duchy of Warsaw. With respect to England, he still adhered to the letter which he had written to Lord Castlereagh at the commencement of the Russian campaign, and which laid down the principle of the *uti possidetis*. He was, moreover, determined to make no concession with reference to the countries annexed to the empire by "sénatus-consulte;" they henceforth were part of France, such as the whole of Italy, Holland, and the Hanseatic provinces. Spain was to remain under King Joseph, the kingdom of Naples to Murat, and Prussia might obtain some increase of territory. Napoleon thought also of offering Illyria to Austria.

The concessions were illusory, and the display of pride imprudent and insolent. Beforehand, and by the conditions which he laid down, the emperor's conciliatory advances to Austria were useless; and the Duke of Bassano's bravado, in his correspondence with Metternich, aggravated still more his master's protestations. Napoleon undertook to put the seal to his provocations by his speech at the opening of the Legislative Body, on the 14th February, after an absence of more than a year from the political world:—

"Gentlemen—The war again begun in the north of Europe presented to the English a favorable opportunity for their plans; but all their hopes have fallen to the ground. Their army failed before the citadel of Burgos, and after suffering great losses was obliged to evacuate the territory of all the Spains. I myself entered Russia. The French armies were invariably victorious—at the fields of Ostrowno, Polotsk, Mohilev, Smolensk, Moskwa, Malo-Jaroslawetz. Nowhere were the Russian armies able to cope with our eagles. Moscow fell into our power.

"When the barriers of Russia were forced, and the powerlessness of her arms acknowledged, a swarm of Tartars turned their parricidal hands against the fairest provinces of that empire which it was their duty to defend. In a few weeks, in spite of the tears and despair of the wretched Muscovites, they burnt more than 4000 of their finest villages, and more than fifty of their most handsome towns, thus glutting their ancient hatred under the pretext of delaying our march by surrounding us with a desert. We triumphed over every obstacle. Even the burning of Moscow, where in four days the result of the labor and economy of forty generations was annihilated, made no change in the prosperous state of my

affairs. But the excessive and premature rigor of the winter subjected my army to a frightful calamity. In a few nights I saw everything changed, and I suffered great losses. They would have broken my heart if, at such an important time, I had been accessible to other sentiments than the interest, the glory, and the future of my peoples.

"In view of the evils which have weighed upon us, the joy of England has been great, and her hopes unbounded. She offered our fairest provinces as a reward for treason; she laid down as a condition of peace the dismemberment of this beautiful empire. It was, in other words, a proclamation of perpetual warfare. The energy of my peoples on so great an occasion, their attachment to the integrity of the empire, the love which they have manifested for me, have dissipated all those chimeras, and brought back our enemies to a truer perception of facts. It is with lively satisfaction that we have seen our peoples of the kingdom of Italy, those of old Holland and the united departments, rival the ancient French in their zeal, and perceive that their only hope, futurity, and happiness, is in the consolidation and triumph of the great empire.

"The agents of England are propagating amongst all our neighbors the spirit of revolt against the sovereigns. England wishes to see the whole continent a prey to civil war and all the terrors of anarchy; but Providence has marked herself to be the first victim of anarchy and civil war.

"I have myself personally drawn up with the Pope a Concordat which puts a stop to all the difficulties which had unfortunately arisen in the Church. The French dynasty reigns, and will reign in Spain. I am satisfied with the conduct of my allies; I will abandon none of them. I shall support the integrity of their states. The Russians will go back to their frightful climate.

"I wish for peace; it is necessary for the world. Four times since the rupture which followed the treaty of Amiens I have offered it in a formal manner. I shall never make any peace except an honorable one—one suited to the interests and greatness of my empire. My policy is not in any way mysterious; I have declared what sacrifices I could make. So long as this murderous war continues, my peoples ought to be ready for sacrifices of every kind; for a bad peace would cause us to lose everything, even hope itself; and everything would be compromised, even the prosperity of our grandchildren."

Europe was not deceived by the pacific declarations accom-

panied by such haughty manifestations; France was not deceived by them any more than the rest of Europe. The warlike preparations were on a vast scale. "If the great army had been drowned to the last man in recrossing the Niemen," wrote Bassano to Prince Metternich, "such is our martial superiority that we should not be any the less in a situation to recommence the campaign in the spring." A levy of 500,000 men had been decreed by the *sénatus-consulte* of January 11. It was composed of the contingent of 1813, already called into active service in the month of September, 1812, of the cohorts drawn from the first ban of the national guard, of 100,000 men called out from the four last classes of the conscription, and lastly, of the immediate enrolment of the contingent of 1814. This was not enough, and it was for France to respond by national enthusiasm to the impassioned ferment with which Germany was stirred up. First the great cities, then the departments, pledged themselves to supply the emperor with a certain number of cavalry ready mounted and equipped. An arbitrary tax was imposed by the prefects on the rich proprietors. Everywhere horses were requisitioned and well paid for; 27,000 fresh horses were in this way procured. Men were more difficult to find; the exigencies of military service had drawn from France its last resources. Compulsion was soon to be exercised towards families that until now had escaped conscription by means of pecuniary sacrifices. In the month of April there was a new levy of 80,000 men, from the six last classes of the conscription. In the departments an absolute authority was conferred on the prefects to call out from the gentry and middle class a certain number of young men who had hitherto kept aloof from the army through their opinions or through parental affection. From these, four select regiments were to be formed, under the appellation of guards of honor.

Dissatisfied and downcast, the upper classes were not deluded as to the necessity of the armaments which the Emperor Napoleon was preparing for war or for peace. The Senate voted without resistance the enormous levies demanded of it. The working classes, in the towns and in the country, saw themselves deprived of their natural supporters; anxiety grew into irritation. After the Russian campaign, to all mothers the death of their children seemed inevitable when they saw them called away for military service. Amongst the old wounded and invalid soldiers, more than one indig-

nantly remembered how Napoleon had abandoned them at Smorgoni. "Wait till the emperor himself leads you to the army; and whilst you are waiting, stay at home," said they to the conscripts. At Paris, the women had more than once let their abusive outcries be heard. Outside France—in Holland, in the grand-duchy of Berg, in the Hanseatic provinces—there were outbursts of indignation, and a violent opposition to the conscription was manifested. "*Vive Orange!*" was everywhere the cry in the great towns of the Netherlands. The energetic repression of these movements was immediately commanded.

Napoleon was making preparations to leave France once more. For the purpose of contributing to the expenses of the war it was decided to sell a part of the communal domains, and to replace them with government annuities. This species of confiscation was likely to excite great discontent. The issue of a considerable quantity of paper money, necessary for the supply of immediate needs whilst waiting for the sales of the landed property to be effected, of course depreciated the bank-note currency. Count Mollien, the perpetual minister of the Treasury, long resisted the adoption of this measure; he yielded at last, much against his will. "The emperor," says he, in his memoirs, "was thus retrograding towards the revolutionary practices which the public Treasury used to indulge in at the time of his advent to power, when no scruple was felt at substituting mere promises to pay for the real payments which had been guaranteed. His method of defining credit was this: *Credit is a dispensation from paying ready money*—forgetting that the first condition of credit is a free agreement between the borrower and the lender; and ruling himself by his definition, he concluded accordingly that, by the privilege of credit, the substitution of a simple promise to pay was, without any other condition, equivalent to an actual payment." Neither France nor the emperor had yet completely learned to abandon revolutionary processes; the transfer of the common lands was effected with ease, and without arousing much protest.

Napoleon sought at the same time to arrange other affairs, which had produced in his mind a feeling of alarm that does credit to his judgment. He was continuing to keep the Pope a prisoner, and had provisionally provided for the transmission of episcopal authority in his states. He still, however, felt impressed by the antagonist influence of this old man, so long

isolated in a fortress, and whose endurance of oppression weighed upon all Catholic consciences. For several months past Napoleon had been desirous of bringing Pius VII. nearer to the centre of France, and he had had him transferred to that palace of Fontainebleau in which he had formerly received him, when the Pope crossed the Alps to perform the coronation of his devout son. On re-entering the royal residence the Pope saw himself again treated with the care and respect of which he had long been deprived; but to all this he appeared indifferent. He seemed crushed by the weight of his captivity. With difficulty could the prelates devoted to Napoleon rouse the Pope from his despondency, in order to discuss the ecclesiastical questions so closely connected with the repose of the Church. The method of canonical institution was taken as settled; Pius VII. appeared disposed to accept Avignon as his residence; he was resolute in refusing any establishment at Paris. The subject of the Church lands and bishoprics in the environs of Rome, in which the Pope was personally interested, still remained an open question. On arriving in France, Napoleon wrote to the Pope:—"Most Holy Father, I hasten to send to your Holiness an officer of my house, to inform you of the satisfaction I have experienced in hearing of your good health from the Bishop of Nantes, for during this summer I was for one moment much alarmed when I learned that you had been seriously indisposed. The new residence of your Holiness will enable us to see each other, and it is much on my heart to tell you that, in spite of all the events which have taken place, I have always preserved the same personal regard for you. We shall perhaps succeed in realizing the longed-for consummation of putting an end to the differences that exist between the State and the Church. As far as I am concerned, I am strongly disposed towards it; and it will depend entirely upon your Holiness. Most Holy Father, I pray God that He may preserve you for many years, in order that you may have the glory of re-settling the government of the Church, and that you may long enjoy the fruits of your labors."

A few weeks later the emperor suddenly arrived at Fontainebleau, so agitating the Pope that he could not recover his self-possession. "My Father!" cried the conqueror, on entering the room of the pontiff. Pius VII., without hesitating, responded by the name of son so familiar on the lips of priests; he, nevertheless, felt that there was a secret antagonism be-

tween the interests of his august visitor and his own. As soon as the conversation turned upon important points, Napoleon brought into play all the seductions of his manner and eloquence, in order to induce the pontiff to ratify the ruin of his temporal power. Appealing to the religious sentiment which was all-powerful in the mind of Pius VII., he set forth the benefits that would result to the faith through a freedom from anxiety as to those earthly possessions which had always been to the Roman pontiffs a cause of embarrassment, and of disastrous concessions and transactions. The time was past for the material power of the popes as sovereigns to have any weight in the balance of European interests. Everything around them was changed; religion alone remained unchanged; it was necessary to disentangle it from every chain. The Pope, free and independent at Avignon, endowed with a revenue of two millions from the property already sold in the Roman States, the possessor of all the domains still under sequestration, should have reserved to him the appointment of cardinals, and of the Roman bishops, whose sees should be re-established, and the nomination to ten bishoprics in Italy or in France at his choice. The canonical institution of the prelates had been settled by the Council, with the consent even of the holy father. The situation of the dismissed or disgraced bishops should be provided for. The archives of the court of Rome should be transported to the palace of the popes of Avignon. The emperor did not even require a formal renunciation of the by-gone power of the Roman Church as regards those territories which he had annexed to the empire. He accepted the formula which the Pope was willing to sign: "His Holiness will exercise the pontificate in France, in the same manner, and with the same forms, as his predecessors." The question of residence was decided verbally. Pius VII. exacted one final clause for the pious satisfaction of his conscience: "The holy father submits to the above arrangements in consideration of the present state of the Church, and in the confidence with which the emperor has inspired him that his Majesty will extend his powerful protection to the innumerable necessities of the Church in the times in which we live." The Concordat was only to be published with the consent of the cardinals, still dispersed or prisoners. The solemn deed was, however, signed at Fontainebleau, January 25, 1813—a new evidence of the blindness of men. A very few months were to pass by before this edifice, so laboriously constructed, at the

cost of so many evil actions on one side, and after so much conscientious hesitation on the other, was to crumble away. Soon was the Pope to re-enter Rome, and the Emperor Napoleon to sign, even at Fontainebleau, the sorrowful act of his abdication. No one foresaw the events that were preparing: neither the simple faithful, rejoiced at seeing peace re-established in the Church, nor the majority of the counsellors of the pontiff, anxious and uneasy at the concessions they had granted, and who did not fail soon to excite in the mind of Pius VII. the scruples which they themselves experienced. Napoleon no longer troubled his mind about the matter; he had obtained the result he wished for. Everywhere the circumstances were carefully reported, as affording fresh hopes of that terrestrial peace perpetually promised to Europe, and which, it was maintained, would even now be assured to it by new and terrible combats.

For the first time during eight years, on hearing the news of the disasters of the Russian campaign, Louis XVIII., constantly resident in England in a silent tranquillity that was full of dignity, wished to remind Europe of his existence and his claims, which seemed as if alike forgotten. He wrote to the Emperor Alexander in favor of the 100,000 French prisoners detained in Russia. "Little does it matter under what banners they have served," said he. "I see in them only my children; I commend them to your Imperial Majesty. May they learn that their conqueror is the friend of their father! Your Majesty could not give me a more touching proof of your sentiments for me."

The royal letter remained without reply. On February 1st, Louis XVIII. published from Hartwell a manifesto explanatory of his sentiments and his ideas—less liberal in its political sentiments than the declaration promulgated at Mittau in 1804, more coaxing and encouraging as regards individuals and their titles and dignities. The maintenance of the Code, *sullied by the name of the usurper*, was amongst the promises lavished upon the nation and the army. In response to the universal weariness, Louis XVIII. announced the intention of suppressing the military conscription. The manifesto made no stir, and the efforts put forth by a few agents of the prince produced no result. It remained for the Emperor Napoleon himself to replace the Bourbons on the throne, by the force of his own faults and disasters.

Meanwhile, the sixth coalition against France was being

formed. The King of Prussia yielded at last to the irresistible movement which drew around him all his people. His propositions had been badly received at Paris. When Bubna returned to Breslau, whither Frederick William had transported his court, he found the prince resolved upon henceforth acting in concert with Russia, but still hesitating as to the method of effecting the transition from one alliance to the other. The Emperor Alexander was ready to furnish him with a pretext. Knesebeck, the Prussian envoy at his court, was ostensibly sent to ask for explanations from the Czar, with regard to the invasion of Silesia, and the authority which the Russians assumed over a foreign territory. It was easy to comprehend the secret object of his mission. The Prussians all knew it; their king was one with them in thought and feeling; he prudently waited till circumstances should compel him to act. The war-party were victorious at Koenigsberg over the hesitating arguments of Kutuzoff. The Emperor Alexander was already at Kalisch; Wittgenstein was advancing upon Custrin and Berlin. The Prince of Schwartzemberg, adopting the conciliatory attitude of his government, retired towards Cracow without fighting. General Reynier had just fallen back upon the Elbe. The Viceroy of Italy followed him thither, and on March 4th he set out from Berlin towards Magdeburg, where he gathered together all the forces still scattered in Germany. His army numbered about 80,000 men, for the most part fatigued and dissatisfied. The effects of the Russian campaign had been disastrous for the *morale* as well as for the military force of the great army.

The King of Prussia was free; Berlin was evacuated. The joyful acclamations of his subjects recalled their monarch to his capital. He still lingered at Breslau, preparing his plans for a definite rupture with France, anxious to the very last moment, notwithstanding the significant measures he was every day taking. Everywhere the gentry, the students, and even the artisans, were rushing to enrol themselves in the service of their country. Marshal Blucher had just been called to take the supreme command of the armies. General York, whose trial had been formally commenced, was acquitted, and reinstated in his command. The Emperor Alexander was approaching. On March 15th he entered Breslau, accompanied by a brilliant staff. Baron Stein preceded his sovereign, happy in at length seeing his long-continued labors crowned with success, and Europe ready to unite her efforts against the Em-

peror Napoleon. At the same time (March 23rd) the Prince Royal of Sweden wrote to his former chief: "I know how favorably disposed towards peace are both the Emperor Alexander and the cabinet of St. James. The calamities of the continent loudly call for it, and your Majesty ought not to put obstacles in the way. Possessor of the grandest monarchy on earth, ought you to desire ceaselessly to extend its limits, and bequeath to an arm less powerful than your own the inheritance of never-ending wars? Will not your Majesty apply yourself to healing the wounds of a revolution of which there remains to France nothing but the remembrance of military glory, and internal evils that are only too genuine? Sire, the teachings of history repel the idea of a universal monarchy: the sentiment of independence may be deadened, but cannot be effaced from the hearts of nations. May your Majesty weigh all these considerations, and truly turn your thoughts towards a universal peace, of which the name has been profanated for the spilling of so much blood! I was born, sire, in that beautiful France which you govern, and to its glory and its prosperity I can never be indifferent; but, without ceasing to indulge in good wishes for its welfare, I shall defend, with all the faculties of my soul, both the rights of the people who have called me to them, and the honor of the sovereign who has deigned to adopt me as his son. In this struggle between the freedom of the world and tyranny, I shall say to the Swedes: 'I fight for you, and with you; and the good wishes of all free nations will accompany our efforts.' In politics, sire, there are neither friendships nor hatreds, there are simply duties to be fulfilled towards the peoples whom Providence has called upon us to govern. If, in order to succeed therein, one is compelled to renounce ancient friendships and family affections, no prince who wishes to fulfil his vocation ought to hesitate as to the part he will take. As far as my personal ambition is concerned, I admit that my ideal is a lofty one; for it is to serve the cause of humanity, and insure the independence of the Scandinavian peninsula."

Bernadotte and Sweden were already bound by the conventions of Abo to act against the Emperor Napoleon. The King of Prussia gave in his adherence to the coalition on the 28th of February: on the 17th of March he declared war against France. Our chargé d'affaires, St. Marsan, quitted Breslau; several corps of Cossacks had already been thrown forwards upon Hamburg and Lubeck. Prince Eugène found himself

compelled to abandon these places in order to protect Dresden. Hamburg was evacuated by the French authorities, menaced on all sides by the populace. The island of Heliogoland was occupied by the English. The King of Saxony, still faithful to Napoleon, but anxious and troubled on account of the sentiments prevalent among his subjects, inclined towards the mediatorial policy adopted by Austria. He quitted his capital, towards which the Russians were already advancing, and retreated into Bavaria. Dresden forthwith beheld the enemy appear before it. The Saxon troops were cantoned in Thurgau, refusing to unite in resistance to the French. Marshal Davout, resolute and harsh, immediately blew up the bridges over the Elbe, and put the city in a state of defence. Everywhere in Europe the conflagration was being ignited; Austria alone still sought to extinguish or to moderate it.

"In what way do you expect me to negotiate with England?" said Metternich to Otto, the French minister at Vienna; "your emperor proclaims that the French dynasty reigns, and will reign in Spain. How would you have me negotiate with Russia and Prussia, when you say that constitutional territories or dependencies of these allies—that is to say, the Hanseatic towns and the grand duchy of Warsaw—must remain inviolably alienated from them? Never should I be able to obtain the consent of Europe to such conditions. Why be so positive on points which it is impossible to defend? Peace is necessary for us; it is also necessary for you. For even in gaining victories (and you will need to gain many to make Europe what you would have it to be) the force of public opinion is not always to be resisted, and a consequent reaction is soon experienced. As for us, we shall merely have to choose: we are offered everything—everything. Do you understand? But we shall only desire those things which cannot be refused to us. We wish for an independent Germany, and for peace. We are thirsting for peace, and we wish to give it to the people who are demanding it from us."

The Prince of Schwartzenberg was sent to Paris in order to support, by his presence and advice, the sage councils of Metternich. He had formerly negotiated the marriage of Maria-Louise, that powerful bond by which the Emperor Napoleon expected to be able to keep Austria linked with his own fortunes. The Prince of Schwartzenberg was not disposed to sacrifice for any such cause his country's freedom of action. "The marriage! the marriage!" cried he one day,

whilst arguing with Bassano. "Policy brought it about, and policy might undo it!" The Emperor Napoleon sent Narbonne to Vienna, for the purpose of sounding the Austrian court on the great projects which he was revolving in his mind, but which were based on a grave error. He thought Austria desirous of conquest, and ready to risk much for self-aggrandizement. The Emperor Francis, and his clever minister, were desirous of peace—peace at any price. They were prudently paving the way for it, caring little for the spoils of Prussia that were offered them, and which had only been for them a perpetual source of embarrassment and anxiety.

Peace was being negotiated at Vienna, whilst war was being prepared for at Paris. But every day the attitude of the Emperor Napoleon rendered the task of the mediators more difficult. Every day also, and by insensible degrees, Austria and the allied powers were becoming more closely united in opposition to the all-powerful master of France. The Prince of Schwartzemberg did not dare to announce it at Paris, but his master had determined not to furnish any troops for the war, and his alliance with France was becoming simply an armed mediation. The clever manœuvres of Metternich drew the King of Saxony away from Dresden. Under the pretext of guaranteeing his safety, this prince was induced to come to Prague, and to abandon the grand duchy of Warsaw, the disastrous gift of Napoleon to his ally. A secret convention was concluded at Kalisch between Austria and Russia. The Russian general Sacken was to march against the Austrian corps, who should give way before him, abandon Cracow, and retreat into Galicia, drawing in his train the Polish corps of Poniatowski. The Poles were to cross the States of the Emperor Francis without arms, free to resume them afterwards for the service of the Emperor Napoleon, wherever and however might be most convenient. The news of this arrangement reached Narbonne soon after his arrival at Vienna.

Metternich explained to the French envoy the bases upon which he believed it possible to establish peace in Europe. These were, the re-establishment of the intermediary powers in Germany, the evacuation of the Hanseatic towns, the abandonment of the chimera of the grand duchy of Warsaw, and the reconstitution of Prussia. "We shall have quite enough trouble," said he, "in preventing the affairs of Holland, Spain, and Italy, from being talked about. England will probably

speak of them; and if she gives way as to Holland and Italy, she will certainly not give way as to Spain. However, if you are reasonable in other respects, possibly we may be able to get you through that difficulty." To these propositions Narbonne, reticent for awhile, soon replied by a proposition that Austria should take the principal part in the negotiations. She was to menace the allied powers with 100,000 men, and, if necessary, push them forward into Silesia. Part of this province was to be assigned to her, whilst the Emperor Napoleon undertook to fight and overcome all the allied armies. "And if the powers are willing to listen to our peaceful overtures, what proposals shall we make to them?" asked Metternich. It was the part of the negotiator to bring about war, not peace. Narbonne kept silence. "I am not yet acquainted with the conditions," he presently replied, "but suppose they were not such as you desire . . .?" The Austrian minister, in his turn, was hesitating, not from indecision, but from a repugnance to letting his secret too soon escape from him. He dwelt upon the good faith he was displaying towards France, and upon his admiration of the wisdom of the Emperor Napoleon. "But suppose my master thinks otherwise than you," rejoined Narbonne; "suppose he prides himself in not yielding the territories incorporated with the empire, and that he wishes to preserve to France all that he has conquered for it,—what would happen then?" "It would happen—it would happen," replied Metternich, "that you would be compelled to grant to France that which she herself demands of you, that which she has a just right to demand of you after so many glorious efforts, that is to say, peace—peace with that just greatness which she has won with so much blood. Her right to that greatness it does not enter into the mind of any one, even of England itself, to dispute with her." "But in that case how do you understand the rôle of mediator? Would you turn your forces against us?" "Well, yes!" cried at last the minister, driven into a corner; "the mediator must be impartial. The armed mediator is an arbitrator who has in his hands the force necessary to make justice respected, it being well understood that all the favor this arbitrator can show will incline towards France . . ." And as Narbonne turned aside with a humorous remark the conversation which seemed to him to be getting too animated: "I reckon upon your victories," exclaimed Metternich, "and I shall have need of them, for it will take more than one to bring your adversaries to reason;

but do not deceive yourselves, on the morrow of a victory you will find us as resolute as to-day."

Napoleon had at length compelled Austria to declare herself; and the position taken up by the latter in consequence of this premature explosion of her designs was not favorable to our policy. In spite of the protestations of firmness on the part of Metternich, the opening of the campaign and the first successes of Napoleon influenced his decisions, and facilitated the pleadings of the mediator in favor of France. Austria found herself henceforth relieved, in part, from the necessity for reticence. Her military preparations were completed. The Poles were called upon to lay down their arms, greatly to the wrath of the Emperor Napoleon. "I do not wish to be served by men dishonored!" he cried. Prince Poniatowski received orders to throw himself into the grand duchy, "as a partisan, in order to make a diversion, and draw multitudes of people to him." From the 17th of April Napoleon was at Mayence.

He had set out from Paris on the 15th, after having solemnly confided the regency to the Empress Marie-Louise, with the assistance and counsel of the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès. The latter was growing old; he felt worn out, and dreaded the responsibility; the emperor exacted from his devotion the acceptance of the task confided to him. Napoleon spurned the idea of confiding the care of the empire to one of his brothers. The composition of the Council of Regency was regulated by a *sénatus consulte*. Napoleon calculated on the attachment of the Emperor Francis for his daughter, and on the satisfaction he would experience at the tokens of confidence lavished on her by her husband. It was with evident emotion that he separated from her, and from his son. Meanwhile he was full of confidence as to victory. "I shall fight two battles," said he, on quitting St. Cloud, "one upon the Elbe, the other upon the Oder; I shall raise the blockade of my fortresses; and on reaching the Niemen I shall stay my course, for I do not wish for endless war. The peace I shall dictate will cost neither more nor less than the independence of Poland, and the security of Europe."

"We have played King of France long enough," said Henri IV., when the Spaniards were besieging Amiens; "let us now try King of Navarre." The Emperor Napoleon resolved in the same manner to leave behind him all imperial pomp. "It is my intention," he gave orders to the marshal of the palace,

“to arrange my equipages on an entirely different scale than during the last campaign. I wish to have fewer people about me, fewer cooks, fewer plates and dishes, no great dressing-case—and all this as much for the sake of example as for the diminishing of encumbrances. In camp and on march, the tables, even my own, shall be served with a soup, a boiled and a roast joint, and vegetables, with no dessert; in the great cities one may do as one pleases. I wish to take no pages with me, they are of no use; perhaps I may take such of the huntsmen as are twenty-four years of age, who, being accustomed to fatigue, may be of use. Diminish in the same way the number of canteens; instead of four beds, only have two; instead of four tents, let there be only two, and furniture in proportion. We must be lightly equipped,” said Napoleon, “for we shall have many enemies to fight against; and in order to achieve success, we shall have to march quickly.”

On the 26th of April he quitted Mayence. Prince Eugène, with 60,000 men, was waiting for him at the confluence of the Elbe and Saal. Marshal Ney had pushed forward upon Weimar with 48,000 men. Marmont was still organizing his forces at Hanau, and was ultimately to take up his position, with 30,000 or 32,000 men, along the Elbe. The guard did not include more than 15,000 or 16,000 men. Davout was ordered to take and occupy Hamburg. General Bertrand was forming an army of reserve in Italy. About 200,000 men were marching with cries of “Vive l'Empereur!” acclamations that were always wrung from the soldiers by the presence of Napoleon, whatever might be the spite and anger towards him which many of them nursed in secret. Already they were defiling the whole length of the Saal, which Prince Eugène ascended, whilst the Emperor advanced in the opposite direction. The allies had not foreseen this manœuvre: their forces were not yet complete. Many of the German princes, after hesitating a long time, decided at last upon furnishing their contingent to the French army. Austria remained neutral; the Swedes had not yet arrived; the allied powers could not reckon up more than 110,000 or 112,000 men under their flags. The Prussians were as numerous as they were eager.

On the 1st of May, Napoleon commenced the march forward, and Prince Eugène joined him. Marshal Ney repulsed the enemy at Weissenfels, happy and proud at the conduct of the young troops which he commanded, and who were now under fire for the first time. “These boys are heroes,” wrote he to

the emperor; "I shall achieve with them whatever you wish for." Next day, upon the same piece of ground, whilst debouching into the plain of Lutzen, an engagement of the vanguard cost Marshal Bessières his life. He fell, shot in the breast. "Death is very near us!" said the emperor, as he saw carried away in his cloak the commander of the cavalry of his guard, the faithful companion of his campaigns, who had wished upon this very day to follow him more closely. The charges of the enemy's cavalry were repulsed, and the night was passed at Lutzen. Napoleon visited the monument erected by the grateful remembrance of his people to King Gustavus Adolphus, who had died on this plain more than 180 years before. "I will have a tomb erected here for the Duke of Istria," said the emperor. He had already directed the army to move towards Leipzig.

On May 2nd, at two o'clock in the morning, Napoleon quitted Lutzen, placing the corps of Marshal Ney in a group of villages which was to serve as the pivot of his operations. General Maison, who had gone on in advance, attacked Leipzig with a vigor which was soon crowned with success. As the emperor debouched before the place, he saw it taken by his troops. At the same time the cannonade announced that the allies were attacking the villages occupied by Ney. The marshal was personally accompanying the emperor. "We were going to outflank them: they are trying the same manœuvre. There is no harm done; they will find us everywhere ready." Modifying his plan of battle in a moment, and sending clear and precise orders to all his generals, he himself hastened towards the midst of the combat. In spite of the division of the command, and the recent death of old Kutuzoff, who had at last succumbed to his fatigues, the allies had wisely arranged their plans; and they profited on the plain of Lutzen by all the advantages that were assured to them by the splendid cavalry which they had at their disposal. Since the Russian campaign, in spite of the energetic efforts of the Emperor Napoleon, our armies had been deprived of this precious resource; Murat and his cavalry had disappeared.

The five villages were fiercely attacked; the passionate ardor of Blücher and the Prussians forced our young divisions to fall back. Two successive attacks had dislodged the regiments which occupied Gross-Gorschen, Klein-Gorschen, and Rahna. The French were entrenched in the villages of Kaja and Starsiedel; Marshal Marmont was coming up with his corps. Ney,

advancing from Leipzig at a furious gallop, rallied upon his route several divisions, whom he immediately led to the assault of the abandoned villages. They fought with their bayonets with equal vigor on both sides. Blücher wished at any cost to free his country; Ney was resolute to defend the greatness of France. Fortune had not yet abandoned the latter; the young soldiers advanced fearlessly under fire, and drove back the Prussians as far as Gross-Gorschen. The Emperor Napoleon had just arrived on the field of battle.

Blücher dashed forward afresh; wounded in the arm, he did not the less urge forward the attack. The villages were retaken; Kaja itself was threatened. On this occasion Napoleon did not keep himself aloof from the combat, as at the battle of the Moskowa; he himself brought back the trembling conscripts against the enemy. "Young men," said he to them, "I have reckoned upon you to save the empire; and you flee!" At the same time Count Lobau drove back the Prussian guard from the positions of Kaja. The combat and the carnage spread out over the plain for the space of two leagues. Blücher sent requests to the Czar and King Frederick William to combine in a grand effort upon the centre. The want of unity in the command rendered the orders feeble and confused. Meanwhile the forces of Wittgenstein and of York were advancing to the aid of Blücher. The divisions of Marshal Ney, exhausted by a desperate struggle, gave way before this new assault. Kaja was once more outflanked by the enemy, who pushed forward beyond it to engage the guard. The reserve corps at this moment arrived on the theatre of combat. Already the columns of attack were directed against Kaja and Starsiedel; the artillery was raking in flank the lines of the hostile infantry. The allies fell back in their turn. Blücher was still pleading for a final effort; but the sovereigns dreaded to engage their reserves. Ammunition was beginning to fail. Prudence carried the day, and the Prussian and Russian corps commenced the retreat. A charge of Blücher against the corps of Marmont carried for a moment disorder into our ranks on the side of Starsiedel. Meanwhile the enemy disappeared, little by little, without the possibility of pursuing them for want of cavalry. The French army rested on the field of battle, in the midst of the dead and the dying. "We are beaten, it may be," said Narbonne, when the first news of the battle was inaccurately reported at Vienna. "We shall see to-morrow what route is taken by the conquered and the con-

querors." The movements of the two armies soon justified the foresight of the former war minister of King Louis XVI. The allied sovereigns retired beyond the Elbe; the Emperor Napoleon advanced upon Dresden, where the Russians did not wait for him. The emperor received the keys of the town, sharply reprimanding the Saxons, who had been unfaithful as allies, and declaring that his clemency to them was only due to the affection, virtues, and loyalty of their king. That honorable prince, still more terrified than his subjects, had already taken measures to obey the emperor's peremptory commands. He again took the road to Dresden, accompanied by his court and troops. On the 12th May, Napoleon came to meet him, pretending ignorance of the old king's negotiations with the court of Vienna, and the shortcomings of his loyalty. Overwhelmed with honors and confidence, the King of Saxony was, without a struggle, brought again under Napoleon's authority; the latter regaining possession of the Saxon army, while solemnly restoring his states to the sovereign who had so recently been a fugitive. Babua had just arrived, entrusted with a letter from the Emperor Francis, and pacific propositions from Austria.

From his conversation with the King of Saxony, as well as by intercepted despatches and Narbonne's reports, Napoleon was enabled to understand the diplomacy of Austria, her treatment of her enemies, and the fixed resolve of the Emperor Francis, as well as his minister, to make peace if possible, but in any case not to allow themselves to be drawn into a war in the train of France. He was therefore in his secret mind, annoyed and suspicious, with a new inclination towards direct relations with Russia, and disposed to grant concessions to the Czar and to England which he refused to Austria. Nevertheless, he felt it necessary that that power should take the first step towards a congress which should allow him to treat with the allies. After giving way to his anger, which Babua allowed to pass without reply, the emperor seemed to calm down. He listened to the propositions of Austria, which were still the same, and had reference to the German territories. The title of Protector of the Rhenish Confederation, and the question of the Hanse towns, alone interested Napoleon personally. He insisted upon those two points without violence, and showed himself ready to admit the Spanish insurgents to the congress. Whilst thus officially agreeing to the congress, and the armistice rendered necessary by the congress, Napoleon wrote to

his father-in-law:—"I am deeply touched by what your Majesty tells me in your letter regarding the interest you have in me. I deserve it from you by the sincerity of the sentiments which I have for you. If your Majesty takes some interest in my happiness, I trust you will be careful of my honor. I am determined to die, if need be, at the head of the men of generous feeling in France, rather than become the laughing-stock of the English, and allow my enemies to triumph. May your Majesty think of the future, and not destroy the fruits of three years' friendship, or revive by-gone plots which should precipitate Europe into convulsions, and wars with interminable issues, or sacrifice to wretched considerations the happiness of our generation, of your life, and the true interest of your subjects, and (why should I not mention it?) of a member of your family, sincerely attached to you! May your Majesty be ever assured of my attachment!"

Whilst the Emperor Napoleon was thus speaking and writing, he commanded Caulaincourt to present himself to the advanced posts of the allied sovereigns, in order to institute direct negotiations with them regarding the armistice. The following were his formal instructions:—

"The main point is to declare one's self. You will let me know, from head-quarters, what has been said. By knowing the Emperor Alexander's views we shall at last come to an understanding. My intention, moreover, is to make him a golden bridge, to save him from Metternich's intrigues. If I must make sacrifices, I prefer to do so for the advantage of the Emperor Alexander, who is an honorable foe, and the King of Prussia, in whom Russia takes an interest, than for that of Austria, who has been a false ally, and who, under the title of mediator, wishes to arrogate the right of disposing of everything, after having done what suited herself. By treating now, all the honor of the peace will belong to the Emperor Alexander alone; whereas by making use of the mediation of Austria, the latter power, whatever be the result of peace or war, should seem to have weighed in the balance the fate of all Europe."

The allied sovereigns refused to negotiate directly, and Caulaincourt was politely referred to Stadion, who had been appointed to treat the question of a congress in the name of the mediating power. "A direct mission to the Russian head-quarters would cut the world in two," Napoleon had said. It was this rupture of European interests which the allied powers were resolved to avoid.

Meanwhile every preparation was made for a second and terrible battle. Leaving Dresden on the 18th May, Napoleon reached Bautzen on the 19th. Prince Eugène had set out for Italy in order to organize a new army intended to alarm Austria. To these forces 20,000 Neapolitan troops were to be added. Napoleon had sent for Murat, who though daring and invincible on the battle-field, had proved himself a timid and commonplace sovereign, more occupied with preserving his throne than in maintaining towards the emperor the fidelity which he owed him. Napoleon was well aware of his disposition. It was by his victories that he counted upon rallying round him all his trembling allies.

The armies of the allies were grouped round the small town Bautzen, which lies at the base of the Bohemian mountains covered with gloomy pine forests. The river Spree, in front of the place, was strongly defended. The emperor at once understood the necessity of a double battle, which should probably occupy two days. Engagements had already taken place at several points, and on the 20th, about noon, a battle began on the banks of the Spree. Marshal Oudinot on the right and Marmont on the left crossed the river, driving back by main force those who defended the position indicated by Napoleon. In the centre, Marshal Macdonald had taken the stone bridge leading to Bautzen, and carried the town at the point of the bayonet after the artillery had burst open the gates. General Bertrand crossed the nearest branches of the Spree, at the foot of the heights occupied by Blücher, but his movements had been delayed; the position was strong, and well defended. He encamped on the left bank, guarding the passage across, and waiting for next day's attack. The emperor entered Bautzen, and encamped under the walls of the town.

The allied armies held nearly all the heights, excepting Tronberg, which had been carried on the previous evening by Marshal Oudinot. They were also protected by strong redoubts and the marshes formed by the river. The attack was therefore certain to be difficult and dangerous. Napoleon determined to divide it; Marshal Ney being ordered to cross the Spree at Klix, two leagues from Bautzen, in spite of the resistance there presented by General Barclay de Tolly, and then pass behind the mamelons occupied by Blücher, in order to take him in rear. The emperor intended to wait for Ney's approach, which was to be announced by discharges of artillery,

before attacking the centre of the enemy's position. At day-break on the 21st May, the cannon began to roar along the whole line. Muffling, an officer on the Russian staff, had alone perceived the danger which threatened Klix. He urged the Emperor Alexander to fortify this point; but he was not listened to. A keen engagement soon began between Marshal Ney and Barclay de Tolly. The village Preititz, held by the Russians, was twice taken and retaken. If Ney, in the isolation of his movements, had not hesitated to advance to intercept from the enemy the road to Hochkirch, Blücher's retreat would have become a disaster. Threatened in rear, keenly attacked in front by Marmont and Bertrand, the Prussian general, in spite of his heroic obstinacy, found himself compelled to withdraw. He had time to evacuate the mamelons by one of the sides, whilst Ney was climbing the other; Marshals Marmont and Mortier having at the same time crossed the stream which covered the Russian positions. Oudinot, at first driven back from Tronberg by Miloradowitch, again assumed the offensive. The enemy were everywhere keenly pursued. The emperor at once sent Oudinot to march upon Berlin, against General Bulow, while he himself advanced upon Breslau in pursuit of the allies, marching at the head of his army, and commanding the attacks of the advanced guard. It was thus that in the Reichenbach valley he had a cavalry engagement, which enabled him to ascertain both the warlike enthusiasm of his enemies, who were daily becoming more formidable, and the relative inferiority of his horse soldiers, who were lately formed, indifferently mounted, and less experienced in war than his former troops. The ground, however, was free, and the emperor, dismounting, was giving orders to have his tent pitched, when he was told that General Kirgener was killed, General Bruyère having already succumbed in a cavalry charge. "Fortune has certainly a spite against us to-day," exclaimed the emperor, and at the same moment some one called out that Duroc was dead. "Impossible!" said Napoleon, turning round quickly. "I have just been talking to him!" The marshal, however, was then being carried off the field, struck in the stomach by a bullet which had glanced against a tree: he was already dying, and in great agony. Of a serious and sorrowful disposition, he had said to Caulaincourt a few minutes previously, "You see the emperor, my dear fellow, he is to-day gaining victories. After our misfortunes in Russia, it is now time to take advantage of the lesson;

but he is always the same, insatiable and indefatigable. That must all end badly!" On coming near his old friend, Napoleon, full of grief and emotion, said, "This is not the end, Duroc. There is another life, where we shall meet again; perhaps soon," he added, as he yielded to the dying man's earnest request that he would leave him. His eyes were full of tears, and he appeared for a moment to rise above merely temporal consolations; but he allowed no religious ceremonies at the obsequies which he ordered in Paris to be celebrated in honor of the two friends of whom death had deprived him within a few days. Villemain and Victorien Fabre were appointed to pronounce a funeral oration over Marshals Bessières and Duroc. "I will have no priests," wrote Napoleon to Cambacérès.

A partial engagement, following upon a surprise, placed Ney and General Maison in danger at Haguenau, whilst at Sprottau a very large park of artillery fell into General Sebastiani's hands. On the 27th the whole of the army had reached the Oder, and the French garrison, which had been blockaded for five months in Glogau, was set at liberty. The emperor had now reached Liegnitz, and was threatening Breslau.

The position of the allies was become critical. They had begun the campaign with the disadvantage of a great numerical inferiority, which became still greater by the battles of Lutzen, Bautzen, and the other smaller engagements which had taken place. Barclay de Tolly affirmed that he must withdraw into Poland to reform his army; and the entrenched camp of Bunzelwitz, with which they expected to be able to stop Napoleon, had been recently dismantled by the French. The armistice, therefore, became an indispensable condition of the very existence of the coalition. Nesselrode set out for Vienna with instructions to persuade Austria in favor of this. In case Metternich should still hesitate, the Emperor Alexander was to receive Caulaincourt, and enter upon direct negotiations with France. General Kleist, in the name of the Prussians, and Count Schouwaloff, in the name of the Russians, went on the 29th May to the French advanced guard. The emperor had eight days previously announced that he was ready to treat about an armistice. In spite of the recent defeats of their armies, the commissioners remained proud, deeply impressed with the justice of their cause, and fastidious as to the terms of the convention. Napoleon at first found himself bound by his promises, whatever advantage he might have gained by actively pursuing the war and destroying the allied forces before they

could be reinforced. He also wished to supplement his resources, send for the 250,000 men, which were still wanting, strengthen his cavalry, and after the hot weather resume the series of his triumphs for the purpose of imposing peace upon his enemies without the mediation of Austria, which had now become hateful to him. With this object, he agreed to an armistice which was unnecessary to him, and in principle to the congress which he did not really wish for, and laid down theoretically the bases of a peace which he was determined not to ratify. So much insincerity and falsehood were certain to prove fatal to him; and Blücher and the Prussian patriots were seriously in error as to their country's interest when they violently insisted upon immediately continuing hostilities.

The armistice was at last concluded, on the 4th June. Napoleon had definitely rejected Austria's last conciliatory propositions, transmitted by Bubna, which put off till the general peace the consideration of the Hanse towns and the Rhenish Confederation. He agreed to neutralize the territory around Breslau, and let the position of the Hanse towns be fixed as should have been decided by the fate of war on the 8th June at midnight. Marshal Davout was upon the point of entering Hamburg, a fact which told in our favor. Including the day of declaration, the armistice was to extend to the 26th July.

Instigated by his pride, the Emperor Napoleon practically refused Austria's mediation, which he had accepted in principle, and thus surrendered to his adversaries all the advantages which had been gained at so great cost since the beginning of the campaign. His actual secret intentions were opposed to the peace which he pretended to wish for, and he considered the rest asked from him, by France as well as Europe, to be dishonorable. Yet he was sure of preserving, as the price of his long years of warfare, Belgium, the Rhenish provinces, Holland, Piedmont, Tuscany, the Roman States. No one objected to the vassal kings of France retaining Westphalia, Lombardy, and Naples. The possession and redistribution of the Spanish territory still remained an open question. The sacrifices demanded from us in exchange for the peace were, the cession of the grand duchy of Warsaw, and its partition in favor of Russia and Austria, the restitution of the free towns of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, the restoration of Illyria to Austria, and the abolition of the Rhenish Confederation. Such was the cost, in 1813, of the general peace.

The Emperor Napoleon preferred to assemble the congress,

in order to gain the time necessary for his military preparations. No information of it was yet given in France, and he took measures to conceal the proposals which had been made to him. The anxiety shown by several of his great functionaries with reference to the peace excited his displeasure. On the 13th June he thus wrote to General Savary, Duke of Rovigo:—"I am dissatisfied with the tone of your communications; you constantly annoy me about the need for peace. I know better than you the situation of my empire; and that tendency given to your correspondence produces no favorable impression in me. I wish for peace, and I am more interested in it than anybody; your remarks on the subject are therefore useless. But I shall not make a peace which would be dishonorable, or would in six months bring back a more determined war. Make no reply to this: these matters are no business of yours; do not interfere in them."

The desire for peace in opposition to Napoleon's intention, and which he in vain sought to evade, was universal. On the day after the signing of the armistice at Pleiswitz, Bubna returned to Dresden, instructed to announce that the allied powers accepted Austria's mediation, and to ascertain what conditions of peace Napoleon intended submitting to the congress. The Austrian envoy waited, and when at last the emperor deigned to reply to his urgent application, it was by chicanery, discussing technicalities of his mission, and the part Austria had taken in the negotiation. The days of the armistice were passing away; Metternich resolved to handle this important question himself. In order to provoke Napoleon's jealousy, he set out at first for Oppontschna, where the allied sovereigns were. They had just concluded a treaty with England as to subsidies. The Austrian minister with some difficulty succeeded in making the allies accept the bases of the peace as he wished, and as he had several times proposed to Napoleon. "The emperor will never grant what you ask," declared the Russian and Prussian diplomatists. "Should he not consent, the emperor my master will be free to join the alliance," replied Metternich. He at once set out for Dresden, and, as he expected, Napoleon had already sent to summon him for an interview.

I borrow from Thiers the account of the interview of the Emperor Francis's minister with the angry and suspicious conqueror: by means of an account written by Metternich himself, he has modified the official reports of the imperial

diplomacy. The truth was already obvious under the reticences of Bassano and Baron Fain, but in the sad recollections of the distinguished diplomatist it assumes an incisive force. "Ah! there you are, M. de Metternich!" exclaimed Napoleon, as he saw him enter. "You are very late." Then, recounting his grievances against Austria, he said, "I have thrice restored his throne to the Emperor Francis; I have even committed the fault of marrying his daughter: nothing could bring him to a better way of thinking. Last year, reckoning upon him, I concluded a treaty of alliance, by which I guaranteed to him his states, and he guaranteed to me mine. Had he told me that that treaty did not suit him, I should not have insisted upon it, nor should I have even engaged in the Russian campaign. But he signed it; and after a single campaign, which the elements rendered unfortunate, you now see him wavering, interposing between my enemies and me—to negotiate the terms of peace, he tells me; but in reality to stop me in my victories, and rescue from my hands enemies whom I was about to destroy. Under the pretext of mediation you have been arming; and then when your armaments are completed, or nearly so, you pretend to dictate to me conditions which are those of my enemies themselves. Explain yourself: do you wish to have a war with me? The Russians and Prussians, emboldened by the misfortunes of last winter, dared to come to meet me; and I have beaten them—thoroughly beaten them, although they have told you the contrary. Do you therefore wish also to have your turn? Very well, let it be so; you will have it. I make an appointment with you in Vienna for October."

Metternich listened, hurt by this disdainful vanity, without wishing to appear so. He dwelt upon the necessity for peace, indispensable for France as well as Europe. The emperor stopped him after each proposition. "Oh, yes! I understand you!" he exclaimed at last. "I know your secret; I know what you all really wish! You Austrians, you wish for the whole of Italy; your friends the Russians wish for Poland, the Prussians for Saxony, the English for Holland and Belgium. If I give way to-day, to-morrow you will ask me for those objects of your desires. But in that case, prepare yourselves to raise millions of men, to pour out the blood of several generations, and then come to treat at the foot of the heights of Montmartre."

The emperor walked up and down in his private room, ex

cited by his own words. Metternich tried to calm him. "All admire the courage of France," said he, "and the ardor which she devotes to your service. But, sire, France herself has need of rest. I have just passed through your army: your soldiers are children. You have raised anticipated levies; and as soon as the present generation, who are scarcely formed into armies, are destroyed by the war now waging, whom will you call out? Will you again anticipate?"

Napoleon became pale. No one knew better than himself the value of the objection raised by Metternich. He went up to his visitor, letting his hat fall, which the Austrian minister did not pick up. "You are not a soldier, sir," he exclaimed; "you have not, like me, a soldier's soul; you have not lived in camps; you have not learned to despise the life of another man, and your own, when need be. What care I for 200,000 men?"

Metternich turned to him, full of emotion in spite of his impassibility as a German and diplomatist. "Let us open the doors, sire! open them!" he exclaimed. "And if the doors are not sufficient, open the windows! that the whole of Europe may hear you. The cause which I have been defending before you will lose nothing by it!"

Napoleon calmed down, feeling that he was at fault. But his unconquerable pride still refused to think for a moment of any concession whatever to those sovereigns whose armies he had conquered, whose capitals he had occupied, and whose empires he had dismembered. "Take no part in this quarrel," said he to Metternich; "you run too many risks; you have too little to gain from it: remain neutral. You wish for Illyria; I cede it to you. The peace which you wish to gain for Europe, I shall give to it with certainty and justice. But what you propose to me, in the name of a mediation, is an imposed peace: they wish to lay down the law to me—to me, who have just gained two brilliant victories. If you wish for war, you shall have it. Good-bye, till we meet in Vienna!"

Metternich left. The conversation had been a long one, and the courtiers were waiting very anxiously. "Well," asked Marshal Berthier, "are you satisfied with the emperor?" "Yes, I am satisfied," replied the Austrian minister, "for from to-day my conscience is at rest. I declare to you, marshal, solemnly, that your master is out of his mind."

It was Napoleon's custom to show a speedy reaction from his fits of passion, and remove the effects by kindness. When

Metternich left Dresden he had arranged with Bassano to prolong the armistice till the 10th August, as the emperor had long wished to do; the question of a conference in common, or of the exclusive interference of mediation, being left undecided. Napoleon showed himself accommodating upon every formal point. The negotiator had gained nothing, except a profound conviction that in his real heart the emperor wished for war, always war, so long as the imposition of peace did not lie entirely with him. Nevertheless, the plenipotentiaries were summoned to meet at Prague on the 12th July, and the Austrian court had already moved to the suburbs of that town.

The Emperor Napoleon, on his part, concluded from his interview with Metternich, that war with Austria must result from the attempts to negotiate. He therefore chose his line of operations along the Elbe, and employed himself in fortifying it in every part with that watchful foresight which had so often secured his success. The ramparts of Dresden had been restored, and the military supplies were collected there in great abundance. Works had been ordered at Torgau and Wittemberg, provisions collected at Magdeburg, and barracks built at Werden. Marshal Davout took up his head-quarters at Hamburg, imposing enormous contributions from the wealthy merchants, who had recently risen against France, and had for a short time taken refuge in Altona. They asked leave to return. "If, on the day after your arrival," wrote the emperor to Davout, "you had got a few of them shot, it would have been well; it is now too late, and pecuniary punishments are better." The war contributions of the Hamburgers served to fortify and provision their town. Davout refused to listen to their complaints, and Napoleon would not receive them. The fortress of Gluckstadt was entrusted to the keeping of the Danes, who had been compelled, by the necessities of the coalition, to form a closer union with us. Before the expiration of the armistice the emperor counted upon having under his flags 400,000 men in active service; he kept 80,000 men in Italy, and 20,000 in Bavaria, without counting the garrisons still kept in the strongholds. The cavalry were being daily improved.

Meantime, however, the news arriving from Spain depressed and irritated Napoleon during his constant exercise in the suburbs of Dresden and as far as Magdeburg and Torgau. The winter had passed without any serious hostilities; but Wellington, in spite of some opposition from the Cortes of Cadiz,

had been named generalissimo of the Spanish army, as he was already of the Portuguese army, and had been preparing, instructing, and forming his auxiliaries, in the hope of crushing the French power in the Peninsula. On the emperor's peremptory order, King Joseph had at last followed Marshal Jourdan's advice, abandoning Madrid, and falling back upon Valladolid; the army of Portugal, commanded by General Reille, marched from Salamanca to Burgos; General Clausel, with the army of the north, was appointed to destroy the bands of guerillas, who interrupted communication in every direction; Count Erlon, with the army of the centre, covered Valladolid and Madrid; while the army of Andalusia, under the orders of General Gazan, occupied the Douro and Tormès. Marshal Suchet still wisely governed Aragon. The best officers and soldiers in Spain had been ordered by the emperor to join the campaign in Saxony. Marshal Soult's departure had lessened the difficulties of the command, without rendering it more prudent or energetic; Jourdan, now old and worn out, saw the faults, without being able to avoid them. Wellington began the campaign in May, with 48,000 English and 25,000 Spanish, fairly disciplined; and having at once crossed the Ezla, he advanced towards Salamanca and Tormès. The French forces were scattered, holding extended positions, which rendered their concentration difficult, when, on the 24th May, they heard of the approach of the enemy.

Napoleon's real intention was to make use of Spain some day as a means of concluding peace with England, by restoring Ferdinand to the possession of his hereditary states, except the provinces north of the Ebro, which were to be made into French departments. With this object, therefore, he had ordered the capital to be abandoned, and all our forces to be collected in the north. Wellington seemed to have guessed this purpose, and the first movements of the campaign of 1813 appeared only intended to drive us slowly back towards the Pyrenees. General Reille fell back before the enemy, covering the line of retreat from Valladolid to Burgos. King Joseph and his court had already gained the latter town, but stayed only a short time, being annoyed by the scarcity of food and the advance of the English. On leaving Burgos, orders were given to blow up the fortress, which had recently stopped Wellington himself. After some hesitation, Joseph resolved to march towards Vittoria. All detached troops were recalled; and the arrival of General Clausel was specially

hoped for—an able soldier, at the head of a considerable army. On the evening of the 19th June, after several skirmishes, in which the army of Portugal was successful, 54,000 French troops, in good condition had collected near Vittoria. General Clausel had not arrived being informed only after considerable delay, of his danger, as well as of the place of meeting, by peasants who were false to us or stopped by the enemy. The enormous convoys which accompanied our troops marched towards Bayonne. Jourdan who alone was capable of directing the military operations, was ill of fever; their positions were bad, and the inferiority in number great. On the 21st June, Wellington fell upon General Gazan and the army of Andalusia, at the moment when that general was ordered to occupy the heights of Zuazo. The Spanish had already taken possession of the Sierra Andia, and the disconnected attempts of the French to dislodge them were at first unsuccessful. In spite of Reille's heroic resistance, the English at the same time forced a passage over the Zadorra, the bridges not having been destroyed. In vain had Marshal Jourdan and King Joseph placed a battery of guns at Zuazo; the artillery was not supported. The English everywhere succeeded in taking our positions; and orders for retreat were given, which, with some of the forces, became a rout. All who had been left in Vittoria took to flight. The horses' traces were cut, to abandon their guns and baggage-wagons; and even the king's carriages and papers were lost. Joseph found himself obliged to take refuge in the valleys of the Pyrenees, covering the last limits of our frontiers, at St. Jean-Pied-du-Port, and Bastan on the Bidassoa. General Clausel, arriving too late to prevent the disaster of Vittoria, had fallen back upon Saragossa, in order to protect Marshal Suchet's rear. Spain was henceforward lost to us; and Soult's last efforts to rally the army, and still check the English, only served to delay the invasion of France.

Badly informed by his war minister, and absorbed in the incessant cares of a decisive campaign, Napoleon did not at all weigh the difficulties and impossibilities of the position which he had imposed upon his brother; he did not trace to their real causes his failures in Spain; nor did he take into account the new ardor with which the Russians had been inspired by the misfortunes of his Russian campaign. He let his anger fall upon King Joseph, at once replacing him in the command by the Duke of Dalmatia; and to overwhelm him with disgrace, sent him to his castle of Montefontaine, without allowing him

time to visit Paris and see his family—without even granting him the right to receive any one. Perpetually haunted by the incurable distrust of despotic power, he had now come to fear the intrigues of even his brothers, and could not rest unless he felt them bending under his hand or crushed beneath the weight of his displeasure.

Meantime the time was passing away during the constantly increasing agitation of men's minds. The news of the English victory at Vittoria came to revive the hopes of the allied plenipotentiaries, now about to set out for Prague, without inspiring Napoleon with any wisdom. He had appointed Narbonne and Caulaincourt as his representatives at the congress; but under pretext of some disagreement as to the final date of the armistice, the second, and principal, of the envoys had not set out. Even Narbonne was hampered by his instructions. "I give you more nominal power than real influence," were the words of the Duke of Bassano to him; "your hands will be tied, but your legs and mouth left free to walk about and dine." The only thing thought of by Napoleon was gaining time, to complete his military preparations, and then fall like a thunderstorm upon his enemies with much superior forces. Amongst those intended to be crushed the principal was Austria, still entrusted with a mission of conciliation.

Scarcely had Narbonne arrived at Prague before being convinced that Austria would certainly soon join the coalition if Napoleon continued to mock her and the general desire for peace felt by Europe. The minister of the Emperor Francis complained of the delay caused in the meeting of the congress. "Let the Emperor Napoleon not deceive himself," said he; "the limit of the 10th August having arrived, not another word concerning peace will be spoken, and war will be declared. We shall not be neutral; let him not flatter himself as to that. After having used all imaginable means to bring him to reasonable conditions—which did not admit of being changed, since they constitute the only situation Europe can endure—nothing remains for us, if he refuses to agree to them, but to become belligerents ourselves. Should we remain neutral, which is what he really desires, the allies would be beaten; but after their turn, ours would come—and we should well deserve it. At the present moment, whatever you may be told, we are free. I give you my word, and that of my sovereign, that we have entered into engagements with nobody. But I give you my word also, that at midnight of the 10th August we

shall have done so with everybody except you, and that on the morning of the 17th you will have 300,000 Austrians besides to cope with. The emperor my master has not taken this resolution lightly, for he is a father and loves his daughter; but we prefer everything, even the chance of defeat, to dishonor and slavery. Let no one, therefore, after the event tell us that we have deceived you. Till midnight of the 10th August everything is possible, even at the last hour; the 10th of August once passed, not a day, not a moment; war! war! with everybody—even with us.” “What?” asked Narbonne, “not even if negotiations were begun?” “No,” replied Metternich, “unless all the bases of peace are accepted, and nothing remains but the arrangement of details.”

The Austrian minister thus anticipated the new expedient devised by Napoleon for gaining time without forming any serious engagement. A great effort was at this moment being made by those about him to induce him to embrace the overtures of peace still presented to his haughty will. For all those who had guessed, or who knew the conditions offered, the conclusion of the peace had become an object most passionately desired. His servants who were most compromised and least scrupulous, as well as the most honorable and faithful—Fouché, Savary, Cambacérès, Caulaincourt—incessantly repeated to him all the reasons which made rest necessary to France and glorious to himself. Angry, and ill at ease, he shut the mouths of soldiers who took the liberty to criticise his operations, and bluntly told his most intimate councillors to hold their tongues. He sent Fouché to Illyria, where General Junot had recently lost his reason: and at last ordered Caulaincourt to set out for Prague, while at the same time purposely delaying his journey. Before setting out on the 26th July, Napoleon's plenipotentiary, a man of honor and candor, conscientiously felt it his duty to write as follows to his master, who had just started for Mayence:—

“Sire,—I wish to ease my mind, before leaving Dresden, that I may carry to Prague nothing but a sense of the duties which your Majesty has imposed upon me. It is two o'clock, and the only instructions conveyed to me by the Duke of Bassano are the replies of Neumarkt, and your Majesty's orders prevented me receiving them sooner. They are so different from the arrangements to which you seemed to agree when persuading me to accept this mission, that I should not hesitate again to refuse the honor of being your plenipotentiary if, after

so much time lost, every hour were not counted at Prague, while your Majesty is in Mayence, and I am still in Dresden. Whatever, therefore, may be my repugnance to negotiations so illusory, I resign myself entirely to duty, and obey. But, sire, permit your faithful servant's reflections to find a place here. The political horizon is still so gloomy, everything looks so serious, that I cannot resist the desire of beseeching your Majesty to form, as I trust you will do, a salutary resolution before the fatal limit of time. May you be convinced that time is pressing—that the irritation of the Germans is extreme—and that by this exasperation of men's minds, still more than by the fear of cabinets, events are irresistibly hurried with increasing speed. Austria is already too much compromised to retreat, if the peace of the continent does not reassure her. Your Majesty well knows that it is not the cause of that power which I have pleaded with you; it is certainly not her desertion of us in our reverses that I beg of you to recompense; it is not even her 50,000 bayonets which I wish to remove, although that consideration is somewhat important; but it is the rising of Germany, which the former ascendancy of that power might cause, that I entreat your Majesty, at any cost, to avoid."

The patriotic rising of Germany, which Caulaincourt justly dreaded, was already formidable, and everywhere contagious; but Napoleon's haughty obstinacy was more dangerous than the warlike excitement of his enemies. I forbear giving in detail the petty tricks, the systematic delays, the insolent acts or childish cunning, which the emperor up to the last moment made use of to render the peace negotiations impossible or illusory. On the 6th August secret proposals, entrusted to Caulaincourt alone, were addressed to Austria, with no other object but to hinder that power from entering upon the campaign. Metternich replied by stating the indispensable conditions of peace, which had from the beginning been laid down with an invariable discretion and moderation. Caulaincourt accompanied that communication with the following requests:—
"Sire, this peace may cost something to your self-conceit, but nothing to your glory, for it will cost nothing to the real greatness of France. I earnestly beg of you to grant this peace to France, to her sufferings, to her noble devotion to you, to the imperious circumstances in which you are placed. Take no notice of that fever of irritation against you which has taken possession of the whole of Europe, and which even the most

decisive victories would excite still more instead of calming. I ask it of you not for the empty honor of signing it, but because I am certain that you can do nothing more advantageous to our country or more worthy of yourself."

Napoleon did not reply till the 11th, making some fresh proposals, which were really inadmissible, though they seemed to contain some concession. It was too late, Austria having signed her adhesion to the European coalition. Metternich transmitted the emperor's overtures to the allied powers, with the declaration, "We are no longer mediators." The Emperor Alexander had, in his turn, been seized by the war-fever; and there were now nearly 600,000 men ready to take the field in the name of the allied powers, who rejected Napoleon's late and insulting advances. The latter dared not publish in France the conditions of the peace rejected by him. Even Cambacérès was persistently deceived. Napoleon had just taken leave of the Empress Marie-Louise, who visited him at Mayence, with many tears and alarms. He sent her back to France before the breaking up of the armistice, arranging for her a journey into Normandy, in order to divert her attention at the time when her father and husband were to meet on the battle-field. The lot was now cast, and the last struggle was beginning which proved fatal to Napoleon, as well as to France, in spite of the heroic efforts of the nation, and the incomparable genius of its sovereign.

On this occasion Napoleon again deceived himself by despising the resources and determination of his enemies. The armistice and its prolongation were of more use to the allies than they could be to him. On the 17th August, 1813, he counted about 380,000 men under his flag, and his reserves were not equal to those of the allied army. Three armies were advancing against him—that of Bohemia, commanded by Prince Schwartzemberg; that of Silesia, under the orders of Blücher, and that of the north, entrusted to the Prince Royal of Sweden.

Bernadotte had joined the allied sovereigns at their headquarters in Trachenberg, full of pretension, and unreservedly claiming to play the part of generalissimo. The Germans had a strong antipathy to this intruder, the armies feeling but small confidence in him. In their real hearts, Blücher's officers regarded the French general who had become a Swedish prince with feelings analogous to that expressed by General Dufresne, commander of the French garrison at Stettin, when some shots

were fired from the ramparts at Bernadotte, as he rode under the walls. The armistice still existing, the Swedes complained, on which the commandant said, "Oh, it's nothing; the guard saw a deserter pass, and fired upon him."

Bernadotte was not the only one of the military chiefs of our great wars who took that opportunity to fight against us. Having become a foreigner by a distinguished adoption, the Swedish prince had undertaken towards his new country, duties which he accomplished without reference to the country to which he owed his life and glory. General Moreau, who had just arrived in Sweden (20th July, 1813), and at once went to the head-quarters of the enemy, had contracted no obligations towards our enemies, and was not, like Bernadotte, followed by 25,000 brave and well-armed men. Buoyed up by his chimerical hopes, Moreau made use of his military authority, his consummate experience, his long knowledge of the theatre of war, as well as of soldiers, and of Napoleon himself, to serve a deep-seated hatred and personal rancor, justified by the past—the lamentable passions of a generous mind, which had been embittered by misfortune and injustice. Moreau was received at Trachenberg with special attention. He was accompanied by General Jomini, of Swedish origin, so skilled in the art of war that his opinion even with Napoleon had often been of great weight. Badly recompensed, badly treated by Berthier, with whom he had often disagreed, dissatisfied with the situation of the French army, and invited by the Emperor Alexander, who knew his merit, Jomini had recently joined the service of our enemies. "The Czar thinks that the French can only be beaten by French generals," muttered Blücher, angrily. The advice of Jomini and Moreau had, in fact, modified the plan of campaign of the allies. At first it was proposed to march upon Leipsic; now, on the contrary, the troops were advancing towards Dresden, the defence of which had been entrusted to Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr.

Napoleon had already marched to Bohemia, and thence to Silesia, where Blücher attacked Ney, almost without waiting for the expiration of the armistice. After several well-fought engagements, the Prussians were obliged to fall back upon Jauer. Macdonald was appointed to keep them behind the Bober, and had to intercept communications between Bohemia and Prussia, in order to stop the operations which might hamper Marshal Oudinot's movements upon Berlin. Napoleon's desire of again occupying that capital by a bold stroke had

decided him in extending much too far the lines of his troops. Henceforward, it was upon Dresden that his principal efforts were to be directed.

Napoleon's scheme was to take up position on the camp at Pirna, after crossing the Elbe at Koenigstein, intending to descend thence on the enemy's rear, and push him towards Dresden, so that he might be caught between his armies, the Elbe, and Marshal St. Cyr. The terror which seized Dresden, and the king and court of Saxony, at the approach of the allied armies, prevented the emperor from abiding by his first intentions. General Vandamme, with 40,000 men, was ordered to march by Koenigstein and Pirna, while Napoleon himself advanced upon Dresden with the main army. He arrived there on the morning of the 26th August, and was welcomed with cheers by the population and soldiers. Marshal St. Cyr, after gallantly defending his advanced positions, had fallen back under the walls of the town. His arrangements already made were approved of by the emperor. The enemy still hesitated about making the attack, when Napoleon's arrival quickly decided the question. The battle began at three o'clock, just as the clocks of Dresden were striking the hour. The fighting was keen, and nearly all the redoubts were attacked at the same time; one of the works was already carried, and the defence at other points was becoming difficult, when the arrival of the guard changed the face of affairs. The French began the offensive, leaving the redoubts to march on the enemy. Murat was again at the head of the cavalry. The enemy were obliged to withdraw. Our success had cost us little, and the joyous confidence of victory animated the troops. "I shall see them again, to-morrow," said Napoleon, reviving by his courage the depressed heart of the King of Saxony. All the orders for the military operations had been given by the emperor before he took rest or food. On the 27th, the fighting began at daybreak, under a downpour of rain, which quite neutralized the first operations on both sides. Barclay de Tolly refused to effect a concentrated movement which had been recommended, against Marshal Ney's forces. "The fields are too much soaked," said he, "and the canals intersecting the plain overflow in all directions." A movement, which Napoleon had the night before ordered Murat and Victor to perform, threw the Austrian army into the valley of Plauen, and they were obliged to lay down their arms. The left wing of the allies was destroyed. In the centre, Napoleon, himself directing the artillery against

the Austrians posted on the heights, sent forward several guns towards Racknitz, where the Emperor Alexander was. General Moreau was beside him, and said, "It is rather warm here;" when, after the Czar advised him to withdraw, a ball struck Moreau on the legs, and overthrew him and his horse together. "That Bonaparte is always lucky!" he exclaimed as he fell. He was carried dying into a hut, and his dog, bearing a collar with his name, brought by the soldiers to his master's bedside. The report of the illustrious general's death spread in both armies. General Vandamme had left Koenigstein, and driven the Prince of Wurtemberg into the camp of Pirna. The battle of Dresden was lost by the allied sovereigns; they retired, leaving us masters of the battle-field, and fell back upon Bohemia by different roads. They had undergone considerable losses.

Napoleon, however, was not deceived by the brilliant victory, but wished immediately to follow up his advantage. Advancing to Pirna, he despatched General Vandamme in pursuit of the Russians. Several checks, undergone by Oudinot in his movement towards Berlin, and by Macdonald in opposing Blücher, brought the emperor back to Dresden; the main army pursued the allied columns in all directions. On the morning of the 29th, Vandamme defeated the Russian rear-guard, and the Emperor Alexander halted opposite Kulm, being resolved to fight him. The time was now passed when Napoleon's victories inspired his opponents with permanent fear. After a terrible struggle, lasting the whole day, the French remained in possession of Kulm, which they had carried even in the morning, without being able to dislodge the Russians from Priesten. General Vandamme asked for assistance, and on the 30th still waited in vain. The emperor's return to Dresden, the movements which he had ordered, and those which he was preparing, and the pursuit of the enemy's columns, all removed the forces which might have arrived in time. The allies at first limited themselves to restraining Vandamme; and whilst he still expected the assistance of Marshals Mortier and Gouvion St. Cyr, some Prussian forces, under General Kleist, who were about to retreat, fell upon the rear of Vandamme's army. His soldiers had fixed their bayonets on their muskets, determined to force a way through; and the French general himself had now no resource but a last desperate effort. He went up the Peterswald highway, leaving his artillery, which had been doing good execution upon the Russians, when the Emperor Alexander's entire army rushed upon him, and in the confu-

sion of men and horses, the French divisions, crushed by the enemy, at last wavered, and a large number of soldiers took to flight. Generals Vandamme and Haxo, wounded and taken prisoners, were no longer present to rally their troops; the army was decimated; and the allied sovereigns, so soon smiled upon by fortune after their defeat before Dresden, again took courage and confidence. Henceforward, our very victories were without advantage or result.

The skilful combinations of the Emperor Napoleon had, moreover, failed in nearly every quarter under the hands of his most able lieutenants. Marshal Oudinot, defeated at Gross Beeren by General Tauenzien, had been forced back to Wittemberg by Bernadotte. Macdonald, thrown back upon the Katzbach by Blücher, was now at Bautzen, so vigorously pressed that Napoleon himself was obliged to go to his assistance. Blücher did not wait for him; but scarcely had the emperor returned to Dresden before Marshal Ney, who had been detached to assist Oudinot and recommence the movement upon Berlin, was in his turn beaten at Dennewitz, by the combined army of the Swedes, Russians, and Prussians. The Saxon regiments having disbanded, a large number deserted, accompanied by several Bavarian battalions. The marshal could not succeed in re-forming his army till they reached the gates of Torgau. For the first time his mind was overwhelmed with discouragement, and like Macdonald and Oudinot, he entreated the emperor to be relieved from the command. "It is my duty," he wrote from Wurtzen, on 10th September, "to declare to your Majesty that, with the present organization of the fourth, seventh, and twelfth army-corps, no good results can be expected from them. They are united by duty, but not in reality. Each of the generals-in-chief does almost what he thinks suitable to his own preservation; and things are at such a pass that I have great difficulty in getting a position. Both generals and officers are demoralized; I should prefer being a grenadier. I do not require, I believe, to speak of my devotion. I am ready to shed every drop of my blood, but I wish it to be done usefully. As things at present are, the emperor's presence alone can restore general confidence, because the wills of all yield to his genius, and all petty vanity disappears before the majesty of the throne. Your Majesty ought to be informed that the foreign troops of all nationalities show a very bad disposition, and that it is doubtful if the cavalry which I have with me be not more hurtful than useful."

Thus, under the blows of misfortune, was destroyed that bundle, painfully composed, of so many inconsistent and discordant elements, and till then obstinately kept together by the grasp of an all-powerful hand. Having had his combinations baffled or badly executed, and being ignorant of the plans of the enemy, who were now retreating after having a second time appeared in the suburbs of Dresden, Napoleon halted at Pirna, where he joined Marshal St. Cyr. The latter wished to pursue the allies, in order to intercept their advance to the Geyserberg, and the emperor agreed to this movement, which was in fact begun; but on the 11th September, being uneasy about the increasing difficulties of the march, anxious about the position of the Austrian forces, which he had received no information about, and afraid of his lieutenants being again worsted, Napoleon suddenly resolved to fall back upon Dresden. His intention was to form cantonments there during the winter; he had again grouped all his troops on the line of the Elbe, and was increasing his military supplies. The perpetual and repeated attacks of the enemy, the wide distribution of our forces, and the defeats undergone by several armies, had seriously diminished our resources, and the numerical disproportion between our troops and those of the allies became constantly greater. The minister of war had already been instructed, by a letter in cypher from the Duke of Bassano, to put the Rhenish fortresses in a state of defence. "Our army is still large, and in good condition," said the minister, who constantly shared all his master's secrets, "but the generals and officers, wearied with the war, have no longer that action which formerly led them to great exploits; the theatre is too extended. The emperor is victorious whenever he can be on the spot; but he cannot be everywhere, and the generals who command in his absence seldom answer to his expectations. You are aware of what happened to General Vandamme; the Duke of Tarento met with some reverses in Silesia; and the Prince of the Moskwa has just been beaten in marching upon Berlin. I present you with this picture in order that you may know all, and take steps accordingly."

The war, nevertheless, was still prolonged, gradually exhausting the strength of all; and the allies at last resolved to strike a decisive blow. They had long avoided the Emperor Napoleon, attacking his lieutenants, and incessantly harassing his armies; but being now assured of their crushing superiority in numbers, and urged on by the ardor of Blücher's staff,

the sovereigns resolved to penetrate into Bohemia, and advance by different roads upon Leipsic, after again threatening Dresden. Their whole effort was, for a short time, to deceive Napoleon; with the purpose of concentrating the allied forces before he could attack the armies apart. Blücher was appointed to push on first in advance, to compel Bernadotte to cross the Elbe at Roslau. The Germans impatiently blamed the backwardness of the prince royal of Sweden. "He dare not attack the French," said they.

Napoleon, also, as well as the allies, wished for a battle. Having some idea of the plans of the enemy, he guessed their combinations, but counted upon delays which, as it happened, they did not make. His first thought was to abandon the Elbe and Dresden, and by marching with all his forces towards Leipsic, separate the three allied armies from each other. He made preparations for this purpose, and allowed the old King of Saxony to accompany his armies. Marshal St. Cyr was already rejoicing at the thoughts of leaving Dresden, when the emperor, on reaching Dresden, became hopeful of beating Bernadotte and Blücher in rapidity of march, and thus fighting the armies of the north and of Silesia, before they could effect their junction with the army of Bohemia. For this purpose, it was necessary to keep Dresden, in order to recross the Elbe there, and the evacuation of the town was deferred. This unfortunate measure deprived us of 30,000 men, and Marshal St. Cyr, and was, moreover, useless, as the rapid concentration of the enemies round Leipsic soon compelled Napoleon to resume his march towards that place.

I have no intention of narrating, in all their technical details, the successive battles then about to be fought under the walls of Leipsic, to decide the fate of France and Europe. The feeling of the lowest soldiers, as well as of the emperor himself, was, that the hour of final struggle was at hand. "Boys!" said General Maison, on the morning of the 16th, when joining battle, "this is France's last battle, and we must be all dead before night." The same gloomy ardor reigned throughout all the ranks. Everywhere men hastened to fight, without illusion, with the courage of wounded lions. "You are long in coming, my old Augereau," cried Napoleon to the marshal, as he reached the head-quarters; "you have kept us waiting; you are no longer the Augereau of Castiglione!" "I shall always be the Augereau of Castiglione," replied the old soldier of the republic, "when your Majesty gives me back the soldiers of

the army of Italy." Those were dead; their sons also were dead; their grandchildren had not had time to grow, and had already been mowed down on the field of battle. Napoleon had just prepared the decrees for a new levy, calling upon 280,000 more men to join his flag, 120,000 being from previous contingents, and 160,000 from the conscription of 1815. On reaching Leipsic, on the 15th October, the French army could not amount to more than 190,000 men, whereas the united forces of the allies reckoned 300,000. Napoleon himself felt the load that lay upon his shoulders. "What an intricate problem is all this!" said he. "No one but myself can get me well through it, and even I shall find it no easy task."

The exterior difficulties and complications constantly increased around the emperor, opposing or threatening his military operations. The kingdom of Westphalia, composed of heterogeneous elements, and provinces differing in origin and interests, had just crumbled to pieces before a charge of Czernichef's Cossacks. Arriving, without opposition, at the gates of Cassel, they found King Jerome almost deprived of troops. The defence was but for an instant, the population being everywhere hostile to him; the dethroned monarch was obliged to withdraw to Coblenz, and his States no longer existed. News of another danger was brought. The King of Bavaria had asked for reinforcements, having long been displeased to see his army, under the orders of General Wrede, exposed on the Inn to the attacks of the Austrians. Marshal Augereau's departure for Leipsic having rendered assistance hopeless, the prince yielded to his personal desires and fears, as well as to the enthusiastic wishes of his people. On the 8th October, Bavaria adhered to the coalition by a treaty secretly signed at Munich. Behind us every way of escape was being closed. Before us opened the battle-field of Leipsic.

Napoleon carefully inspected the ground on the 15th, trying to form an idea of the position of the enemies, and their plan of battle. The army of Bohemia, under Prince Schwartzemberg, threatened our positions at Mark-Kleeburg, Wachau, and Liebert-Wolkwitz. Blücher with his forces on the Halle road, several leagues from Leipsic, was eager to reach the battle-field. Bernadotte was still some distance off on the lower Saale, two of his divisions being on the march along the right bank of the Elbe. Two days' marching would bring the allies a reinforcement of 110,000 men. Of the troops at the disposal of the French, those of General Regnier only had not yet

reached Leipsic, and they did not amount to more than 15,000 men, mostly foreigners. The emperor could not delay giving battle, which therefore began on the 16th, at nine o'clock in the morning.

The fighting was continued the whole day with the same keen determination. When, in the evening, by the last rays of twilight, Napoleon rode over the field of the dead, he saw that his soldiers had fallen in their ranks, as men of honor; but the enemy had shown equal courage. Incessantly taken, and retaken, by the opposing tides of combatants, the positions were defended, attacked, and turned, without any decisive result. Napoleon several times put forth a great effort to reach a definite success, which he felt necessary, but a skilful movement of the enemy constantly hampered his plan. At the sheep-farm of Avenhayn, at the village of Gulden-Gossa, at the wood of the University, dead bodies were heaped up in vain. The cannon in the distance were heard resounding, in reply to the thunder of the main battle-field. At Lindenau, General Margaron had difficulty in holding his own against Giulay. At Mockern, Marshal Mazaron had been stopped in his march towards Leipsic by the arrival of Blücher, who was hastening to the combat. Alone he had to struggle with the army of Silesia, and when at last compelled to fall back upon the Partha, the Marshal had lost 6000 men. Nothing now prevented the junction of Blücher and Schwartzenberg.

Though 20,000 Frenchmen lay strewed over the ground at Wachau, we had not lost our positions, or retreated a step. The situation, however, was not less terrible and threatening, in presence of the enormous masses which were advancing to surround us on every side. Napoleon felt this. On the 17th, he for a short time thought of retreating. That was to confess his defeat, and risk the loss of the excellent troops still shut up in the strongholds at Dresden, Hamburg, Dantzic, Glogau, and Stettin. The emperor sent for Merveldt, the Austrian general, who had been taken prisoner on the evening of the 15th, in a skirmish at Dölitz. "Did they know I was here when they made the attack?" he asked. "Yes, sire." "You wished then, this time, to give me battle?" "Yes, sire." Then, after some remarks as to the respective numbers of the two armies, "Will you attack me to-morrow?" "Yes, sire." "This struggle is becoming very serious; should we not put a stop to it?" continued the emperor; "will there be no thought of peace?" "May God grant it!" exclaimed the Austrian; "that is all we

are fighting for. If your Majesty had agreed to it at Prague!" "Let England give me back my colonies, and I will give her back Hanover." "She will want more than that." "I will restore the Hanse towns, if need be." It was now too late; Merveldt spoke of Holland. He at the same time pointed out the determination of the allies with regard to the independence of Italy. The kingdom of Westphalia no longer existed. With reference to an armistice, the emperor said, "I know that you maintain it is part of my military policy, yet we might in that way avoid much bloodshed. During the negotiations I should retire as far as the Saale." "The allies would never agree to an armistice on these terms," objected Merveldt: "they reckon to go to the Rhine this autumn." "To the Rhine!" exclaimed Napoleon. "Before I retire as far as the Rhine I must lose a battle, and till now I have yet lost none. Set out, nevertheless. You know my opinion of your merit; I restore you to liberty on parole. You may repeat what I have told you."

Merveldt's report went to strengthen the allied sovereigns in their intention of following up their advantages to the end. The emperor, however, had resolved to beat a retreat in a leisurely and dignified manner, through Leipsic, as if merely to modify the position of his troops. At two o'clock in the morning the whole army was to effect a concentric movement upon Leipsic, so that when the circle was completed round the town they might reach by the Lindenau bridge the small town divided from Leipsic by the Elster; beyond that extended the plain of Lutzen, which General Bertrand was ordered to clear of the few troops of the enemy occupying it. General Rogniat was to throw bridges over the Saale. They neglected, however, to build several over the Elster.

After having everywhere given his orders personally, the emperor was returning to his bivouac at Probstheyda on the 18th, at daybreak, when he saw three columns of the enemy advancing upon his new line of battle. The allies, like Napoleon, had allowed the 17th to pass without a battle, because they waited for the arrival of Bernadotte, whom Blücher had compelled to cross the Partha, and advance before Prince Schwartzemberg. On every side of the battle-field, the French army, who had fallen back within their new positions, now found themselves simultaneously attacked. The Austrians charged Probstheyda; Poniatowski and Augereau defended themselves at Connewitz. Marshal Ney and Marmont, at

tacked by Blücher and Bernadotte, had seen General Reynier suddenly deserted by the Saxon forces, who passed over to the enemy, and turned their guns against Durutte's division, with whom they had served for several years. Napoleon hastened up with the cavalry and artillery of the guard, to close the breach opened in our lines by this defection. The news of it quickly spreading in both armies, stimulated still more the hopes of one side, and the heroic despair of the other. Prince Schwartzenberg had now given up the attempt to carry Probstheyda, and limited himself to bombarding our works. The batteries were still vomiting flames at nightfall, yet the French had not modified their positions; the rows of dead men alone showed at what price our lines had been defended, and how much our forces had been weakened.

Henceforward resistance became impossible, with 40,000 soldiers dead or wounded in our ranks, and the retreat began immediately. The emperor had entered Leipsic to issue his orders. The wounded had been abandoned on the battle-field, but some of the victims of the engagements on the 16th were carried off. The ambulance-wagons, and those for baggage and artillery, already blocked up the bridge leading to Lindenau, which was very long and narrow, and soon covered with a crowded throng of soldiers, prisoners, and camp-followers, who were frequently trodden under foot by columns advancing in good order. The guns commenced their roar at sunrise, as the rear-guard were still fighting in the suburbs. The passionate anger of our troops lent them new strength against the enemies who ventured to pursue them. It was at the point of the bayonet that several regiments forced their way towards Lindenau.

These last defenders of the national honor were soon to pay dearly for their devotion. The bridge had been mined on the Leipsic side, where it crosses the main branch of the Elster, and orders were given to set fire to the train when the French troops were replaced at the bridge-head by the enemy. This frightful duty was entrusted to a simple corporal of the sappers. In the confusion of battle, while the remains of the seventh, fifth, and eleventh corps were still fighting on the ramparts of the town, some of Blücher's soldiers, mixed with ours, were seen through the streets of the suburb Halle. "Set fire to it! set fire to it!" immediately shouted those who were already in safety, terrified at the thought of pursuit. The corporal, sharing in the alarm, obeyed, and the bridge was blown up, cover

ing both banks with its ruins, and condemning to death or captivity 20,000 Frenchmen, who were thus deprived of all communication with the army. A cry of despair arose, and while the last ranks of our soldiers still rushed upon the enemy, many of the others threw themselves into the river, where the majority speedily perished. In that number was Prince Poniatowski, who had been raised on the previous evening to the dignity of marshal. Macdonald succeeded in gaining the opposite bank. The Generals Reynier and Lauriston fell into the hands of the enemy. The Emperor Alexander gave the King of Saxony to understand that he must consider himself a prisoner of war. A few hours previously, Napoleon had bidden adieu to the unhappy sovereign, whom he was drawing on to his ruin. The defection of the Saxons on the field of battle was destined to save neither their king nor their country.

The battle of nations was finished, and the lot of arms had decided against us. Napoleon now hastened to reach again those limits of the Rhine which he had recently scorned as too confined, fortunate in being able to pass freely over the Saale, thanks to the energy of Bertrand and Mortier, and hurrying to be before the enemy, who were advancing to bar their passage. The Austro-Bavarian army came to encamp on the Mein, whilst the emperor rested at Erfurt, their object being to intercept his march to Mayence. The remains of the army, reformed by Napoleon's personal vigilance, at last crossed the passes of Thuringia; but disease, desertion, and disorder daily weakened our resources. Of 100,000 men who left Leipsic, 50,000 at most endured the fatigue and hardships of the march. Napoleon had less than 20,000 men under him when he attacked the Bavarians at Hanau, on the 30th October, and brilliantly forced his way through them. "Poor Wrede!" said the emperor, disdainfully, as he cast a glance over his adversary's positions. "I made him a count, but I could not make him a general!" The Bavarians were crushed, and the French army entered triumphantly into Mayence, though reduced to the number of the smallest of the army-corps which had so recently passed through that town, one after another, marching to new conquests and new victories. The Rhine was not defended, and the garrisons which ought to have been protecting it were scattered from the Oder to the Vistula, delivered up beforehand, in spite of their heroism, to the vengeance of the allies. After making his final arrangements for distributing in the Rhenish strongholds the troops left him, the emperor set out

from Mayence on the 7th November, and on the 9th reached Paris, still proud in spite of his profound dejection. His last words at Mayence were a challenge to the German princes who had deserted him. "The King of Bavaria and I will meet again," said he. "He was a little prince whom I made great; and now he is a great prince, whom I shall make little."

CHAPTER XV.

THE FALL (1813—1814).

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Dresden, during the depression of defeat, the allied powers renewed and gave reasons for their alliance, being more than ever resolved to strengthen it in their misfortune; and after the battle of Leipsic, after gaining a brilliant victory which the conquered could not dispute, the allies wished to declare to all the world their mutual engagements and their reasons for continuing the alliance. "The allied sovereigns declare," said they, "that they do not make war upon France; that they desire that she may be strong and happy, that her commerce may revive, and the arts again flourish; that her territory may remain more extensive than it ever was under her kings—because the French influence, great and powerful, is in Europe one of the fundamental bases of the social system—because the tranquillity of a great people depends upon their happiness—because a brave nation does not sink lower on account of having in its turn undergone reverses. It is upon the emperor alone that they make war; or rather, upon that excess of influence which he has too long brought to bear upon nations foreign to his own, to the misfortune of France and Europe."

We have in 1870 heard analogous declarations, and been able to estimate their value. In 1813 the allied sovereigns were sincere, as was proved by their conduct in 1814, and France understood their declarations to be earnest. She was at once annoyed, exhausted, and tired; tired of her past glories now vanishing before the present reverses, exhausted by the supernatural efforts she had for so many years been exerting, and annoyed at seeing a peace which she felt to be honorable and practicable scorned by the unconquerable pride of her master,

immediately after the victories of Lutzen and Bautzen. All the oppressions which had gradually more and more weighed down all classes of society, the increasing burdens caused by requisitions, the hardships under which commerce groaned on account of the ports being closed, and above all the constant mowing down of men, and almost boys, in all the battle-fields of Europe, with families destroyed, and hopes ruined, such were the evils accumulated upon France by fifteen years of military despotism, succeeding to ten years of revolution. The imperial police were no longer sufficient to smother the complaints and murmurs. No one now believed in the declarations of the official journals; and tragical rumors exaggerated even the facts of our disasters. The cry of the mothers rose to the very heavens.

It was certainly not in favor of the various parties, long crushed under a powerful hand, that those elements of disturbance and fermentation were in agitation. The republicans, still numerous, remained silent, or dreamt of an enthusiastic stirring up of the country analogous to that of 1792, which would drive back the enemy far from our threatened frontiers; the constitutionals seemed to be forgot; the royalists criticised in the drawing-rooms, and ironical smiles again were seen on women's lips. Several intriguers were coming and going, though no attempt of importance, nor any effective influence, had yet resulted from the secret party-meetings. The most alarmed of all those whom Napoleon would see or hear on his arrival in France, in November, 1813, were amongst his most confidential servants. Those most resolved to injure him in the future had recently been of service to him, and he had assisted in raising them to the brilliant social and moral position which they occupied. In Illyria, Fouché, Duke of Otranto, a terrorist and spy, revolutionary and venal; in Paris, Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento and Vice-Grand-Elector—both suspected by Napoleon, and both removed from any active share in his government—were both meditating schemes of vengeance, still only vague, and subordinated to their personal interest. Talleyrand could reckon upon able and devoted friends—the Abbé Louis, formerly clerk to the “Parliament” of Paris; the Duke of Dalberg, who had been, like himself, made a councillor of state by the emperor, and who still nursed some grievances against the imperial power. These men both kept up in Talleyrand's mind the sense of injury. He, however, still hesitated, and the emperor had more than once thought of entrust-

ing important missions to him. They both felt themselves on the brink of a gulf of unfathomable depth, the opposite side of which still remained hid to even the most daring eyes.

This gulf was constantly becoming greater, and the situation from hour to hour became more gloomy, as if the prestige of victory, so long attached to our colors by the powerful hand of Napoleon, had all at once escaped from his grasp. In Spain, Marshal Soult had for a short time tried to force Wellington back beyond Pampeluna and St. Sebastian, which he then held in a state of siege; but both places succumbed, and the French army after recrossing the frontiers found itself attacked and stormed at St. Jean de Luz by the English. Wellington first set foot on the soil of France on the 11th November. 1813.

In Germany the fate which Napoleon had foreseen threatened the various garrisons, which had been left to themselves, isolated in a country which was daily becoming more hostile, without mutual communication, without personal attachment among the officers in command. The majority still held out, though reduced by disease, gallantly resolving to defend themselves and sell their lives dearly. Dresden had just capitulated. Count Lobau had made an unsuccessful attempt to force his way to Torgau, in order to secure a retreat for the garrison; but the effort being too long delayed, and made with insufficient resources, had not succeeded, and Marshal St. Cyr, dissatisfied and depressed, agreed to an honorable capitulation. The 30,000 soldiers shut up in Dresden were to return to France upon laying down their arms, without any condition to prevent them again serving the country, so dear to them, which they were about to see again. They were already on the march, and leaving Dresden, when General Klenau, who had treated with Marshal St. Cyr, suddenly announced that the Emperor Alexander, having had no share in the negotiation, refused to agree to the capitulation, and that the French troops must return to Dresden or acknowledge themselves prisoners of war. Most of the works of defence were destroyed, the provisions consumed, and many of the soldiers ill. The alternative was deceptive, and in spite of his indignant protestations, the marshal found himself compelled to submit to the conqueror's unjust demands. Generals and soldiers were reduced to captivity.

The Emperor Napoleon disliked Marshal St. Cyr, whose independence of character often rendered him ill-natured and rude; but on this occasion he did justice emphatically to his

rare merit, in a manner as honorable to himself as to his illustrious lieutenant. "It is not for the 28,000 men of the garrison that the Emperor Alexander and Schwartzenberg have done that," said he on being informed of the disloyal rupture of the capitulation of Dresden; "it is in order to have Gouvion St. Cyr: they are well aware that he is the first man of our time for defence; I surpass him in attack."

It was for defence that the Emperor Napoleon was this time preparing, the greatly reduced remains of his army no longer supplied with sufficient forces to repel the invasion which he foresaw. The levy of 280,000 men announced in October had now become too weak a resource against the enemy, and a "*sénatus-consulte*" ordered out 300,000 new combatants upon the past conscriptions, which had already been so often subjected to fresh calls. On this occasion the order extended back to the year 1803. Since July, 30,000 supplementary conscripts had been raised in the southern departments for the defence of the Spanish frontiers. For the future the interior was to be garrisoned by the cohorts of the national guard.

The effort was something enormous, and to have carried out Napoleon's plan was beyond the resources of the exhausted country. The emperor knew this to a certain extent, and did not reckon upon collecting under his colors all the soldiers whom he demanded from the country. He had already given orders to delay levying the contingent of 1815, and he especially urged calling out the three last conscriptions. He counted upon the winter months to complete his military preparations. Count Daru had just been appointed minister of war, which was an assurance that the utmost pains would be bestowed, with skill and energy. General Drouot was placed in command of the guard, now largely increased, and was appointed to regulate their recruiting as well as their equipment. Money was now wanting, because the resources formerly supplied by imposing contributions upon the conquered countries had disappeared with victory. On the 17th November, Napoleon thus wrote to his minister of finance:

"M. le Comte Mollien, in times of penury like the present, the Treasury cannot be administered on the same principles or in the same manner as in times of abundance, such as we have had till now. All the orders of the war administration for supplies, all those of the war minister for the expenses of engineering, artillery and the re-arming of strongholds, are not paid; hence most disastrous results to the defence of the State.

It is a misfortune that the public debt, the pensions and salaries of Holland, Rome, Piedmont, and even France, are behind-hand; but that misfortune is in no respect to be compared to what would result from the least delay in the payment of the orders of the war administration or the war minister. The public safety has no law; these orders ought to be paid before the salaries of civilians and the public dividends. In the present circumstances there has not been an inch of ground stirred anywhere, because the war orders remained everywhere unpaid. I have not more than 30,000,000 of silver in the treasury of the crown, and I give you ten of them, though with a strong feeling of repugnance, for I was keeping it against a rainy day, and if that money were used in civil expenses it would be a sacrifice of the last resource."

The Emperor Napoleon had at his disposal a resource more precious. The Spanish war had for five years absorbed, in men and money, a considerable part of the strength and life of France. The hopes which Napoleon had conceived as to the provinces to the north of the Ebro, vanished with his power. The time for annexation was past. Marshal Soult was still defending the southern frontiers, and Suchet still held Catalonia, having garrisoned the strongholds of Aragon: 80,000 men of excellent troops could be restored to the country in her necessity. The emperor resolved to negotiate, and sent Laforest to Ferdinand VII. at Valençay. The old king, Charles IV., and his wife, always accompanied by the Prince de la Paix, had left Compiègne, to take up their abode at Marseilles, and afterwards at Rome. It was with their son, who alone was popular in Spain, and whose name had served as a rallying-cry in the National war, that the Emperor Napoleon, wearied and threatened, at last consented to negotiate.

An unjust and disloyal policy was legitimately punished by meeting at every step with distrust and treacherous complications. No one in Spain amongst the chiefs of the insurrection could trust to the word or advances of the Emperor Napoléon. and none of them was inclined even to receive instructions coming from a captive prince, who might be inspired by his jailers. Caulaincourt had recently replaced the Duke of Bassano as foreign minister, the emperor being obliged to sacrifice the latter to public opinion; and the new minister's advice was to set the King of Spain at liberty, after making a bargain with him as to the conditions of his restoration, so that he might plead with his subjects his own cause and that of France. Napoleon

did not adopt that idea, being mistrustful, not without reason, of the Spanish prince, who was more cunning and deceitful than ever in his isolation and captivity. At first Ferdinand refused to discuss matters with Laforest, declaring that he was ignorant of what was going on in the world and in Spain, and that he wished to remain at rest under the emperor's protection. A proposal was made to him that his states should be completely restored to him, on condition of the withdrawal of the English, the freedom of the prisoners, and the integrity of the Spanish colonies, none of which were to be ceded to Great Britain. A proposal of marrying Ferdinand to one of King Joseph's daughters had been considered; but Laforest, from diplomatic reticence, reserved that condition.

Joseph Bonaparte refused to take part in the negotiation, unless assured of some compensation in Italy. Napoleon exclaimed indignantly against this claim. "Joseph blames himself for having committed some military faults; he has no thought of such a thing. He is not a soldier; he could not commit them; he has not committed them! In fact, he has lost Spain, and will certainly not recover it. Let him consult the lowest of my generals, he will see if it is possible to claim a single village beyond the Pyrenees. But if I wished to make a treaty with Spain, I should not be even listened to! The first condition of any peace with Europe is the restoration, pure and simple, of Spain to the Bourbons—happy if at that price I can rid myself of the English, and bring back my armies of Spain to the Rhine! As to compensations in Italy, where are they to be found? Can I turn Murat out of his kingdom? I have difficulty in keeping him to his duties towards France and me. How should I be obeyed if I went to ask him to descend from his throne in favor of Joseph? As to the Roman States, I shall be compelled to give them up to the Pope, and I am resolved to do so. As to Tuscany which belongs to Elisa, Piedmont which belongs to France, or Lombardy where Eugène has so much difficulty in maintaining his position, how can I know what they will leave me? To keep France with its natural limits, I must gain many victories; but to gain anything beyond the Alps, I should have to gain many more. And if they leave me some territory in Italy, could I, on Joseph's account, take it away from Eugène, that son so devoted and brave, who has constantly risked his life for me and for France, and never incurred my displeasure? The

Spanish and I can very well dispense with King Joseph, and replace Ferdinand VII. on the throne of the Spains."

The Spaniards at the head of the insurrection were not eager to see their sovereign very soon, united as he was to the Emperor Napoleon by a treaty. They wished to avenge themselves; and the English had no wish to lose the fruit of their victories. Ferdinand had no liking for the liberal principles which ruled the insurgent leaders, and the Cortes disliked abdicating in his favor. Napoleon, however, sent to Valençay the Duke of San Carlos, formerly a special favorite of the Prince of the Asturias, and long imprisoned at Lons-le-Saulnier. Canon Esquiquiz and José Palafox were anxious to regain their liberty and secure the independence of their country. On the 13th December, after long negotiations, the duke started for Madrid, bearing a treaty, signed on the 11th at Valençay, between the Emperor Napoleon and King Ferdinand VII. At the same time, and by another road, the illustrious defender of Saragossa was carrying into Spain a copy of the conventions. Henceforward, Napoleon was anxious to free himself from the burden which he had formerly been eager to lay upon his shoulders. The justice which reigns supreme over human actions rendered this renunciation difficult to him at the very time when the thrones which he had raised were crumbling to pieces round his own, or escaping from his control. Murat had already seemed to waver in his fidelity: the intrigues of Austria had influenced the mind of Queen Caroline, who had complete power over her husband. He aimed at becoming the head of an independent Italy, and asked Napoleon himself to furnish the means. Such was the advice given by Fouché, who had been sent to strengthen his fidelity. Only a few months more were to elapse before Murat, thinking he should save his throne by treachery, signed with Austria and England a treaty of alliance (6th, 11th January, 1814), which he was soon after to violate, in order to pay at last with his life for the vacillations of a mind which was always unstable and weak, unless when face to face with the dangers of the battle-field and under the constraint of military honor.

Time was pressing, and Napoleon began to think that he could not make use of the whole winter to complete his warlike preparations. Probably even the allied powers would not allow him time to recall by his negotiations the troops still occupying Spain and those which he wished to bring away from the German strongholds. Scarcely 40,000 men of the new

levies were yet brought together in the depots; from 50,000 to 60,000 weary soldiers still occupied the Rhenish frontiers; and in Italy Prince Eugène had not collected 40,000. After the battle of Leipsic the allies stopped, as if astonished at their success, hesitating to pursue him and beard the lion even in his den. About the middle of November the sovereigns, who had met in Frankfort, had some intention of negotiating.

The Prussians were enthusiastic, from the ardor of vengeance, and the necessity of reconstituting their dismembered country with some glory. The Russians were fully aware of the difficulties of carrying out an enterprise against France to the very end: they had been fighting incessantly for eighteen months, and were anxious for rest. Their emperor was more eager than his generals to pursue his advantages; he believed himself the arbiter of Europe, and wished to efface the humiliations which Napoleon had recently subjected him to. When stepping upon French territory, Lord Wellington addressed to his troops that famous proclamation: "Let the officers and soldiers of this army not forget, that if the nations are at war with France, it is only because the ruler of France will not allow them peace, and because he aims at subjecting them to his yoke." The English Cabinet had sent as a plenipotentiary to the allied sovereigns, Lord Aberdeen, still very young, but already remarkable by his calm yet self-reliant disposition. Favorable in their real hearts to that restoration of the house of Bourbon which England had always considered the surest guarantee of lasting peace in France, Lord Castlereagh and his ambassador were not disposed to make it a condition. The Emperor of Austria and his minister still hoped to obtain from Napoleon the concessions necessary to restore peace: it was their wisdom and influence that produced the harmony which presided over the resolutions of the allied princes. It was Metternich who took the initiative at Frankfort in pacific overtures towards the emperor, entrusting with that duty St. Aignan, the brother-in-law of Caulaincourt, who had recently been French Minister at Weimar. Caulaincourt was asked to gain information for negotiations on the base of the natural limits of France—the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. The sovereigns did not aim at the humiliation of their illustrious and now defeated enemy, but were resolved upon granting nothing beyond what they had already stipulated. Nesselrode and Lord Aberdeen spoke to the same effect. The chargé,

d'affaires set out for Paris bearing a summary of the conditions of the peace.

It required a great effort to renounce the habits of illimitable power, and learn, after fifteen years of indisputable authority, to reckon with the various powers abroad and at home. While accepting the idea of a negotiation, and specifying no place for the future congress, the Emperor Napoleon did not condescend in his first reply to touch upon the question of the bases of the peace; and when at last, on the 2nd December, Caulaincourt succeeded in obtaining his explicit agreement to the Frankfort proposals, it was too late. England claimed a share in the advantages of the victory, and Aberdeen's instructions were modified. Time had advanced, and events advanced with it.

Public opinion in France was advancing, together with time and events, and the emperor acknowledged it with an angry feeling, which he was unable to contain. A month after the Legislative Body had been summoned, the session was at last opened by the emperor, on the 19th December. The faces of all were gloomy, and their hearts full of the anxiety which weighed upon every household in France. The partisans of the imperial régime exerted themselves in vain calming the general uneasiness and imposing silence upon just complaints, when Napoleon himself thus addressed his Parliament:—

“Senators, councillors of State, deputies of the Legislative Body,—

“Brilliant victories have shed lustre upon French arms during the present campaign, but unparalleled defections rendered those victories useless, and everything turned against us. France herself would be in danger without the energy and union of the French.

“I was never seduced by prosperity, and adversity would find me above her assaults.

“I have several times given peace to the nations when they had lost everything. With part of my conquests I raised thrones for kings who have deserted me. I conceived and executed great schemes for the prosperity and happiness of the world. A monarch and a father, I feel what peace adds to the security of thrones and of families. Negotiations have been begun with the allied powers. I have adhered to the preliminary bases proposed by them, and was therefore in hopes that before the opening of this session the Congress would have assembled at Mannheim; but new delays, for which France is not blamable, have deferred that event, which all are eagerly

awaiting. I have given orders that all the original documents of the Department of Foreign Affairs should be laid before you. You will receive information of them through a commission, and my councillors will acquaint you with my intentions respecting them. There is on my part no opposition to the restoration of peace. I know and share in all the sentiments of the French people. I say the French people, because there is none of them who desires peace at the cost of honor."

"When the emperor laid before the Senate and the Legislative Body several of the documents of his negotiations with the allied powers," says Guizot, in his *Memoirs*, "and wished for an expression of their sentiments, if he had had a real purpose of making peace, or of seriously convincing France that if peace were not made it was by no means on account of the obstinacy of his overbearing will, he would certainly have found in both houses, however enervated they might be, energetic and popular support. I frequently conversed on intimate terms with three of the five members of the Commission of the Legislative Body, Maine de Biran, Gallois, and Raynouard, and from them knew also the opinions of the remaining two, Lainé and Flaugergues. Biran was, like Royer-Collard and myself, a member of a small philosophical club, where we freely discussed everything, and kept us well informed of what was going on in the Commission and in the Legislative Body itself. Though originally a royalist, he was independent of all parties and intrigues, conscientious almost to a fault, sometimes even timid when his conscience did not absolutely impose courage upon him, with little liking for politics, and in any case ever averse to the adoption of an extreme resolution or any active initiative. Gallois, a man of the world and a student, a moderate liberal of the philosophical school of the eighteenth century, was more concerned about his library than public notoriety, and wished to perform worthily his duty to his country without disturbing the habitual serenity of his life. With more energy of manner and language, as a provençal and a poet, Raynouard was nevertheless disinclined to rash measures, and his complaints, which were said to be severe against the tyrannical abuses of the imperial administration, would not have prevented him being contented with those moderate reparations which in the meantime save honor, and give hope for the future. Flaugergues, an honest republican, who put on mourning for the death of Louis XVI., unyielding in disposition and character, was capable of energetic resolution, but he

could not communicate it to others. He had but small influence upon his colleagues, though he spoke a great deal. Lainé, on the contrary, had a warm and sympathetic heart under a downcast manner, and a nobleness of mind without much originality or power. He spoke with great point and force when his feelings were moved. Formerly a republican, and afterwards simply a disinterested partisan of the liberal ideas and sentiments, he was at once appointed leader of the commission, and agreed without hesitation to be its mouthpiece. But, unlike his colleagues, he had no premeditated hostility or secret engagement against the emperor. They all wished only to convey to him the earnest desire of France for a really pacific foreign policy, and the respect for the people's rights at home with legal exercise of power.

"With such men, animated with such views, it was easy to come to an arrangement; but Napoleon would not even grant them a hearing." He had beforehand chafed the remains of self-respect which were reawaking amongst the deputies by ignoring their right to present a list of candidates for the presidency. The Duke of Massa (Regnier) formerly one of the high judges, minister of justice, and who had just been replaced in the cabinet by young Count Molé, was named President of the Legislative Body. To explain this transformation, which was announced by a *sénatus-consulte*, Molé had recourse to singular arguments. "It might happen," said he, "that the candidates presented by the Legislative Body, however honorable or distinguished, have never been personally known to the emperor, or that they themselves were unacquainted with the forms and ceremonial of the palace. Whereas, on the contrary, by the emperor choosing the president directly, the Legislative Body will be sure of finding in him a useful intermediary, a guide and support."

Lainé's report was keenly discussed by the commissioners of the government who were present at the meetings of the five deputies. Massa was also there; and on his charging Raynouard with making unconstitutional claims, the author of *Les Templiers* turned quickly to him and said, "I see nothing here that is unconstitutional, but your presence and functions."

The Archchancellor Cambacérès obtained several modifications in the original form of the report, yet when the document was submitted to the emperor, he burst into a violent rage. He pretended to see in the terms used by the Commission of

the Legislative Body a return to the claims and passions of the revolutionary assemblies; and in spite of all that could be urged by several of his councillors, more particularly Cambacérès and Rovigo, he determined to suppress the report and adjourn the Legislative Body. The decree appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 1st January, 1814, and when the deputies appeared at the Tuileries to pay their respects on the occasion of the new year, the emperor abruptly stopped them, and getting into a passion, exclaimed, with the most violent gestures and language, such as he sometimes gave way to: "Deputies of the Legislative Body, you can do much good, and you have done much harm. I summoned you to assist me, and you have come to say and do what is necessary to help the foreigner. Eleven twelfths of you are good, the rest are factious, and you have been their dupes. Your commission has been inspired by the spirit of the Girondins. M. Lainé, who drew up your report, is a worthless man. He is sold to England, with whom he has communication by means of Desèze, the barrister: I shall keep my eye upon him. Two battles lost in Champagne would have done less harm than his report. M. Raynouard said that Marshal Masséna pillaged a citizen's country-house; M. Raynouard is a liar . . . How can you blame me for my misfortunes? You say that adversity has given me good advice. Is it by reproaches that you propose to restore the glory of the throne? I am one of those men who can face death, but not disgrace. Besides, what is the throne? Four pieces of wood covered with a piece of velvet: everything depends upon him whose seat it is. The throne is in the desire of the nation, whom I represent; I cannot be attacked without attacking it. Four times have I been called by the nation; I had the votes of 5,000,000 of citizens. I have a title, and you have none. You are only deputies of the departments. Is this a time for remonstrance when 200,000 Cossacks are crossing our frontiers? Your theorists ask for guarantees of defence against power; at this moment France only asks for those against the enemy. You speak of abuses and vexations, which I am as well aware of as you; they are due to the circumstances and misfortunes of the times. When before Europe in arms, why speak of our domestic quarrels? One's dirty linen should be washed at home. You surely wish to imitate the Constituent Assembly, and begin another revolution? I am beyond reach of your declamations. In three months we shall have peace, or I shall be dead. Our enemies have never conquered us, nor will they

conquer us. They will be driven away more speedily than they came."

Even when his passionate outbursts were genuine and painful, the Emperor Napoleon always considered what effect they might produce, and tried to make use of it. When communicating to the commission the documents of the negotiation, he forbade the Duke of Vicentia to place amongst them that which laid down the conditions on which the allied powers were ready to treat, not wishing to agree to any basis of peace. The Duke of Rovigo undertook to carry to its utmost extremity the indiscretion of his anger. "Your words are very imprudent," he said to the members of the commission, "when there is a Bourbon in the saddle."

"Thus in his great extremity, under the blow of the most startling manifestations, human and divine, the despot at bay made a display of absolute power; the conquered conqueror showed that the negotiations for peace were, so far as he was concerned, only a means of waiting till the chances of war should again turn in his favor, and the tottering head of the new dynasty proclaimed himself that the old dynasty was there, ready to take his place."*

The Senate was more deferential than the Legislative Body, and Fontanes in his speech expressed the wish of the nation under the form of a panegyric. "Sire," said he, "obtain peace by a final effort worthy of yourself and of Frenchmen; and may your hand, so many times victorious, lay its sword aside after securing the repose of the world." It was the senators whom the emperor appointed to go to the departments to stir up patriotic zeal. His last interview with them was touching. Like King Louis XIV., on his death-bed holding in his arms the little prince who was about to become King Louis XV., he acknowledged the wrong which he had done to his people. "I have made too many wars. I formed immense projects, and wished to secure to France the empire of the world. I counted too much upon my good fortune, and must expiate that fault. I shall make peace, and shall do so according as the circumstances require; it will be mortifying to no one but me. It is I who have been deceived, and I ought to suffer, not France; she has freely shed her blood for me, and spared no sacrifice. Tell the French that I no longer claim their efforts for myself and my projects; I ask from

* Guizot's *Mémoires pour servir*, Etc., vol. i.

them only the means of thrusting back the enemy out of our territory. Alsace, Franche-Comté, Navarre, and Béarn are invaded; I wish to treat on the frontiers, and not in the bosom of our provinces laid waste by a horde of savages. I summon the Frenchmen of Paris, Brittany, Normandy, Champagne, Burgundy, and the other departments, to the assistance of their brothers. To rescue these from the enemy is the only point at issue; there is no longer any question about recovering the conquests which we formerly made."

Napoleon still spoke of peace, but he knew well that at that moment war alone was preparing for France as well as him, a war of fury and desperation. Up to the time of his return from the campaign of Saxony, after the defeat of Leipsic, he wished to beat down the conditions of peace, but his hesitation and falsehood, so much regretted by the allies who were willing to negotiate, supplied arms to those who were hostile. Count Stein, formerly leader of the national rising in Germany against Napoleon, and now governor of the German territories recovered from France, was openly opposed to any pacific overture; and with the Emperor Alexander, whose intimacy he already shared, Count Pozzo di Borgo displayed against the Emperor Napoleon an hereditary hatred, of that sort, both persistent and keen, which is frequently called a Corsican hatred. Sprung from a family always at feud with the Bonapartes, belonging traditionally to the aristocratic party, and defeated in Corsica by the French revolution represented by General Bonaparte, he had run over Europe inspired by his revenge—England, Austria, Russia, Sweden—stirring up enemies against us, provoking annoyance and difficulties, creating or exciting distrust and suspicion. Singularly suited for this task by his political genius, so supple and yet comprehensive, keenly determined to pursue it even to the day when the Emperor Napoleon's deposition was pronounced by the Senate, Count Pozzo di Borgo was soon after to whisper to a lady's ear, when sitting with the diplomatists, "I told you that I should kill him!" At the close of the year 1813, during the terrible crisis which threatened the power and throne of the Emperor Napoleon, he appeared amongst the allies as a skilful adviser, anxious to forewarn them against the perfidies of their adversary, and inspiring the most complete distrust. Henceforth England claimed Antwerp and Flushing. She had again conceived the idea of checking France with that strong barrier which had formerly been the subject of so many nego-

tiations at the time of the threatening conquests of Louis XIV. She wished to establish a kingdom of the Netherlands, which could protect the coast from the Texel to Antwerp. The spontaneous insurrection by which Holland had just regained her national independence was of the most important service to the plans of the English cabinet.

Holland had docilely submitted to the yoke imposed upon her by revolutionary France, assisted by those parties of her own citizens who were rending her bosom. She had afterwards seen her burden grow heavier and her chains tighten. King Louis Bonaparte had reigned with difficulty, and the annexation to the French Empire was the cause of profound dissatisfaction, which was constantly kept alive by their commercial grievances and the crushing load of the conscription. Partial risings took place, and were severely repressed. When fortune seemed to desert the Emperor Napoleon, Holland was worked upon by agents of the allied powers who promised to support the national movement. The approaches by sea were blocked by Admiral Missiessy with the fleet of the Scheldt, and Admiral Verhuell with the fleet of the Texel. Bernadotte had been appointed to support the Dutch patriots by entering their territory on the land side, but had directed his forces towards Denmark, in order to secure the possession of Norway, and was treating with Marshal Davout about the evacuation of Hamburg. The allied princes were annoyed at his selfish delay, and the prince royal of Sweden was obliged to detach part of his army against General Molitor, who had a very small number of troops at his command. When the general advanced upon Utrecht to guard the line from Naarden to Gorkum the national insurrection immediately burst forth at Amsterdam, with shouts of "Long live Orange!" repeated a thousand times. The Amsterdam patricians, steadfast supporters of the old republic of the United Provinces, understood that the people ought to rally round the honored name of the house of Nassau, twice their liberator from the most cruel oppression. They accepted the popular revolution, and did not conceal from the Arch-Treasurer Lebrun their resolution to support the cause of national independence. Thereupon, the French authorities, civil and military, found themselves no longer able to resist the national movement; General Molitor withdrew upon the Waal, and Prince Lebrun took the road to France. All the Dutch towns imitated the example of Amsterdam. The Prince of Orange did little

after his return. An army of 6000 English landed on the coast, and the foundation of a kingdom of the Netherlands became the most important article in Lord Aberdeen's new instructions. Henceforth the allied powers no longer adhered to the propositions of Frankfort, which Napoleon at last agreed to accept as base of the negotiations. Following the lead of England, the sovereigns now allowed France no other limits than those of 1790.

Nevertheless, after long hesitation and some dissension among themselves, which had placed the coalition itself in danger, the allied armies violated the Swiss neutrality which the Diet had taken care should be acknowledged even by Napoleon. The emperor had in fact recalled his troops from Ticino, declaring that his title of "Mediator of the Confederation" was only intended to recall the services rendered to Switzerland by France. Some risings which took place in Berne and several other towns in favor of a counter-revolution, suited the wishes of Prince Schwartzemberg and the purposes of the Austrians. On the 21st December, 1813, the Austrians and Russians advanced by Berne and Geneva towards Besançon and Dôle, while the Bavarians marched upon Belfort. The Prussians with Blücher were between Mayence and Coblenz, waiting for the moment to cross the Rhine in their turn, when they at once marched towards the fortress protecting that river. The allied army amounted to about 200,000 men. The emperor had sent as quickly as possible his conscripts to Marshals Macdonald, Marmont, and Victor, who had been appointed to defend the Rhenish frontiers. He was at the same time organizing an army at Lyons for the purpose of blocking the roads from Switzerland and Savoy. Then entrusting old Marshal Kellermann, Duke of Valmy, with the care of organizing an army of reserve before Paris, he himself started for Chalons on the 25th January, 1814, after tenderly bidding his wife farewell, though he did not know it was the last, and leaving her invested with the cares of the regency under the direction of the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès. When appointing the council, he openly expressed his distrust of Talleyrand, whose presence in it he could not dispense with. "I am well aware," said he, "that I have in Paris other enemies besides those I am going to fight, and that my absence will leave them the field open." He had, however, recalled to Paris King Joseph, and recommended the empress and his son to his care. Murat had by this time

openly completed his defection. The government of the Spanish Cortes had not replied to the communication of the treaty concluded with King Ferdinand. Wellington and the English still threatened the departments of the south, and the army of Spain was therefore not available. Napoleon had just sent the Pope to Savona, as a preparation for that restoration of the Roman States which he seemed now to be resolved upon. He had sent Caulaincourt himself to the head-quarters of the sovereigns, which was already at Lunéville, ordering him to demand a reply to the pacific proposals formerly sent from Frankfort by St. Aignan. "The emperor having adhered to the projected bases," wrote his plenipotentiary, "was astonished to see negotiation growing languid."

Napoleon's most faithful servants were not deceived as to the uselessness of the last efforts which he was still putting forth to defend his tottering power. "We are about to undertake a task not only difficult, but very useless," said the Duke of Vicentia, as he left Paris; "do what we may, the era of the Napoleons is drawing to a close, and that of the Bourbons is recommencing." Napoleon himself fully realized the terrible results of that invasion, which he wished to check with exhausted troops, in a country depopulated by war. One of his ministers* asked him for instructions in case communications should come to be intercepted between Paris blockaded by the enemy and head-quarters. "My dear fellow," replied he, "if the enemy reach the gates of Paris, there is no more empire."

"I have still before my eyes the appearance of Paris," says Guizot, in his *Mémoires*; "for example, the Rue de Rivoli, which was then only partly built. No workmen, no movement, materials in heaps unused, deserted scaffolding, erections abandoned from want of money, hands, and confidence, new ruins. Everywhere the population seemed uneasy and restlessly idle, like people who are in want both of work and rest. On the highways, and in the towns and villages, there was the same appearance of inaction and agitation, the same visible impoverishment of the country, many more women and children than men; young conscripts, sadly on the march to join their corps; sick and wounded soldiers pouring back to the interior; a nation mutilated and attenuated. Moreover, in addition to this physical distress, there was great moral perplexity, the disturbance caused by contrary sentiments; the

* Vieil-Castel, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vol. i.

eager desire for peace, and violent hatred of the foreigner, with the alternatives of anger against Napoleon or sympathy for him; at one time cursed as the author of so many woes, at another celebrated as defender of the country and avenger of her wrongs. There was no enthusiasm in his defence, and but small confidence in his success, but no one made any attempt to oppose him. There were some hostile conversations, several preparatory announcements, some going and coming according to the results anticipated, but nothing more. The emperor acted in perfect liberty, and with all the energy to be expected from his isolation and the moral and physical exhaustion of the country. Never was such public apathy seen in the midst of so much national anxiety, or discontents refraining to such an extent from all action, or agents so eager to disavow their master while remaining so subservient to his purposes. It was a nation of harassed onlookers, who had lost all habit of taking any share themselves in their own lot, and knew not what determination they were to desire or to dread for the terrible drama in which their liberty and national existence were at stake."

The sudden changes in the drama became daily more urgent. Being surprised, with their forces insufficient or badly prepared, the Marshals Victor, Marmont, and Ney found themselves compelled to abandon their positions, and fall back to the river slopes of the Vosges. The departmental administrations withdrew before the enemy, and thus delivered up without resistance Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche-Comté. The population, troubled, disarmed, abandoned to their own resources and suggestions, were divided in their real sentiments by different and contradictory opinions. "Among the well-to-do and intelligent classes the desire for peace, disgust with the demands and speculations of imperial despotism, the certainty of its overthrow, and the near approach of another political rule, were evidently the ruling ideas. The people, on the other hand, only intermitted their weary depression to give themselves up to patriotic rage and revolutionary recollections. No moral union in the country, no common thought or feeling, in spite of a common experience and misfortune."* The old soldiers of Napoleon were still to show prodigies of courage in his name and under his orders; but the conscripts grumbled as they joined their regiments, and many deserted their colors.

* *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de mon Temps.*

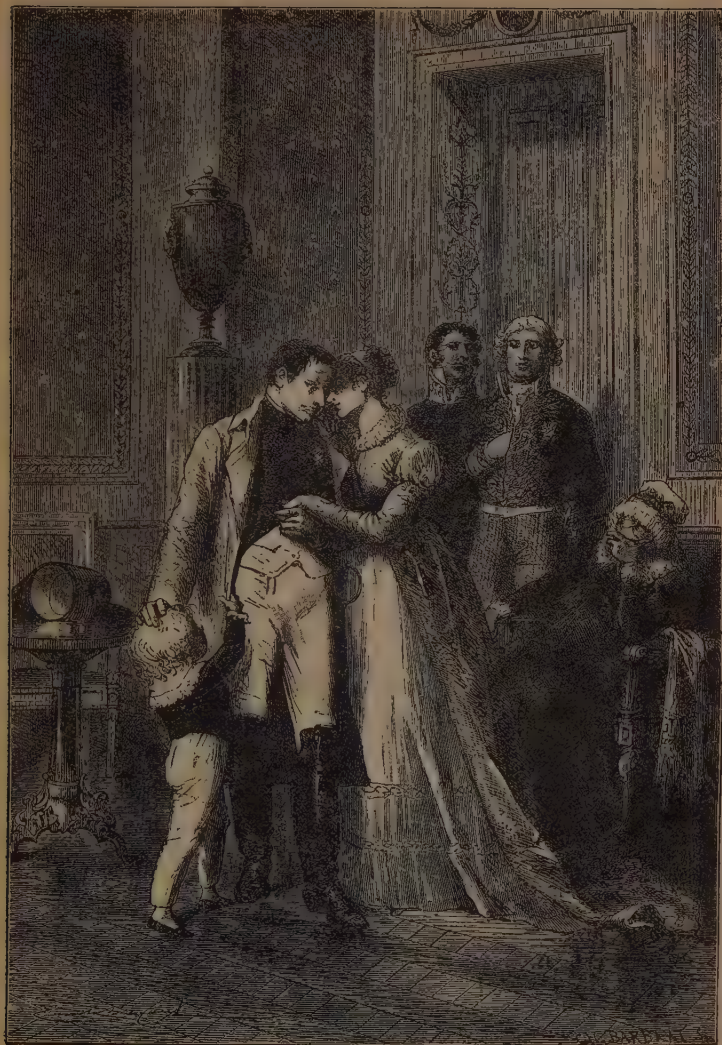
When Napoleon reached Chalons-sur-Marne, along with the shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" he heard ringing in his ears, "Down with joint taxes!" As usual, the popular angel first showed itself against the taxes.

"Does your Majesty bring reinforcements?" asked the marshals as they gathered round Napoleon. "No," replied he; and he passed in review the forces whom he had at hand, making an estimate of those who might soon join them. Victor and Marmont had each kept 10,000 men, and Ney reckoned 6000. General Gerard and Marshal Mortier together made up more than 20,000 soldiers, and General Lefebvre-Desnottes brought from 6000 to 7000. Macdonald was returning from the Ardennes with 12,000 men, and Marshals Soult and Suchet had detached several divisions of the army of Spain, which were coming up with all speed by the Bordeaux road. Bodies of reserve were being prepared at Troyes and on the Seine. At first, in order to meet the attack of 220,000 allies, the soldiers about Napoleon did not amount to 60,000. There was a large supply of excellent artillery, and the emperor revived by his courage all who were disheartened. He occupied all the passages over the Marne, the Aube, and the Seine, fixing his head-quarters at St. Dizier, which he had just recovered from the enemy. Blücher had already set out to join Prince Schwartzemberg on the Upper Marne; and the allied sovereigns met at Langres where Lord Castlereagh had just arrived, the head of the English cabinet, having decided to direct personally the important negotiations which were in preparation. Châtillon-sur-Seine was designated as the seat of the future congress. Caulaincourt had hitherto only received evasive replies, and remained at the advanced posts of the enemy's army. "We are waiting for Lord Castlereagh," was the reply sent him by Metternich.

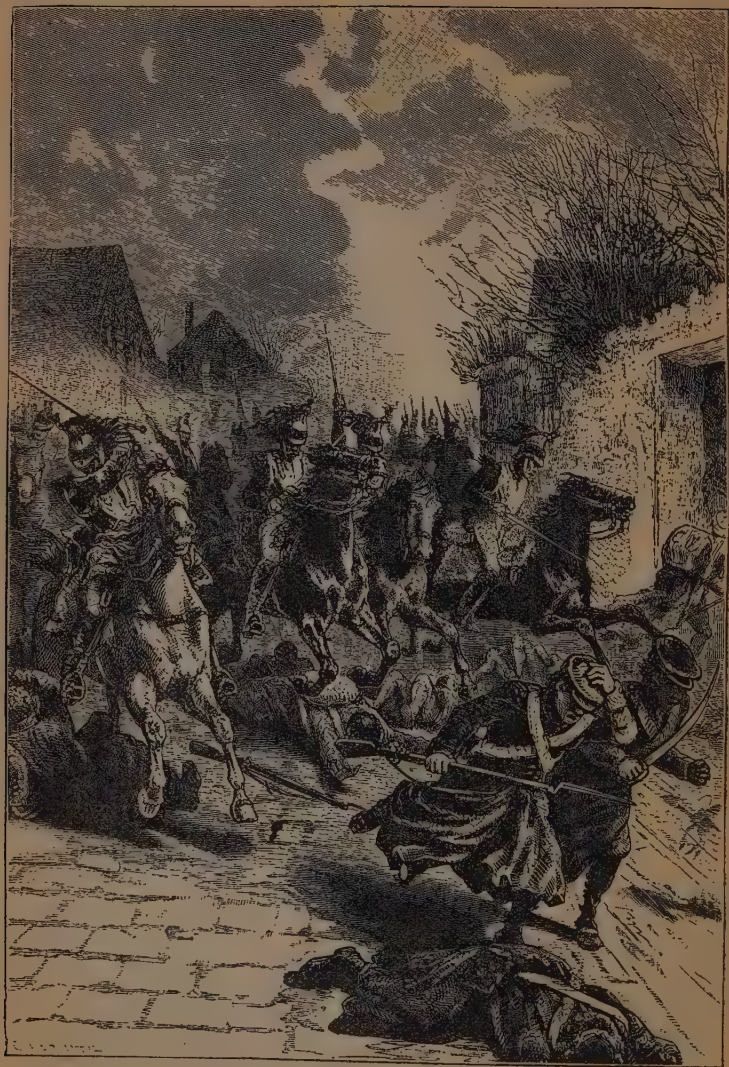
A favorite disciple of Pitt, and passionately engaged, since the beginning of his political career, in resisting France, whether revolutionary, republican, or absolutist, Lord Castlereagh brought to the congress an influence which was certain to become preponderating. His firmness and simplicity of mind, and resolution of character, well fitted him to play the great part which was reserved for England in the congress of nations. For a long time she had sustained, with her pecuniary resources, a principal share of the burden of the war. She alone had persistently remained hostile to Napoleon, and never became subject to his yoke. Her adhesion or opposition was to decide upon peace or war, and all the powers were disposed

to grant her great concessions. The foundation of the kingdom of the Netherlands, with the possibility of a matrimonial union which should bind the new state to the English monarchy, and the reduction of France to the frontiers of 1790, were the points fixed at the commencement of the negotiations by the head of the English cabinet. He did not admit that the question of maritime rights should even be discussed; and, as soon as his conditions were accepted, he brought the whole weight of his influence to bear on the side of moderation, and came to agreement with Austria as to those views and intentions which were not affected by the question of a French dynasty. Popular opinion in England was becoming more and more favorable to the restoration of the house of Bourbon, that being regarded as necessary to the peace. The diplomatists assembled at Langres had not yet come to a decision on this point, though they all foresaw that the question of maintaining the imperial throne would not occasion dissension in the coalition. The Emperor Francis gave them to understand that he should not claim the crown for his grandson, if his son-in-law were overthrown. The idea of placing Bernadotte on the throne had sometimes occurred to the mind of the Emperor Alexander.

The plenipotentiaries had already been designated for all the allied nations: Metternich and Stadion for Austria, Castlereagh and Aberdeen for England, Pozzodi Borgo and Rasoumofski for Russia, Wilhelm Humboldt for Prussia. Metternich and Schwartzenberg had proposed that the armies should remain at Langres to wait for the result of the negotiations; the two first divisions of the work of the coalition being accomplished—the advance to the Rhine and the invasion of France—there remained only the march upon Paris to be decided upon. The Austrians were not eager to hasten it, and thus ensure the triumph of Russia and the passionate vengeance of the Prussians. Blücher baffled those calculations by the temerity of his operations. The plenipotentiaries had just started for the Châtillon, and Metternich sent to inform Caulaincourt, urging him to persuade his master to treat on this occasion, whatever sacrifices might be imposed upon him. All at once news was brought that Napoleon had come up to Blücher when separated from part of his forces, and beaten him before Brienne (29th January, 1814), after a keenly-contested battle. Prince Schwartzenberg immediately set out from Langres for the purpose of supporting the Prussians.



FAREWELL OF NAPOLEON AND MARIE LOUISE.



BATTLE OF MONTMIRAIL.

On the 1st of February 170,000 allies were collected in the suburbs of Rothière, while the Emperor Napoleon, with 32,000 or 33,000 men, was supported on one side by the Aube, and on the other by the heights of Ajou. The battle recommenced with fury, and, in spite of the frightful disproportion of the forces, Napoleon held his positions till the evening, falling back during the night upon Troyes. He had been obliged to abandon part of his artillery—too important, considering the resources at his disposal, which were reduced by every engagement. The first rush of victorious ardor was already diminishing among the troops, and the population of Champagne made no effort to revive their courage. Napoleon was compelled to reckon upon the faults and crimes of his adversaries, of which he took care to inform Caulaincourt, who had just set out for Châtillon. "The enemy's troops behave everywhere in a shocking manner," he wrote, on the 2nd February; "all the population take refuge in the woods. No peasants can be found in the villages. The enemy eat up everything, take all the horses, all the cattle, all the clothes, even to the peasants' rags. They beat everybody, both men and women, and commit crimes of every sort. This picture, which I have seen with my own eyes, must make you easily understand my great desire to extricate my people from this state of misery, and suffering so truly horrible. The enemy will also be obliged to reflect, for the Frenchman is not long-enduring, and is naturally brave; I expect to see them organize themselves into bands. You ought to make an energetic picture of these excesses. Towns of 2000 souls like Brienne have not a single inhabitant."

The proposal of an armistice, made by Caulaincourt, had been rejected by Metternich, without being even communicated to the congress, to the great indignation of the emperor. "The letter which Metternich has addressed to you is quite absurd," he wrote on the 4th and 5th February, to Caulaincourt; "but I see in it what I have long known, that he believes he leads Europe, while everybody is leading him. It is very natural that, at the moment when negotiations are being opened, several days should pass without anything being done, even without making an armistice on that account. To-day I stay at Troyes, expecting to receive news of the congress and conferences of the 3rd. It seems you have only commenced on the 4th. If they wish for peace, and this is not a feint to unanimately prolong the hostilities, they ought to finish promptly, and be able to come to their decisions in the early conferences;

for in fact there will be a general engagement in a few days, which will decide everything. I am now going to Nogent to meet 20,000 men of the army of Spain, who arrive to-morrow and the day after. After that there must be an engagement, to cover Paris. Therefore matters must be decided immediately. Since the allies have already fixed the bases, you ought to have them already. Accept them if they are acceptable; and in the contrary case we run the risk of a battle, and even of the loss of Paris, and all that may result therefrom. I have told Bernadière all that I think on the present state of France, and the necessity of delivering ourselves from these guests, who are burning and robbing the country. You ought already to know how to decide."

That was precisely what Caulaincourt did not yet know. The most absolute secrecy was kept over the terms which were to be offered to France. Our plenipotentiary was unable to learn anything even from Lord Aberdeen, the most moderate, and, so far as we are concerned, the best-disposed of all the diplomatists met at Châtillon. Urged on all sides by his eager councillors, by the fears of the empress, King Joseph, and Louis Bonaparte, the emperor had angrily consented to grant Caulaincourt full liberty of action. That permission did not last long, not having been sincere in Napoleon's mind. A few days afterwards, resuming his military operations, he ordered his minister not to make any haste. Hope was again springing up in that unconquerable soul; but the Duke of Vicentia was unable to share his illusions, as he now knew what were the terms of peace, which no one had dared to enunciate beforehand, and which were now put in place of the Frankfort proposals. To be reduced to her frontiers of 1790, deprived of the conquest both of the republic and the empire, isolated in Europe, and without a vote in the council of the powers about to decide the lot of the countries removed from her authority, and compelled to give an immediate reply to those insulting proposals—such was the abdication which the allied sovereigns claimed the right of imposing upon France, recently still flattered by the hope of keeping the Alps and the Rhine! Caulaincourt's despair was soon increased by being assured that, though he used, in their full extent, the powers which he still possessed, he should not obtain the immediate cessation of hostilities, which was the only possible chance still left of saving Paris. His anger and protestations being in vain, he communicated the sad details of the negotiation to the emperor.

The conferences were suspended at the formal request of the Emperor Alexander. Napoleon had left Troyes, and was again marching against Blücher, watching for the favorable moment when some fault would enable him to recover the upper hand. "There is a probability," he wrote, on the 2nd February, to the Duke of Feltre, "that Blücher's army may advance between the Marne and the Aube, towards Vitry and Chalons; according to circumstances, I shall endeavor to delay the movement of the column, which is now marching, as I am assured upon Paris by Sens, or to return and delay Blücher's march by manœuvring."

"The day was come when even glory no longer is a reparation for the faults which she still conceals. The campaign of 1814, an uninterrupted masterpiece of ability and heroism on the part both of the leader and the soldiers, nevertheless bore the imprint of the false thought and false situation of the emperor. He constantly wavered between the necessity of covering Paris, and his passion to reconquer Europe, wishing to save both his throne and his ambition, and changing his tactics at every moment, according as fatal danger or favorable opportunity seemed to be in the ascendant. God was avenging justice and reason, by condemning the genius who had so often defied them, to succumb in hesitation and doubt under the weight of his irreconcilable desires and impossible resolutions."*

Before falling upon his enemies like a thunderstorm at the head of the heroic soldiers whom he had collected around him, Napoleon took care to destroy the fatal clogs which had so long interfered with his policy. He gave orders to conduct the Pope to Rome, as he might be of service to him by hindering the King of Naples in his treason. He opened the gates of the castle of Valençay to Ferdinand VII., who promised to remain faithful to the treaty recently concluded, the conditions of which he alone could impose upon his people. He ordered Marshal Suchet to evacuate Catalonia, and forward his troops to Lyons; while Prince Eugène was to evacuate Italy, and march in the same direction. Thus 50,000 men of the old troops would threaten the enemy, and might turn them from their march upon Paris.

It was Paris, in fact, that Napoleon wished at any cost to protect, while keenly conscious of the danger with which he was threatened. He had given order that, in case of the approach

* Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir*, vol. i.

of the enemy, the King of Rome and the empress should be conducted towards the Loire. Owing to the increasing alarm of the population of the capital, there was some hesitation in following this order, which would naturally throw Paris into terror. On the 8th February the emperor thus wrote from Nogent to his brother King Joseph:—

“I confess that your letter of the 7th was painful to me, because I see no consistency in your ideas, and you are weak enough to listen to the silly opinions of a heap of persons who do not reflect. Now I will speak to you frankly: if Talleyrand for some reason holds that opinion of leaving the empress in Paris if our forces evacuate it, it is an act of treason implying conspiracy. I repeat to you, have no trust in that man. For sixteen years I have had experience of him, and have even shown favor for him, but he is certainly the greatest enemy of our house, now that fortune has for some time abandoned it. Adhere to the advice which I have given you. I know more than those people. Should there occur a lost battle and news of my death, you will be informed of it before my ministers. Cause the empress and the King of Rome to leave for Rambouillet; order the Senate, the Council of State, and all the troops, to assemble on the Loire; and leave to Paris the prefect, or an imperial commissary, or a mayor. Never leave the empress and the King of Rome to fall into the hands of the enemy. Be certain that from that moment Austria would be disinterested, and would carry him off to Vienna in state; and under the pretext of seeing the empress happy, the French would be persuaded to adopt all that the English Regent and Russia might suggest. Thus all our party would find itself overthrown by that horrible league between the republicans and royalists which would have killed it, instead of having, as in the contrary case, an unknown result, on account of the national will and the large number who are interested in the revolution. Moreover, it is possible that on the enemy nearing Paris I may fight them; it is also possible that I may make peace in a few days. It is clear in any case, from your letter of the evening of the 7th, that you have no means for defence. To understand my advice to you, I find your judgment always at fault. Besides, even the interest of the country is inseparable from their persons, and since the world began I have never heard of a sovereign allowing himself to be taken in open towns. The wretched King of Saxony was wrong to let himself be taken at Leipsic: he lost his states, and was taken

prisoner. In the very difficult circumstances of the present crisis one does his duty, and leaves the rest to chance. Now, if I live I ought to be obeyed and I have no doubt will be so; if I die, my son and the empress in regency ought, for the honor of the French people, not to allow themselves to be taken, but withdraw to the last village with their last soldiers. Recollect what was said by the wife of Philippe V. What in fact would they say of the empress? That she had abandoned her son's throne and ours. The allies, too, would prefer to make an end by conducting them prisoners to Vienna. I am surprised that you did not think of that. I see that fear is turning all the heads in Paris. As for my opinion, I should prefer that my son's throat be cut rather than ever see him brought up at Vienna as an Austrian prince; and my opinion of the empress is so good that I believe she is also of the same way of thinking, as far as a wife and mother can be so. I never saw *Andromache* on the stage without pitying the lot of *Astyanax* in surviving his house, and considering him happy in not surviving his father."

All the edifice which he had erected was now about to be overthrown, more completely than he anticipated, without that favor being reserved for him of being himself struck by the lightning. He had well estimated the misfortune of his son and the sad fate awaiting his *Astyanax*. The Empress Marie-Louise was not an *Andromache*.

Then began "the great week," as they termed the final effort of the Emperor Napoleon and France against the crushing mass of their enemies—against the woes and humiliations of invasion, which they had formerly inflicted upon all the peoples now allied against them. The allied sovereigns resolved to force back the emperor towards Paris, by outflanking him, now on one wing, now on the other, so that at last they might throw themselves all together upon his exhausted troops, and destroy him. Blücher had rallied the reinforcements recently arrived, those of York, Langeron, Kleist; and the army of Silesia now amounted to 60,000 men. He advanced according to arrangement with Schwartzberg, who kept 130,000 men. The Prussians were to operate on the Marne, drive back Marshal Macdonald, who was covering Paris, and take Napoleon in rear in order to hem him in a net of enemies. As the two armies were separating to accomplish their movement, Schwartzberg, with the view of defending his left flank against the troops which were said to be arriving from Lyons, gradually in-

creased the distance between him and Blücher. Napoleon perceived this, and rushing like a tiger upon his prey, reached Sezanne, after crossing the marshes of St. Gond on the 10th February, and fell upon the Russian troops under Olsouvieff, then occupying the plateau of Champaubert. They were small in number, and were completely destroyed, the general and staff being taken prisoners. On the 11th, Napoleon advanced upon Montmirail, in pursuit of Sacken, who was marching along the left bank of the Marne to attack Marshal Macdonald. General York followed the right bank, intending to cross the river to support Sacken, but the latter had already been beaten between Épine-aux-Bois and Marchais. On the 12th, York in his turn was attacked at Château-Thierry by Napoleon's cavalry. The infantry, grouped before the town, were broken. The French soldiers and those of the allies fought in the streets, and the inhabitants seconded the emperor's efforts, because they had been ill-treated by the Prussians. The latter had unfortunately destroyed the bridge over the Marne, and pursuit was momentarily stopped; but while Napoleon was renewing his communications, Blücher returned towards Montmirail, and Marshal Marmont, to whom that district had been entrusted, having too few forces to oppose him, fell back upon Vauchamps. The emperor ran thither, and on the 14th, after a keenly-fought engagement, Blücher was driven back with great loss. By the four engagements with the Silesian army, Napoleon gained 18,000 prisoners, whom he at once sent to Paris, in order to raise the depressed spirits of the populace. In that, however, he only succeeded imperfectly, for while Blücher was beaten on the Marne, Prince Schwartzberg advanced up the Seine near the capital. The emperor Alexander, excited against Napoleon by a haughty and vindictive passion, pressed forward their military movements, and resisted any attempt to reopen negotiations; he had told Blücher to wait for him before entering Paris. Austria and England, however insisted on the necessity of conferences; Metternich showed Caulaincourt's letter, written at Châtillon, to obtain at least a momentary cessation of arms. It was on this base, supposing all the conditions imposed upon France were accepted, that the preliminaries of peace were drawn up. The severity of the terms was a concession granted to the Emperor Alexander.

Napoleon had just reached Meaux and Guignes, after rejoining Marshals Victor and Oudinot on the Yères, when he

attacked (on the 17th February) Count Wittgenstein's van, and after beating it marched towards the bridges over the Seine at Nogent, Bray, and Montereau. Some delay in Victor's operations hindered this movement, to the emperor's great annoyance, and thus a keen engagement, which took place at Villeneuve on the 17th under General Gerard's orders, led to no result. It was only on the 18th that the bridge of Montereau could be taken from the Wirtemburgers who defended it. Count Colleredo had had time to withdraw his Austrians. Napoleon advanced upon the Seine against Schwartzemberg's main body, and our troops were already defiling by Montereau to march towards Nogent and Troyes, which were still held by the Emperor Francis.

At the moment he was mounting his horse at Nangis, after the battles of Mormant and Villeneuve, the emperor received an ill-timed request of an audience from Count Parr, Schwartzemberg's aide-de-camp. He had come with the proposal of a suspension of arms, and pleaded the importance of a renewal of conferences as likely at least to diminish the hostilities. Napoleon deferred his reply and pursued his journey towards Montereau, but from this procedure of the allies he derived new hopes and illusions. He wrote immediately to Caulaincourt:—"I gave you *carte blanche* in order to save Paris, and avoid a battle which was the last hope of the nation. The battle has taken place, and Providence has blessed our arms. I have made from 30,000 to 40,000 prisoners, taken 200 cannon, a large number of generals, and destroyed several armies, almost without striking a blow. Yesterday I made a commencement with the army of Prince Schwartzemberg, and I expect to destroy it before it recrosses our frontiers. Your attitude must remain the same: you should do your best to secure peace, but I wish you to sign nothing without my order, because I alone know my position. If the allies had received your proposals on the 9th, there should have been no battle, and I would not have risked my fortune at a moment when the slightest failure was the ruin of France; moreover, I should not have known the secret of their weakness. It is true I have the advantage of the chances which have turned in my favor. I wish for peace, but not one that would impose upon France more humiliating terms than those of Frankfort. My position is certainly more advantageous than at the time when the allies were at Frankfort: they could defy me; I had gained no advantage over them, and they were far from my territory.

To-day the case is very different. I have had enormous advantages over them, advantages to which a military career of twenty years and some celebrity presents nothing comparable. I am ready to cease hostilities, and allow the enemy to return home undisturbed, if they sign the preliminary bases on the proposals of Frankfort."

While thus detailing the favorable turns his luck had taken, and reckoning his chances, the great gamester seems to have forgot what cards the enemy held in his hand. In his bold illusions he transformed strength into weakness, and dwelt upon the invasion as an argument fatal to the allies. At Châtillon, Caulaincourt bitterly contemplated the reverse of the medal. He had received on the 17th the preliminary project, as severe as the protocol of the 9th, and still more unfeeling in its form, all the sacrifices demanded from France being enumerated at length. According to these terms, hostilities were to cease immediately: the only restitution promised to France was that of Martinique and Guadeloupe, on condition that Sweden should agree to restore that colony, which had been left her by England. Caulaincourt sent the plan to the emperor. The plenipotentiary, hopeless and powerless, had listened in silence to the proposals which were breaking his heart, but his master's rage burst forth, as usual, with a violence that shows itself in the following letter written on the 19th February to Caulaincourt:—

"I look upon you as under restraint, ignorant of my affairs, and influenced by imposters. As soon as I reach Troyes I shall send you the counter-project which you have to give. I thank heaven that I have that document, for there is not a Frenchman whose blood will not boil with indignation at the sight of it. I therefore wish to make my ultimatum myself. I should a hundred times prefer the loss of Paris to the dishonor and annihilation of France. I am not pleased that you have not formally intimated that France, in order to be as strong as she was in 1789, must have her natural limits in compensation for the partition of Poland, the overthrow of the ecclesiastical system in Germany, and the great acquisitions made by England in Asia. Say that you are awaiting orders from your government, and that it is very natural they should keep you waiting, since your couriers are obliged to make a *détour* of seventy-two miles, and three of them have already not turned up. I have given orders to arrest the English couriers. I feel so deeply the infamous proposal

which you send me, that it seems a dishonor even to be supposed to be in the circumstances assumed in their proposal. I shall let you know my intentions at Troyes, but I think I should rather lose Paris than see such proposals made to the French people. You are always talking of the Bourbons; I should prefer seeing the Bourbons in France, on reasonable terms, to accepting the infamous proposals which you send me. I repeat to you my command to declare by protocol that the natural limits only give France the same power which Louis XVI. had."

While the army was advancing beyond Montereau, the Emperor Napoleon halted in the château of Surville, and took time to glance over the affairs still under his management in various parts of Europe, everywhere threatened by the enemy. Prince Eugène had beaten the Austrians on the Mincio, and from his delight at this victory the emperor unfortunately determined still to hold Italy in his hands, as a pledge of his victories, and as something to fall back upon in the negotiations still pending. Marshal Suchet was obliged to evacuate Catalonia and withdraw upon Lyons. Soult still kept Wellington and the English on the Adour, after being compelled to abandon the line of the Bidassoa, and that of the Nive. General Maison, with insufficient forces, was defending our positions in Belgium. Carnot had offered his services to the emperor, and now held Anvers with a garrison which was decimated by bombardment. Augereau was at Lyons, exerting himself to organize the recruits and national guards, and impatiently waiting for the troops from Spain, that he might join in the campaign, and annoy the allies by taking Chalons and Besançon. Napoleon thus bitterly reproached him for delay:—

"The Minister of War has placed before me your letter written to him on the 16th, and it has deeply wounded me. What! six hours after receiving the first troops arriving from Spain you had not yet started the campaign! A rest of six hours was sufficient for them. I gained the battle of Nangis with the brigade of dragoons come from Spain, though they had not unbridled since leaving Bayonne. You say the six battalions of the Nîmes division are in want of clothes and equipment and not yet drilled; what a poor excuse to give me, Augereau! I destroyed 80,000 of the enemy with battalions composed of conscripts, who had no cartridge-boxes and were badly clothed! You say the national guards are in a pitiable

condition; I had 4000 of them who came from Angers and Brittany with round hats and wooden shoes, without cart-ridge-boxes, yet I got good work out of them. There is no money, you go on to say; and where do you expect to get money from? You can have none till we have forced our income from the enemy's hands. You are in want of harness; then take it wherever you can find it. You have no stores, you say: but it is quite ridiculous. I order you to set out within twelve hours after receiving this letter, in order to take the campaign. If you are still the Augereau of Castiglione, retain the command; if your sixty years weigh upon you, resign it in favor of one of your general officers, according to seniority. You must have a nucleus of more than 6000 men from the best troops. I have not so many, yet I have destroyed three armies, made 40,000 prisoners, taken 200 cannon, and thrice saved the capital. The enemy flies from all quarters towards Troyes. Be there when the ball begins. There is no chance now of doing as in recent years, but we must saddle, with the resolution of '93! When Frenchmen see your plume at the advanced posts, and see you the first to expose yourself to the musket-balls, you can do with them what you like!"

Napoleon nevertheless left Montereau with 70,000 men, having never since the campaign opened had so many troops at his disposal. He expected to cross the Seine at Méry, reach the neighborhood of Troyes before Schwartzemberg, and then offer him battle after having re-crossed the river. But Blücher had just appeared on the right bank, after speedily rallying all the remains of his forces, and an engagement took place on the 22nd, on the half-demolished bridge of Méry; the town was burnt, and our soldiers were obliged to withdraw. The Emperor took the main road to Troyes, expecting to meet the Austrians and join battle; but Prince Schwartzemberg prudently refrained, and between Chatres and Troyes, Napoleon received a new proposal of armistice. Being thus convinced of the embarrassment of the allies, as well as the reviving superiority of his arms, he avoided replying to the messages of the Austrians and entered Troyes after the retreating rear-guard of the allied princes had left. On the 21st, at Nugent-sur-Seine, he had written to the Emperor Francis, trying by indirect means to separate him from the coalition, by proving how important were the interests both of his States and his family. The offers of peace on both sides were

of no effect. One of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, Count Flahaut, was sent to the enemy's outposts, and a preliminary conference was opened at the village of Lusigny. The single point to consider, said the foreign commissioners, was determining the line of demarkation between the armies while the negotiations lasted. The starting-point and intentions of the belligerents being absolutely contradictory, a rupture was inevitable. Meanwhile hostilities were not suspended, and on the 26th February, Napoleon again left Troyes to march against Blücher.

The Prussian general's ardor frequently chafed against his sovereign's prudence. He addressed himself to the Emperor Alexander, who took share personally in the struggle against Napoleon. On the day after the battles which so nearly annihilated the Silesian army, he asked for the troops of Bulow and Wintzingerode to be added to his own. These 50,000 men served under the Prince Royal of Sweden, who thought of nothing but his conquest of Norway, and the allied sovereigns were afraid lest Bernadotte should take offence, and therefore leave them. He had already shown his annoyance at the protection granted by Austria to Denmark, as well as at the refusal made to admit a Swedish plenipotentiary at the congress. The great powers had undertaken to treat for the small states. When the council of allied princes was met, Lord Castlereagh took upon him the responsibility of obtaining the consent of the Prince Royal of Sweden. The English subsidies were indispensable to Bernadotte, and the English prime minister had besides entirely at his disposal the army lately formed in Holland under the Prince of Orange, the number of which was about the same as the detached corps of the army of the North. Castlereagh placed under Bernadotte these troops in the English pay. At the same time, to avoid the disputes which often threatened the very existence of the coalition, the English plenipotentiary proposed to conclude a treaty between the four great powers, which should bind them solemnly to one another, at first till the conclusion of the existing war, and then for twenty years afterwards. So long as peace was not signed to the satisfaction of the coalition, each of the contracting parties was to furnish a contingent of 150,000 men. After the peace, each power was to maintain an army of 60,000 men for the service of those allies who might be attacked by France. England, moreover, undertook to furnish, during the whole duration of the war, a subsidy of fifty million francs each,

yearly, to Russia, Austria, and Prussia. By this bold initiative Castlereagh secured both to his country and himself an indisputable preponderance in the congress, and in all the military or diplomatic resolutions which were taken by the allied powers. The treaty was signed on the 1st of March, at Chaumont, where the sovereigns then had their headquarters. The prolongation of the negotiations at Châtillon was at the same time resolved upon, but for a limited time, and the propositions addressed to Napoleon remained open for a fortnight longer. If he refused to admit them, the powers were to break all negotiations with him, and thus declare him an outlaw to all Europe.

The formal summons to fulfil engagements was final and complete. Just after the signing of the treaty of Chaumont, Napoleon wrote to Caulaincourt to reiterate his resolution to accept no base of negotiations except the Frankfort proposals, "the minute presented by the plenipotentiaries of the allies not being a proposal, but a capitulation, which in several points is dishonorable to France." He at the same time ordered King Joseph to communicate to the council of the regency the terms offered by the allies, and the replies which he had addressed personally to the Emperor Francis, and officially to the congress of Caulaincourt. "I do not ask a formal opinion," he wrote, "but I am glad to know the various sentiments of individuals." To Cambacérès he wrote: "you will see from what King Joseph communicates how moderate these gentlemen are; just like their soldiers, who pillage, slaughter, and burn everything."

Meanwhile, Marshals Mortier and Marmont, who had been appointed to keep the Silesian army in check, while the emperor was pursuing Prince Schwartzemberg, had scarcely had time to throw themselves into Meaux, while Blücher, henceforth free in his movements, advanced towards the Marne. Napoleon at once conceived the idea of taking him in rear and crushing him between two of his army corps, before the reinforcements brought by Bulow and Wintzingerode could effect a junction. Leaving Marshals Oudinot and Macdonald to guard the Aube, he concealed his march from the enemy, and ordering from Paris some bridge apparatus, which he had for several days previously asked for in vain, he advanced as far as Ferté-sous-Jouarre. Blücher was not expecting him, and after vainly trying to force the line of Ourcq, which was held by the marshals, he fell back on the 3rd of March towards the

Aisne, hoping to join the auxiliary forces. His situation, however, was serious. The emperor was about to cross the Marne, and the bridge of Soissons, the only outlet by which he could cross the Aisne, was in our power, as well as the town. The emperor made haste in order to intercept from the enemy the Rheims road; and after crossing the Marne, he advanced towards Château-Thierry, and then Oulchy; Marmont and Mortier having occupied Fère-en-Tardenois. Blücher was cantoned in the direction of Soissons, when Napoleon halted, on the evening of the 3rd March, at the village of Bézu-St. Germain.

The emperor's soldiers were full of hope, and the 4th was waited for with impatience; but while the army marched to meet Blücher, thus entrapped, the news came of the surrender of Soissons. Moreau, who was in command of the garrison of the town, had lost courage before the threatening and imposing forces of Bulow and Wintzingerode, united round its weak walls, and capitulated without any attempt at resistance. Blücher therefore was now able to cross the Aisne, and effect a junction with his reinforcements. The indignation of Napoleon equalled the consternation of his troops. "The enemy were in the greatest embarrassment," he wrote on the 5th to the minister of war; "we were hoping to reap to-day the fruit of several days of fatigue, when the treason or idiocy of the commandant of Soissons delivered the place up to them. On the 3rd, at noon, he marched out with the honors of war, taking with him four cannon. Let the wretch be arrested, as well as the members of the council of defence; have them brought before a court-martial composed of generals, and in God's name! let the result be that they are shot within twenty-four hours on the Place de Grève! It is time some examples were made. Let the sentence be printed, with the reasons set forth, posted on the walls and sent everywhere. I am now compelled to throw a trestle-bridge over the Aisne, and must thus lose thirty-six hours, and encounter difficulties of every sort."

General Nansouty, however, had with his cavalry carried the bridge of Berry-au-Bac, which was badly guarded by the Russians; and Napoleon being enabled to cross the Aisne, marched towards Laon. The enemy held all the plateau of Craonne, on the road to that town. The emperor's object then was to beat Blücher before he threw himself back upon Schwartzenberg. On the morning of the 6th, the town of Cra-

onne was attacked and carried; and on the 7th, after a fight lasting till the evening, which cost us a large number of soldiers on account of the strong position of the enemy, and our inferiority at the time in artillery, the plateau was taken, and Blücher compelled to withdraw to the plains of Laon. The bloody victory, however, was useless unless we succeeded in intercepting the enemy's road to Paris; and Marmont was ordered to effect a diversion by bringing his troops out to the plain by the Rheims road, while the emperor led his soldiers by the pass between the Étouvelles heights at Chivy. On the morning of the 9th, Ney forced the passage. Blücher had entrenched himself in the town, and on the rocks defending it like a natural growth in the midst of the plain. He had determined to make a desperate resistance. His forces were twice as many as ours, yet the suburbs were twice taken and retaken. General Charpentier, with two divisions of the young guard, effected a flank movement in order to attack Laon in rear. Marshal Marmont did not arrive; night came before he could push beyond Athies, which he had taken from General York. He took up position there about evening, in a dangerous situation, without proper guard, and being surprised during the night, his conscripts were seized by a panic and ran away, the artillerymen leaving their guns. When the rout halted on the heights of Festieux, the diversion on which the emperor calculated had failed; he wished to attack Laon to carry it, but the Russians were already attacking the positions taken on the previous evening in our rear. All the emperor's attempts upon Laon were useless, so well was it defended by Blücher, and our troops being inferior in number, could not long protect the villages which they had taken. Napoleon decided to fall back upon Soissons, which the enemy had merely passed through. He was dejected, his plan having failed and his situation now rendered dangerous; and a victory gained on the Rheims road against a body of 15,000 men commanded by a French emigrant, Count St. Priest, was not sufficient to raise the dejected spirits of our soldiers. Oudinot and Gerard, after gallantly defending the passage of the Aube, had fallen back upon the Seine, which was still protected by Marshal Macdonald. Schwartzemberg again occupied Troyes, and threatened the Seine from Nogent to Montereau. The conferences of Lusigny had been abandoned.

The Châtillon congress was also soon to be closed. Caulaincourt had not produced the counter-project asked of him, Na-

oleon having forbidden it. "They cannot insist upon us offering ourselves the sacrifices which they openly propose to force from us," said he. "If they wish to give us a drubbing, the least they can do is not to compel us to give it to ourselves." Caulaincourt had, however, been informed that the last hopes of peace were certainly doomed if he did not consent to offer some proposals. He was made aware by Vitrolles, an agent of the princes, of the intriguing pursued by the royalists at the headquarters of the allies. On the 15th of March he resolved to detail in a memorandum the sacrifices to which France consented: to give up Westphalia, Holland, Illyria, and Spain; to restore the Pope to Rome, and Ferdinand VII. to Madrid. Napoleon claimed an appanage for the Princess Baciocchi and Prince Eugène. He gave up Malta to England, as well as most of her colonial conquests.

The foreign diplomatists were never for a moment deceived. In other words, the emperor was still obstinate in claiming for France her natural limits, the Rhine and the Alps, according to the proposals made at Frankfort. The plenipotentiaries did not enter upon a useless discussion, but declared that the negotiation was broken up. The reply of the sovereigns to the counter-project was to be sent to Caulaincourt on the 17th, and the congress dissolved on the 18th. Lord Aberdeen expressed his intense regret to Caulaincourt; and the latter informed the emperor of the result, at Rheims.

The diplomatic communications addressed to the council of the regency in Paris by no means excited the indignation which Napoleon anticipated. Pliant for fifteen years under his despotism, the emperor's highest servants showed no energy at the hour of resistance. They surrendered to him the liberty which he granted them, but a secret instinct, nevertheless, inclined them towards a peace of some sort. A messenger was despatched to the emperor to inquire if it should be his pleasure that the peace so much desired be asked from him by formal procedure. Napoleon's mind was more steadfast than that of his councillors: he despised their prudent weakness, and abused them indignantly in a letter to the Duke of Rovigo:—

"You tell me nothing of what is done in Paris. They are occupied only with clever shifts, the regency, and a thousand intrigues as silly as they are absurd. None of those people ever think that, like Alexander, I am cutting the Gordian knot. Let them be well assured I am the same man I was at Wagram and Austerlitz, that I will have no intrigue in the State, that

there is no other authority whatever but mine, and that in an urgent crisis it is the regent that exclusively possesses my confidence. King Joseph is feeble, and allows himself to be led into intrigues which might be fatal to the State, and especially to himself and his plans, unless he promptly returns to the right course of conduct. Mark well, that if they had drawn up an address contrary to authority, I should have arrested the king, my ministers, and all who had signed it. They are spoiling the national guard, as well as Paris, through their weakness and ignorance of the country. I will have no tribune of the people. Let it not be forgotten that I am the great tribune. The people will then act always as is suitable to their true interests, which are the object of all my thoughts."

At almost the same moment (12th March), as if to prove to the very last day the unconquerable pride which sprang up more indignantly than ever when surrounded by adversity, the emperor wrote to King Joseph: "I am pained to see that you have spoken to my wife about the Bourbons, and the opposition which might be made by the Emperor of Austria. I beg of you to avoid such conversations. I have no wish to be protected by my wife. Such a notion would spoil her and compromise us. Let her live as she has lived; say nothing to her of what she should know before signing; and above all avoid any conversation which might lead her to think that I agree to be protected by her or her father. For four years the word Bourbon or Austria has never passed my lips. The Emperor of Austria can do nothing, because he is weak, and led by Metternich, who is in the pay of England—that is the secret of the whole. . . . You always write as if the peace depended upon me, yet I sent you the documents. If the Parisians wish to see the Cossacks, they will have cause to repent; still the truth should be told them."

The agitation in Paris constantly increased, not only on account of the rupture of the negotiations for peace, the successive checks to Napoleon's most skilful manœuvres, but of the new arrivals from the south of France. Soult, slowly driven by Wellington, had to leave Bayonne, blockaded by the enemy, and, after leaving the river at Oléron, fell back upon that at Pau, in the suburbs of Orthez, where he was attacked by the English on the morning of the 27th February, over a long line of defence. Generals Reille and Clausel kept their positions, but the marshal would not risk a second battle with

the loss of the only French army which still remained complete. He abandoned the Bordeaux road, which he had been ordered to cover, and marched towards Toulouse, hoping to draw the enemy in pursuit. Wellington did, in fact, follow him, but after detaching General Hill for Bordeaux. The English were well informed as to the state of public opinion in the south of France, which has always been favorable to extreme parties, and was then somewhat influenced by royalist agents. The Duke of Angoulême, eldest son of Count d'Artois, had not been admitted to the English head-quarters; but when the gates of Bordeaux were opened without resistance to the English columns, the prince was at the same time summoned by the spontaneous action of the citizens. He hastened to respond, and the restoration of the Bourbons was proclaimed by the mayor, in the midst of shouts of joy from the merchants who had been ruined by the continental blockade. There was none who misunderstood the official protest of Wellington against the Bordeaux manifestation. The example was dangerous, and the popular excitement increased. The yoke began to weigh heavily on the shoulders of all as soon as ever the possibility of shaking it off appeared on the horizon. Nevertheless, the emperor had no fear of a popular excitement in Paris resembling that of Bordeaux; he was then planning a great movement towards the north, which should enable him to rally all his garrisons, and intercept the communications of the allies with Germany. It was, moreover, necessary to withdraw from the capital, now threatened from every quarter. Napoleon resolved to attempt another blow at Prince Schwartzemberg.

The latter had fallen back upon Troyes, summoning round him his scattered forces, which the Czar Alexander thought were threatened by Napoleon. This retreating movement confirmed the emperor in his intention of marching eastward in the meantime. He therefore went towards Arcis-sur-Aube, without waiting to encounter the Bohemian army. Several general officers had informed him of Schwartzemberg's concentrations, but he would not believe it. On the the 20th of March, between Troyes and Arcis, he found himself face to face with the enemy. The first charge of the Russian cavalry threatened the emperor's person, and a Polish battalion had scarcely time to form in square for his protection. A few minutes afterwards a shell fell at his feet, and severely wounded his horse. Ney defended the village of Grand-Farcy, and General Friant

came up with the old guard. The soldiers, though only one against three, fought everywhere with prodigious valor, but all their efforts could only succeed in rendering the result doubtful. "Your Majesty has no doubt other resources, which we are not aware of?" asked General Sebastiani in the very midst of the fight. "Nothing more than is before your eyes," replied Napoleon. "Then, why does your Majesty not think of a general rising?" "Such ideas are purely chimerical, my dear Sebastiani, fine recollections of Spain and the French revolution! A general rising in a country where the revolution destroyed the nobles and priests, and where I myself have destroyed the revolution!"

The emperor had destroyed the life and strength of the revolution, and the national vigor by which the country was formerly defended; but he had not extinguished the revolutionary germs—so much the more full of life that the despotism had long diverted France from the real and earnest government of its affairs. He had exhausted the military ardor by constant misuse of it, and the wearied country called aloud for rest. That is what Caulaincourt tried to make him sensible of, when he again met him at St. Dizier, to which Napoleon had transferred his head-quarters after the indecisive and useless engagement at Arcis-sur-Aube, from a conviction that he could not at once risk a second battle without absolutely compromising his subsequent operations. "You did well to return," said the emperor; "if you had accepted the ultimatum of the allies, I should have disavowed you. They wish to ruin us, or weaken us till we are reduced to nothing. Death is preferable to that. We are old enough soldiers to have no fear of death. But you are going to see something worth while. The enemy are evidently following me. Schwartzemberg has not dared to advance upon Paris, because he knows that I threaten his communications. As soon as I have rallied the 30,000 or 40,000 men in the garrisons, I shall burst like a lightning-cloud upon whoever is nearest, Blücher or Schwartzemberg, no matter which, and crush him, leaving the peasants of Burgundy to finish. The coalition is as near its ruin as I am to mine."

The most faithful of Napoleon's servants could not be deceived by such language, whether sincere or pretended; and the allies had not allowed themselves to be so far drawn by military considerations as to despise political combinations. They knew well that the war could only finish at Paris; and did not anticipate much resistance before its walls. The gen-

eral discontent, the weariness caused by the empire, and the crushing load which weighed down men of every class, were betrayed by too certain proofs for the Emperor Francis to be now deceived as to the stability of his daughter's throne. The thought of a general march upon Paris gradually rallied men of the greatest prudence. Intercepted letters from the empress, King Joseph, and the Duke of Rovigo confirmed the sovereigns in their convictions as to the moral and political state of the capital. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia resolved to advance; the Emperor of Austria remained behind. He could not himself go to the gates of Paris arms in hand. Schwartzenberg and Blücher had effected the junction of their armies. Wintzingerode was appointed to watch Napoleon's movements with 10,000 horse. On the 25th March, the allied armies commenced their march to Paris.

Marmont and Mortier, left behind to defend the Aisne, had been obliged to abandon their positions in presence of superior forces. They at first fell back upon Fismes, with the view of rejoining the emperor by Château-Thierry; but being separated by the whole army of the enemy from the eastern road, they resolved to advance towards Paris to cover the capital, and meantime made an appointment together for Sommessons, with the object of retreating as far as Fère-Champenoise. The Generals Pacthod and Compans, at the head of detached corps, took the same direction. On the 25th, at mid-day, just after the two marshals had met, they were suddenly attacked by the allied army; and after bravely defending the position which they had taken on the road, between two hollows, found themselves obliged to retreat slowly, overwhelmed by the enemy's fire and whirlwinds of heavy hail. General Pacthod's corps, almost entirely composed of national guards, was surrounded by the enemy. Before these improvised soldiers would agree to surrender, the Emperor Alexander was obliged to send them one of his aides-de-camp to stop the fighting. The losses of our little army were irreparable. The marshals had difficulty in avoiding being taken by the enemy. On the 29th they arrived under the walls of Paris; several other corps rallied round them, 20,000 or 25,000 men of the regular troops, and 10,000 or 12,000 of the national guards. Such were the resources to be disposed of for the defence of the capital, then without fortifications. We have seen the ramparts of Paris prolong the resistance without, however, sufficing to save France when invaded, but the Council of the Regency and

Napoleon's lieutenants scarcely had ordinary walls; and the population of Paris were not disposed to attempt such efforts of heroism as they did in recent times. After a stormy and long-continued deliberation, the majority of the Council insisted upon requesting that the empress and King of Rome should remain in Paris. Talleyrand strongly pleaded for this. King Joseph produced the emperor's formal commands, such as that given on the day after the battle of Rheims:—"You must under no circumstances allow the empress and the King of Rome to fall into the hands of the enemy. Should they advance towards Paris with such forces that resistance is impossible, then the regent empress, my son, the great dignitaries, the ministers, the officers of the Senate and presidents of the Council of State, the grand officers of the crown and treasury, must leave, and go in the direction of the Loire. Do not leave my son; and remember that I should rather know he was at the bottom of the Seine than in the hands of the enemies of France. The fate of Astyanax as prisoner with the Greeks always seemed to me the most unhappy fate in history."

The Council gave way, and the empress, turning to her brother-in-law and her husband's most intimate servants, said, "Tell me what I must do, and I shall do it." Nobody dared to advise her to disobey Napoleon's wish, so clearly expressed. Going out on a last reconnoitring expedition, King Joseph and the Duke of Feltre found that Paris was surrounded by the armies of the enemy, against which they could only make a pretended resistance. The carriages were standing ready, with the crowd looking on, silent and gloomy, like people who are deserted by those who ought to protect them. The last extremity of pain and disgrace could not reach Paris so long as her sovereigns made it their residence. Several officers of the national guard obtained admission to the empress, and entreated her to stay. She wept, full of hesitation and alarm. The King of Rome asked what they wished to do, and refused to go into the carriage, clinging to the curtains of the palace which he was about to leave forever. The long train of imperial carriages took the road to Rambouillet, escorted by 200 soldiers of the old guard, whose sorrow was more bitter than that of the courtiers, full of consternation at the fall of grandeur. The all-powerful emperor was again become an adventurer.

Meanwhile Paris was full of disturbance. The preparations for the defence were confused, bandied from General Hullin, gov-

ernor of the city, to Marshal Moncey, who commanded the national guard. These again had no muskets, and scarcely half of them were armed. Several guns were placed on the heights of Montmartre, St. Chaumont, and Charonne, but they had not enough of harness for the artillery. No horses were requisitioned from private persons, and nowhere were barricades thought of. A recollection of old times crossed M. Real's mind, when he proposed to the Duke of Rovigo that they should take up the paving stones from the streets and throw them down upon the enemy, at the same time firing at them from the windows of the houses. "Why, that is a revolutionary mode of defence," exclaimed General Savary; "I shall most certainly not do that. What would the emperor say?"

The resistance of Paris was to be confined to a battle before the octroi-wall, between 29,000 soldiers and 170,000. The result was known beforehand, and it was the remains of their honor and ours which the two marshals defended. Mortier took his station at the foot of the heights of Montmartre, his right resting on the Ourcq canal and his left on Clignancourt. Marmont was to occupy the plateau of Romainville, and extend as far as Prés-St.-Gervais. When he advanced towards the heights, the advanced guard of Barclay de Tolly was already posted there, but it was driven back, and the marshal's troops deployed between Charonne and Vincennes: Montreuil and Bagnolet were occupied. The enemy's armies, divided into three columns under the orders of Barclay, the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, and Blücher, were to attack on the east, south, and north; Romainville, the Barrière du Trône, and the heights of Montmartre being the points threatened.

It was at the last post that King Joseph had fixed his headquarters. On the morning of the 30th there was already some fighting in the east of Paris, and the plateau of Romainville was several times taken and retaken. Blücher and the Prince of Wurtemberg had not yet arrived. The generals, however, were not deceived with false hopes; the soldiers said they were determined to be killed to the last man, but Paris would certainly be compelled to surrender. This news, and the sight of the enemy's columns on the horizon, filled up the measure of King Joseph's alarm, being fully resolved not to fall into the enemy's hands. He deliberated with the ministers who still remained with him, and they all advised him to fly, urging that the emperor had given that order beforehand. Joseph set out, accompanied by the Duke of Feltre, and Paris was now

left without government, and its defenders without any political supervision. Only one order was sent to the marshals, in these terms:—"If M. le Marshal Duke of Ragusa and M. le Marshal Duke of Trevisa cannot hold their ground, they are hereby authorized to enter into pourparlers with the Prince of Schwartzemberg and the Emperor of Russia now before the walls." "JOSEPH.

"Montmartre, 30th March, 1814, at a quarter past twelve, noon.—They will withdraw upon the Loire."

Thus abandoned to themselves, with no hope but that of a glorious death, the generals in command everywhere joined battle. Blücher, after approaching Montmartre with caution, because he thought this important point was strongly fortified, took possession of it without difficulty. The Prince of Wurtemberg carried the bridge of Charenton against the national guards and the pupils of the Alfort School. Some vigorous fighting took place at Pantin, Bagnolet, and Charonne. Romainville was on the point of being taken by the enemy, when Marshal Marmont made a charge, sword in hand, against the enemy's centre, but was driven back, and very nearly made prisoner. The defence was concentrated upon Belleville and Ménilmontant. Mortier still held Villette, and the fighting there was keenly contested. The pupils of the Polytechnic School had been vigorously attacked at the Barrière du Trône, but they succeeded in holding their ground, though many were killed by their guns. A rumor ran that the emperor had arrived, but it was without foundation; General Dejean alone had succeeded in passing the enemy's posts, announcing Napoleon's approach. It was sufficient, he said, to hold out two days, for the army to come and back the efforts of the brave defenders of Paris; the emperor was already advancing with his staff to the assistance of the capital, hastening across the country by relays of horses, and they must make an attempt to gain time. The emperor had written to the Emperor Francis, proposing to reopen the negotiations; and Schwartzemberg, as soon as he was informed of it, would most certainly grant a suspension of arms. Marshal Mortier, having heard this from General Dejean, immediately sent an orderly to the prince. Marmont had already twice sent messengers, but they had been killed before reaching the generals of the enemy, and his third emissary reached Prince Schwartzemberg at the same time as the officer bearing Mortier's request. "I have had no information of the renewal of negotiations," said the Austrian

general, "and therefore cannot grant an armistice; but it depends upon the marshals to put a stop to this butchery, if they agree to deliver up Paris to me immediately." Several hours previously, when Marmont received the authorization to treat which was sent by Joseph, he replied that they were not yet come to that. Now, at mid-day, with his back against the octroi wall, driving back the enemy, some of whom were already advancing into the Rue du Temple, fighting himself like a soldier in the ranks, on foot, in the midst of his officers falling around him, the marshal had no resource left but capitulation. An aide-de-camp had reached the château of Bondy where the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia were. "It is not my intention to do the least harm to the town of Paris," said the Czar; "it is not upon the French nation that we are waging war, but upon Napoleon." "And not upon himself, but upon his ambition," added Frederick William. The suspension of arms was granted, and the only point at issue was the withdrawal of the army and the capitulation of Paris. The terms of agreement were drawn up at Villette between the marshals, Nesselrode and a few of the enemy's officers. The allies at first declared they would insist upon the defenders of Paris giving up their arms; they also insisted upon their withdrawal to Brittany. These two articles having been rejected, the marshals remained at liberty to direct the movements of their troops as they pleased. The convention, generally termed the "Capitulation of Paris," was confined to several articles exclusively military:—

"The corps of the Marshals the Dukes of Trevisa and Ragusa will evacuate the town of Paris on the 31st March, at seven o'clock, forenoon. They will take with them their regimental property and furniture. Hostilities cannot be resumed till two hours after the evacuation of the town, viz., on the 31st March, at nine o'clock, forenoon. All the military arsenals, workshops, establishments, and stores will be left in the same state as they were in before the present capitulation was discussed. The national or city guard is entirely distinct from the troops of the line, and will be preserved, disarmed, or disbanded according as the courts appointed by the allies may think proper. The municipal gendarmes corps will be treated exactly as the national guard. The wounded or marauders who remain in Paris after seven o'clock, will be prisoners of war. The town of Paris is committed to the generosity of the high allied powers."

Such was the convention signed on the 30th March, at six o'clock, afternoon, by the marshal's aides-de-camp, in a small public-house in Villette, in the midst of the disturbance and consternation which were reigning in the capital. Her last defenders were making their preparations to leave; Marshal Marmont, his face blackened with gunpowder, and his clothes torn by balls, was surrounded by his friends in his house in the Rue Paradis-Poissonnière. "And Paris?" they exclaimed, when he had announced the conditions of the armistice. "Paris is no business of mine; I am only leader of a corps, and my troops have done all that was humanly possible to do. I fall back upon Fontainebleau, where the emperor is. A capitulation will be made for Paris." It was at last decided that the two prefects of police and administration should wait upon the allied sovereigns, to obtain the treatment to which Paris was entitled. These were the only remains in Paris of the imperial government. Clear-sighted men could already distinguish the aurora of new influences. Talleyrand did not leave Paris along with the court.

Meanwhile the Emperor Napoleon had reached as far as Fromenteau, being himself in advance of the whole army. Retained for several days in the neighborhood of St. Dizier and Vassy, by the vain hope of fighting Schwartzemberg's army, which he thought was still following him, he was able to see, by a well-fought battle between St. Dizier and Vitry, that the only troops behind him were a cavalry-corps. One of the enemy's bulletins, also, which had fallen into his hands, informed him of the affair at Fère-Champenoise, from which he inferred the movement of the allied armies upon Paris. Napoleon hesitated, inclined to follow up his plan, so that he might attack the enemy when he should have collected some forces; but the troops were seized with excitement, and all asked to march to the assistance of Paris. The danger of the capital implied that of many families, and threatened the honor of France. The emperor was obliged to yield. Always rapid in his resolutions, he advanced by forced marches, being conscious, moreover, of the imminent danger, and suspecting, not without reason, that it was too late to save Paris. He hurried his journey as far as Villeneuve-l'Archevêque, where he threw himself into a carriage and flew towards Paris. At Fromenteau, about midnight, he was told that a body of cavalry were approaching. "Who is there?" he exclaimed. "General Belliard." Napoleon stepped out of the carriage and drew the general to the road

side. "Where is the army?" he asked. "Sire, it is coming behind." "And the enemy?" "At the gates of Paris." "And who holds Paris?" "Nobody, it is evacuated." "What! evacuated? And my son, my wife, the government, where are they?" "On the Loire, sire." "On the Loire! who sent them there?" "Sire, it was said to be by your orders." "My orders did not imply that. Where is King Joseph, and Clarke, and Marmont, and Mortier?" "Sire, we did not see King Joseph or the Duke of Feltre; the marshals did all that it was possible for men to do. A defence was made in every part, and the national guards fought like soldiers. We had nothing, not even cannon! Ah! sire, had you been there, you and your troops!" "No doubt, if I had been there,—but I cannot be everywhere. Joseph lost Spain, and now he is losing me France! And Clarke, too; if I had believed that poor Rovigo, who always kept telling me that he was a coward and traitor! But we must go there at once! My carriage, Caulaincourt!" The officers threw themselves before the emperor, to stop him as he proceeded to walk along the road. "It is impossible, sire! It is too late! There is a capitulation! The infantry is behind us, and will presently reach us." Some of the detachments were already coming in sight. Napoleon let himself fall by the roadside, holding his head in his hands and hiding his face. The on-lookers, with heartfelt sorrow, silently stood by him. On that solitary road, at the dead of night, the grand empire, founded and sustained for fifteen years by the incomparable genius and commanding will of one man alone, had now crumbled to pieces, even in the opinion of him who had raised it.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST RESTORATION (1814—1815).

THE Bourbons had long been forgot by Europe, even when showing some kindness personally to the princes of that illustrious race. England alone had occasionally supported them in their attempts, but the support was always insufficient and late. The French princes paid little attention to the noble effort made by the country gentlemen and peasants in Vendée; when they believed the dying spark could be revived they en-

couraged the Quiberon expedition, but without resolving to share in it themselves. The Count d'Artois had something to do with the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, and his personal friends were engaged in it. The emigrants were divided into two classes, the "observers" and the "conspirators," so termed during the last days of the monarchy according to their bias, one towards Monsieur, the other the Count d'Artois. The advisers differed in like proportion; so long as men of eager and rash disposition fostered the count's illusions, and encouraged him to believe that it was impossible to return to the past, Monsieur, or "the king," as the emigrants now called him, chose, amongst the most liberal and sensible of the royalists in Paris, some friends for the purpose of letting him know the state of public opinion, and managing his affairs. This "royal council" was composed of only four persons, chosen by Royer-Collard, one of them being the Abbé Montesquiou. On the 18th Brumaire, Clermont-Gallerande, who was also a member, received from Louis XVIII. instructions to lay before the first consul certain proposals of alliance. His credentials were conceived in the following terms:—"I give to the bearer of these presents all necessary power to treat in my name with General Bonaparte. I do not instruct him to propose either conditions or recompences to that general. The faithful interpreter of my sentiments will give him the assurance that all that he may ask for his friends will be granted immediately after my restoration. The safety of my people will be the guarantee of my faithfulness in fulfilling my promises."

At first no reply was sent to the prince's letter. When he made a second attempt, Bonaparte's refusal was as peremptory as was afterwards that of Louis XVIII. in 1803, to the proposal that he should renounce his claim to the throne. "I do not confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him," replied the king to the President of the Diet of Warsaw, who had been entrusted with that commission by the first consul. "I owe him thanks for several acts of his administration, because the good done to my people will always make me grateful; but he is deceived if he thinks to persuade me to traffic with my rights: so far from that, he himself by his present procedure would strengthen them, if they could become matter of dispute. I know not what may be God's purposes regarding my race and myself, but I know what are the obligations he has laid upon me by the rank to which by His will I have been born. A Christian, I shall fulfil those obliga-

tions till my latest breath; the son of St. Louis, I should be able like him to act worthily even in chains; the successor of Francis I., I wish to be able at least to say as he did, 'All is lost, save honor.' " Royer-Collard in name of the secret Council wrote a long letter to Louis XVIII., approving and commenting on the prince's conduct; which letter was published afterwards, when a serious disagreement broke out between the restored Bourbons and their wisest and best servants.

As the princes of the house of Bourbon had protested against the crimes of the revolution, so they protested against the setting up of a throne which they were not called upon to occupy. "By taking the title of emperor," said Louis XVIII. in his protest of the 5th June, 1804, "and wishing to render it hereditary in his family, Bonaparte has just put the seal to his usurpation. The new act of a revolution in which everything from the first has been without legal effect, can certainly not weaken my rights; but accountable for my conduct to all the sovereigns, whose rights are not less assailed than mine by the principles which the Senate of Paris has dared to put forward, I should consider myself a traitor to the common cause by keeping silence on this occasion. I therefore declare, in presence of all the sovereigns, that far from acknowledging the imperial title which Bonaparte has just got bestowed upon himself by a body which has not even a legal existence, I protest against that title, and against all the subsequent acts to which it may give place."

The protest was of no use, as was well enough known by the prince who pronounced it. Several months later (2nd December, 1804), to satisfy the need for action felt by Count d'Artois and his friends, he published a declaration promising to uphold all the rights gained by the revolution. "My proclamation contains everything," he wrote to Mittau. "Is it the military question? The soldier's rank and employment are retained, promotion according to length of service—all are secured. Is it a question of a public man? He will be continued in office. Or one of the lower orders? The conscription, that tax of persons, the most burdensome of all, will be abolished. Or a new proprietor? I declare myself the protector of the rights and interests of all. Or, finally, those who are guilty? Prosecutions will be forbidden: a general amnesty is announced. Nevertheless everything, in France and without, since the beginning of the Revolution, turns in a vicious circle. Placed between two parties, I cry to both 'You are

wrong!' But my voice is not heard by the one, or listened to by the other."

Dating from this formal declaration, which he considered due to his family and the monarchic^{al} traditions, Louis XVIII. aimed at nothing more than a quiet and dignified retreat. This he long found at Mittau, remaining an entire stranger to the intrigues in the midst of which the Count d'Artois was actively employed. When the Emperor Alexander, conquered and cajoled at the same time by Napoleon, gave the illustrious exile to understand that his presence in Courland was troublesome, the prince asked for an asylum in England, the only nation in Europe that still refused to acknowledge the all-subsiding power of the Emperor of the French. It was a characteristic proof of this power that the English cabinet for a moment hesitated to receive Louis XVIII. He was at last allowed to reside in England, and had lived there seven years when the tottering state of Napoleon's throne again revived the hopes of the few friends who remained true to his cause. England openly showed her indifference for the royalist cause:—"The only opinion I can form," wrote Wellington to Lord Bathurst, "is that twenty years having elapsed since the princes of the house of Bourbon left France, they are as much, and perhaps more unknown there, than the princes of any other royal family in Europe; that the allies should agree amongst themselves to propose to France a sovereign in place of Napoleon, who must be got rid of before Europe can ever enjoy peace; but that it matters little whether it be a prince of the house of Bourbon or one of any other royal family." The English general wrote this at the time when the Duke d'Angoulême followed his army, without ever being able to obtain an introduction. The Duke de Berry's stay in Jersey produced no rising of the royalists in Vendée or Brittany. Count d'Artois, after crossing the eastern frontier along with the allied armies, had great difficulty in obtaining permission to pass through Vesoul from the Austrian general in command of the place. The Russians allowed him to enter Vesoul on condition that he came alone, without cockade or decorations, took no political title, and occupied no public building. The allied sovereigns were on their guard against every manifestation which might give a dynastic color to their political or military action. They were not disposed to lend an ear to the urgent requests of the royalists, nor to place much confidence in their declared assurance as to the state of public opinion. "If they were to

give up treating with Bonaparte," said Vitrolles to the Emperor Alexander, "and march upon Paris, determined to allow public opinion full liberty, it would declare itself. I leave my head in your Majesty's hands, and am willing that it should fall at the block, if Paris—if public opinion, does not declare itself."

Vitrolles was bold, enterprising, and unscrupulous. His supple and subtle mind was well-suited for intrigue. He had risked his liberty, and even his life, by coming to Châtillon to sound the secret intentions of the powers with reference to the Emperor Napoleon. Two unfortunate gentlemen had displayed the white colors of the royalists at Troyes during the stay of the allies in that town, and when Napoleon regained possession of it one of them, named Gault, was shot. Vitrolles was sent to Châtillon to prove to Stadion, his former friend, the identity of the Duke of Dalberg. Around Talleyrand and his intimate friends there had already begun a movement in favor of the new posture of affairs, and he did not oppose it, though he refrained from taking an active share in it. The Emperor Napoleon's distrust, and unmistakable weakness of his fortune, had, however, determined the quondam bishop, afterwards vice-grand-chancellor under the imperial rule. The instinct of the race, his personal interest, and a sense of the wants of the country, all combined in Talleyrand's mind to separate him henceforth from the threatened dynasty. When King Joseph left Paris, a few hours after the capital was invested by the enemy, Prince Benevento proceeded to follow; but the guard stationed at the gates showing some resistance, he returned to Paris without insisting upon it. Before the departure of the marshals for Fontainebleau he had an interview with the Duke of Ragusa, and strove by arguments to weaken his military fidelity to a chief who was no longer accompanied by victory. As soon as the allied sovereigns took possession of Paris, they were careful to request Talleyrand to remain.

On the 30th March, 1814, was seen the first declaration of the allies in Paris, signed by Prince Schwartzemberg as generalissimo. It clearly announced their intention of no more treating with the Emperor Napoleon.

"Inhabitants of Paris," it said, "the allied armies are now before your walls. The object of their advance upon the capital of France is the hope of a sincere and lasting reconciliation with her. For twenty years Europe has been flooded with

blood and tears. The attempts to put a stop to so much wretchedness have been in vain, because there exists in the very power of the government which oppresses you an insurmountable obstacle to peace. Who is the Frenchman that is not convinced of the truth of this? The allied sovereigns are sincerely anxious to find a tutelary authority in France that can cement the union of all nations and governments with her. It belongs now to the city of Paris, in the present crisis, to hasten the peace of the world. Let her declare herself, and immediately the army now before her walls becomes the supporter of her decisions. Parisians! you know the situation of your country, the conduct of Bordeaux, the occupation of Lyons, the evils brought upon France, and the real inclinations of your fellow-citizens. You will in these examples see the limit of foreign war and civil discord. Make haste to reply to the confidence placed by Europe in your love for your country and in your good sense." Preparations were already being made for the entry next day into Paris of the allied sovereigns.

We have in our time heard words less sympathizing, and, like our fathers, have known the anguish caused by the faults and reverses of absolute power. The population of Paris remained calm and dejected. When, on the 31st, the allied sovereigns approached the rich quarters, they were hailed with the joyful shouts of a band of royalists, who displayed the white Bourbon flag, and welcomed with delight Napoleon's conquerors. Women gave way to the same enthusiasm. By the hope of peace their children were snatched from deadly danger; several of them distributed white cockades. This display of different passions, which had long been silently repressed, was confined to a small number of houses and streets. When the Emperor Alexander, who marched in front, and attracted the looks of all, reached the hotel in the Rue St. Florentin which Talleyrand had put at his disposal, a large crowd gathered round the doors, full of curiosity and adulation. Indoors, earnest negotiations had begun.

It is a characteristic of critical junctures that they bring to the front those men who are destined to exercise preponderating and decisive influence upon human events. By his foresight and acuteness Talleyrand prepared beforehand the place which he was to take in that formidable crisis of our destinies, no one disputing it with him, and the allied sovereigns at once acknowledged him as the natural and inevitable plenipotentiary of France. Caulaincourt, who had been sent by Napoleon, was

received by the Czar at Bondy; but he obtained nothing but courteous expressions, and the sad conviction that his master was to be opposed. On his return to Paris for the purpose of renewing the attempt, he had secretly resolved to accept, if need were, the Châtillon terms of peace. He considered the contrary resolutions were emphatically expressed.

On March 31st, a proclamation from the allied princes was everywhere posted up.

"The armies of the allied powers have occupied the capital of France. The allied sovereigns respond to the prayer of the French nation. They declare:—

"That whilst material guarantees were necessarily included in the terms upon which peace could alone be concluded when it was a question of restraining the ambition of Bonaparte, yet these terms must be made more favorable when by an inclination towards good government France offers assurances of tranquillity.

"The allied sovereigns consequently proclaim that they will no longer treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, nor with any member of his family; that they respect the integrity of ancient France, as it existed under its legitimate kings; they may even do more than that, for they acknowledge the principle that for the welfare of Europe it is necessary for France to be great and strong.

"That they will recognize and guarantee the Constitution which the French Nation shall form for itself. Accordingly they invite the Senate to appoint a provisional government which may provide for the necessities of administration, and prepare such a constitution as may meet the views of the French people."

Such were the results of the conferences which had taken place in the morning between the allied sovereigns, Talleyrand, and the Duke of Dalberg. Upon one point only were the victorious allies thoroughly agreed—the downfall of the Emperor Napoleon, the author of all the evils that oppressed Europe, the insatiable conqueror whom no treaty of peace could bind. The regency of the Empress Marie-Louise, Prince Bernadotte, even the republic, all seemed to offer certain advantages. The preferences of the allies in favor of the house of Bourbon were as yet only feeble. Lord Castlereagh was not present to plead their cause; Talleyrand took charge of it. So far as he was concerned he had fully made up his mind. A member of the Constituent Assembly, a great nobleman and a bishop, he had

been too close an eye witness of the terrible tragedies resulting from revolutionary fury and of the humiliations of the Directory to believe in the possibility of the re-establishment of the republican *régime*. His clear judgment rejected the idea of government by Marie-Louise in the name of an infant—the imperial dynasty with all its faults, and without its power, under the continual menace of a despot banished in vain. He did not tolerate for a moment the absurd idea of the elevation of Bernadotte to supreme power; the Bourbons alone could assure tranquillity to France. France could exact from them guarantees for its liberties. “The republic is an impossibility; the regency, or Bernadotte, means nothing but perpetual intrigue; the Bourbons alone represent a principle.” Such was the sum of the thoughts of Talleyrand, strongly supported by the men of intellect who surrounded him, and who were soon admitted into the presence of the sovereigns.

“If we are to believe the enemies of the restoration, it was imposed upon France by hostile bayonets, and nobody in 1814, either in Europe or in France, cared much about it. Puerile blindness of party spirit! The more it can be proved that no general desire, no great force, internal or external, demanded and accomplished the restoration, the more do we bring into view its own innate force, and that supreme necessity by which the issue of events was determined. In the fearful crisis of 1814 the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon was the only natural and serious solution, the only one that was linked with principles as independent of mere force as of the caprices of human wishes. In accepting this solution anxiety might be felt for the new interests of the French people, but under the ægis of institutions mutually accepted, there was reason to hope for that of which France had the most pressing need, and which had been most wanting to it for five-and-twenty years—peace and liberty. Thanks to the two-fold hope, not only was the restoration accomplished without a struggle, but in spite of revolutionary memories it was promptly and easily accepted by France. And France was right, for the Restoration in fact gave it peace and liberty.

“Never had peace been more talked about in France than during the last twenty-five years. The Constituent Assembly proclaimed: No more conquests! The National Assembly proclaimed the union of peoples. The Emperor Napoleon concluded in fifteen years more treaties of peace than any other king. Never had war so often broken out; never had peace

been so short-lived a lie. Treaties were only truces during which new combats were prepared for. It was the same with liberty as with peace; at first enthusiastically celebrated and promised, it soon gave place to civil discord, even amidst renewed celebrations and promises. Then in order to put an end to discord, liberty also was put an end to. Just as people became intoxicated with the word without caring to realize the thing, so also in order to escape from a fatal intoxication, both name and reality became almost equally proscribed and forgotten.

“Real peace and liberty returned with the restoration. For the Bourbons, war was not a necessity, neither were they passionately fond of it; they could reign without having recourse every day to some new display of force or some new excitement of the popular imagination. With them foreign governments might hope for, and in fact did hope for, a sincere and lasting peace. In the same way the liberty that France recovered in 1814, was not the triumph either of a philosophical school or of a political party; it gave no satisfaction to the lawless and unbridled appetites born of turbulent passions, extravagant theories, and imaginations at once ardent and unoccupied; it was truly that social liberty which consists in the practical and legal enjoyment of the rights essential to the active life of citizens, and to the moral dignity of the nation.”*

The allied sovereigns dimly comprehended these higher reasons for the restoration of the Bourbons, whilst simply yielding to what appeared to them to be the unanimous wish of the chosen men who appeared before them to represent France immediately after the capitulation of Paris. The public declaration of their intentions was meant to facilitate the manœuvres of Talleyrand in the Senate. The conquerors having resolved not to treat with Napoleon, or with any member of his family, the Senate could not hesitate to declare itself in favor of the Bourbons. The Corps Législatif, which had been less submissive than the Senate to the imperious will of the master, had still stronger reasons for concurring without difficulty in his overthrow. In vain did Caulaincourt argue with Talleyrand in favor of a regency for Marie-Louise. “It is too late,” said the Prince. “I have done all I could to save them by detaining them in Paris; but a letter from this man, who has lost everything, has ruined them in their turn, by leading

* Guizot: *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*, vol. i.

them to decide on flight. Think of France, and also of your own children." The loyal servant of Napoleon, who had so long deplored the intoxications of unbridled ambition, henceforth sought in vain to reanimate the courage and fidelity of those whom he had formerly seen upon their knees before the master of all their destinies. The Senate had already appointed the members of the provisional government, carefully chosen by Talleyrand. He was assisted in this difficult task by the Duke of Dalberg, of German origin, and on friendly terms with all the foreign diplomatists; General Beurnonville, formerly war minister of the Convention; Jaucourt, a sincere Protestant, and a gentleman of good family, the descendant of a daughter of Duplessis-Mornay, and who had sat on the right in the Legislative Assembly; and lastly, the Abbé Montesquiou, one of the wisest friends of King Louis XVIII., and a constant member of his secret council at Paris, witty, amiable, and liberal minded. The Senate was ready to stretch its complaisance yet further. It set about proclaiming the dethronement of the Emperor Napoleon, but not without taking care to assure itself beforehand of some recompense for its services. The following were amongst the fundamental principles [of the constitution determined upon by the senators: 1st. That the Senate and the Corps Législatif should be integral parts of the projected constitution, admitting such modifications as might be necessary in order to assure an unrestricted suffrage and freedom of opinion. 2nd. That the army, and all superannuated officers and soldiers, and the widows of such, should retain their various grades, honors, and pensions. 3rd. That there should be no repudiation of the public debt. 4th. That the sales of the national domains should be considered as irrevocable. 5th. That no Frenchman should be brought under examination as to any political opinions he might have given utterance to. 6th. That freedom of worship and of conscience should be maintained and proclaimed, as well as the liberty of the press, excepting only the legal repression of abuses of that liberty.

Great were the precautions taken as regards material interests; and the fundamental guarantees of liberty did not occupy a prominent position in these first foundations of the new social system as suggested by the personal motives and prejudices of the senators. Talleyrand and his wise associates were, however, specially careful not to let imprudent men rush forward, and events be precipitated, before the bases

of a mutual accord could be arranged between the legitimate sovereign and the nation which recalled him. An untimely manifestation by a part of the Municipal Council of Paris, and the zeal of Vitrolles, who thought the way for the return of the princes was already open, were counterbalanced by the repugnance of the national guard to mount the white cockade, in spite of the friendly disposition manifested by General Dessolle, who had just been appointed its commander. Besides, the Emperor Alexander took pleasure in showing how completely the French people were left at liberty to regulate their internal affairs in accordance with their own will and pleasure. Appeased by his victory, and the downfall of his enemy, he resumed the natural mildness of his character—he displayed in favor of the Parisians that desire to please which had formerly led him to show too much partiality towards the all-powerful conqueror. The Senate had just voted the dethronement of the imperial dynasty, when Talleyrand selected ninety out of the 400 senators, and officially presented them to the Emperor Alexander. The latter effusively praised them for their patriotic zeal, and said he thought he could do nothing to give them greater pleasure than the restoration to liberty of all French prisoners detained in Russia. Lambrechts was appointed to set forth the grounds for the act of dethronement. It was a duty which naturally devolved on one of those rare members of the Senate who had remained in opposition; they alone had not participated in the errors and the crimes with which every one was now reproaching the fallen *régime*. I will give the text of this Act of Accusation, which fell back like a charge of cowardice upon the greater number of those who had just voted for it.

“The conservative Senate—considering that in a constitutional monarchy the monarch only exists by virtue of the constitution, or the social pact; that Napoleon Bonaparte during a few years of firm and prudent government gave the French nation reason to expect in the future acts of wisdom and justice, but that subsequently he destroyed the pact which united him to the French people, notably by levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than by legal authority, contrary to the express tenor of the oath which he took on his accession to the throne; that he has sought to take away the rights of the people, even by adjourning without necessity the Corps Législatif, and causing to be suppressed as criminal a report of this Corps, whose very title and part in the national representation

he has contested; that he has carried on a series of wars in violation of the 50th article of the Act of the Constitutions of the 22nd Frimaire, in the year VIII., which ordains that a declaration of war be lawfully proposed, discussed, decreed, and promulgated; that he has unconstitutionally issued many decrees bearing the penalty of death, seeking to have a war recognized as national, when it was only carried on in the interests of his unbounded ambition; that he has violated the constitutional laws by his decrees relative to State prisons; that he has annihilated the responsibility of ministers, confused the authority, and destroyed the independence of the judicial bodies; considering that the freedom of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary censure of his police, and that at the same time he has always made use of the press for flooding France and Europe with facts of his own invention, false maxims, and doctrines favorable to despotism and to outrages against foreign nations; considering that instead of reigning, in accordance with his oath, solely for the interests, the welfare, and the glory of the French people, Napoleon has brought the misfortunes of the country to a climax, by refusing to make peace on conditions which the nation's interests required him to accept, and which did not compromise the honor of France—by the bad use he has made of all the men and money entrusted to his care—by the abandonment of the wounded without medical care, attendance, or even the means of subsistence—by various measures resulting in the ruin of the cities, in the depopulation of the country districts, in famine and contagious maladies; considering that for all these reasons the Imperial government established by the *sénatus-consultum* of the 28th Floreal, in the year XII. has ceased to exist, and that the manifest will of all the French people calls for a new order of things, of which the first result shall be the re-establishment of general peace, and which shall be also the epoch of a solemn reconciliation amongst all the States of the Great European family—the Senate declares and decrees as follows:

“Napoleon Bonaparte is deposed from the throne, and the hereditary rights established in his family are abolished. The French people and the army are relieved from the oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Bonaparte.”

The cry that rose up from the inmost soul of France vanquished, wounded, and bleeding, was more eloquent, as it was more simple, than the long exposition of the grounds of action

drawn up by Lambrechts; the decree of the Corps Législatif, tardily and unwillingly convoked by the Provisional Government, was more dignified in its cold brevity.

"The Corps Législatif, having seen the Act of the Senate of the 2nd instant, by which it pronounces the deposition of Bonaparte and his family, and declares the French people absolved from all civil and military duties towards him; having seen also the decree of the Provisional Government of the same date, by which the Corps Législatif is invited to participate in this important operation; considering that Napoleon Bonaparte has violated the constitutional pact—the Corps Législatif, concurring in the Act of the Senate, recognizes and declares the deposition of Napoleon Bonaparte and the members of his family."

All the constituted bodies hastened to give in their adhesion to the declarations of the Senate and the Corps Législatif. The army alone still remained, to all appearance, faithfully gathered around the Emperor Napoleon, who remained at Fontainebleau, where he awaited the results of the mission of Caulaincourt, at the same time concentrating little by little the corps that had become scattered, or hindered from assembling. Upon the Duke of Vicenza devolved the sorrowful duty of announcing the fact of his deposition to the sovereign, to whom he had always extended the firmest and wisest counsels. The emperor had already collected his old guard in the great court of the chateau; he was on horseback, having just come from visiting the cantonments, and he advanced towards the ranks: "Officers, subalterns, and soldiers," said he, "the enemy has stolen upon us three marches. He has entered Paris. I have offered to the Emperor Alexander a peace involving great sacrifices—France with its ancient boundaries, renouncing our conquests, and relinquishing all that we have gained since the Revolution. Not only has he refused, he has done still more: through the perfidious suggestions of these emigrants, to whom I have granted life, and whom I have loaded with benefits, he has authorized them to carry the white cockade, and will soon desire to substitute it for our national cockade. In a few days I am going to attack Paris. I count upon you. Am I right? We are about to prove that the French nation knows how to be supreme in its own territory, and that if we have long been so abroad, we shall not be the less so at home. We will show that we are capable of defending our cockade, our independence, and the integrity of our territory."

The soldiers, with enthusiastic cries, responded to the words of the Emperor; they were still ready to follow him and to give him all that was left of their blood. The officers took a sounder view of the situation; the generals felt that the cause was lost, and that resistance would be impossible and murderous. Some amongst them were not quite clear of selfish motives. Many were influenced by the feeling that France was weary of fighting, and in evident need of peace. The first to feel and express this idea were the most illustrious and most heroic of the marshals. Whilst the soldiers were swearing that they would march upon Paris, with the emperor, to-morrow, Lefebvre, Oudinot, Ney, Macdonald (who had just arrived with his corps), entered the room of Napoleon, resolved upon forcing him to comprehend the truth. The emperor was very excited, already forming a plan for his last battle, reckoning up the forces still at his disposal, and the reinforcements that he might expect in a few days. "They are scattered in Paris," said he; "the people will rise in revolt and deliver them into my hands; they are lost. All who flee from Paris I shall hurl back into the Rhine, and we shall once more become masters of the situation. There is one last effort to be made to reconquer the world."

Napoleon appeared at first absorbed in his own thoughts; he presently addressed himself to the men who surrounded him—to those companions of his life who had so often gained battles for him, and whom he judged to be still animated with his own indomitable ardor. Their countenances remained frigid, and their words were embarrassed. They dwelt upon the horrors to be expected if the battle took place within the walls of the capital. "It is not I who have chosen the place," cried the emperor. "I grapple with the enemy wherever I meet him. It is my only chance—and your only chance also. How would you bring yourself to live under the Bourbons?" All protested emphatically against this idea. "The Regency could not last," replied the Emperor, "in a fortnight you would be making overtures to the Bourbons . . ." Here the marshals hesitated; their thoughts were revealed in their faces. The strong judgment of their master had forestalled their own. That which he deemed impossible they were themselves disposed to attempt; but in order to place the crown upon the head of the King of Rome, the abdication of Napoleon was necessary. No one as yet dared to pronounce this word.

Marshal Macdonald held in his hand a letter from General

Beurnonville, who had long been his friend. The emperor asked him what news he had received. "Very bad news," said the Marshal. "I am assured that there are 200,000 allies in Paris. If we give battle it will be a frightful affair; is it not time to bring all this to a close?" The emperor asked from whom the letter came. "Beurnonville, sire. I have nothing to hide from you; read it." The Duke de Bassano read the letter aloud. It conjured Macdonald to abandon the tyrant, and take part in restoring peace and liberty to France under the rule of the Bourbons. "Your Bourbons won't last long," said Napoleon; "instead of pacifying, they will make worse confusion everywhere. In a battle of four hours' length we could re-establish everything." "Possibly," said Macdonald, "by fighting in the midst of the ashes of Paris, and over the corpses of our children." All the marshals supported these words. "Besides," said they, "we cannot count upon the obedience of the soldiers." Napoleon saw that defection and opposition were getting too strong for him. With a gesture he dismissed his lieutenants, who left him to himself. "I shall weigh the matter, gentlemen," said he, "and apprise you of my resolutions."

Napoleon was not deceived by this bitter sign of his fall. "Poor fellows!" he said, "they have been persuaded that during the regency they may keep their honors and endowments. They don't see that all this is nothing but a dream, and that the Bourbons are played out. Ah! men! men! These owe me everything." Caulaincourt, always sincere, insisted on the idea of abdication in favor of the King of Rome, generally accepted, he said, and which might serve as the basis of negotiation. The emperor after reflecting a moment said, "In any case we shall gain time by it. Caulaincourt, I wish it success. Return to Paris; take with you two or three marshals; you will relieve me of them—that will be something gained. While you are negotiating, I shall finish my preparations, and, sword in hand, I will fall on Paris and make an end of the matter. Take Marmont with you—no, I want him at the Essonne; he will do well there with his corps. Take Ney; he is the bravest of men, but I have others who will do as well as he. Take care not to let him fall into the hands of the Emperor Alexander, or M. de Talleyrand; he is a child, watch over him." It was decided that Ney should be accompanied by Macdonald, who was not suspected of complacency towards the emperor, and whose military talents were appreciated everywhere. Napoleon re-

vised himself the act of his conditional abdication, and ordered the marshals to enter. "I have reflected," he told them, "and I have made up my mind to put the loyalty of the sovereigns to the test. They consider me as the only obstacle to the peace of the world. I am ready to abdicate in favor of my son, who will be placed under the regency of the empress. What do you think of it?" And he handed them the paper which he had just been writing.

"The allied powers having proclaimed the Emperor Napoleon as the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to abdicate, to leave France, and even to die for the good of his country, independent of the rights of his son, of those of the regency of the empress, and of the laws of the empire. Written in our Palace of Fontainebleau, April 4th, 1814."

Those present applauded, and showed their admiration and gratitude. The emperor looked at them sorrowfully, and said, "And yet, if we would, we might beat them." Then taking up the pen, he signed, and the marshals left. Caulaincourt only knew Napoleon's second thoughts, and the hope which he was still nourishing. The soldiers thought they were carrying away the fate of the imperial dynasty. They had obtained the authorization to add Marmont to their number, and stopped at Essonne for him to join them.

Marching through France at the head of their corps, even at Fontainebleau and in the presence of the emperor, Macdonald and Ney had felt the influence of the general emotion; they had felt the weariness and the irresistible need of rest which seized the whole of France; they had spoken and acted in the name of the country, of whose misfortunes they well knew. The companion-in-arms they were going to visit, the brilliant and weak Marmont, had been exposed to more subtle and direct temptations. Talleyrand had enveloped him already with his seductions and flatteries before he left Paris on account of the capitulation; his agents had followed him to Essonne, insisting on the necessity of breaking definitively with the emperor, who was drawing France into an abyss of calamities. The Duke of Ragusa was able to restore peace to his country by joining the temporary government charged to negotiate with the allied powers. The fate of France depended on him; the honors which he would thus merit from the restored dynasty would surpass all the benefits from the Emperor Napoleon. The marshal had entertained his generals

with these ideas, and he had found them ready to accept them. All the instruments of the imperial ambition revolted at once against the incessant abuse of their devotedness. Marmont had entered into negotiations with the Prince of Schwartzemberg, who had established himself in the Chateau de Petit-Bourg; he had consented to turn his army towards Normandy, placing it at the disposal of the temporary government. Only one condition had been stipulated in writing in that agreement which tarnished his military honor—Marmont claimed for the master he was deserting, his life, his liberty, and an establishment worthy of his dignity. Thus a third of the troops which were at Napoleon's disposal for the realization of his hopes, were at a stroke placed beyond his reach.

The arrival of the marshals at Essonne, their importunities, their reproaches when they became acquainted with Marmont's meditated act, troubled the latter deeply. Vain and ambitious, he had allowed himself to be drawn into a line of action the culpability of which he acknowledged; he consented to accompany the negotiators to Paris, and even passed by Petit-Bourg in order to obtain a release from his promise from the Prince of Schwartzemberg. The generals who were implicated in the plot had to wait for new orders, or the return of the marshal, before being able to accomplish the projected move. The plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Paris at ten o'clock in the morning of April 5th, and were immediately received by the Emperor Alexander.

There was great uneasiness among the members of the Provisional Government, and the same feeling animated all those who had already boldly broken with the imperial dynasty. The Czar's will was dominant over his allies, capricious, and subject to sudden impulses. General Dessolle, who was present at the interview, tried to mitigate the effect which the words of the marshals produced on the Emperor Alexander. Marshal Macdonald was the first to state Napoleon's proposals. Caulaincourt, always certain of the Czar's good intentions, did not interrupt his colleagues, who were eager to acquit themselves of the task for which they had solicited. Their reception was neither respectful nor flattering.

"Agree among yourselves," said the Emperor Alexander; "adopt the constitution you desire; choose the chief who is best adapted for such a constitution; and if it is from among yourselves, who by your services and glory have acquired so many titles, that the new chief of France has to be chosen, we

will consent most heartily, and receive him eagerly, provided he does not threaten our peace nor our independence."

The marshals eagerly rejected this suggestion, which could only apply to Bernadotte. They agreed also in their resolution not to serve any longer the unbounded ambition of Napoleon; but they claimed the right of the army to appoint his son his successor, and to remain the support of a throne which he had erected himself.

The Emperor Alexander appeared touched by their reasons, so eloquently and ardently unfolded. General Dessolle tried in vain to recall the steps already taken, and the interests of all those who had committed themselves. The negotiators retired at last, full of hope. It was now day, and the *salons* of the Emperor Alexander were already filling. Marshal Macdonald shocked by his rude fidelity all those who had too soon abandoned the emperor's cause. He repulsed General Beuronville, who held out his hand to him. "Away!" he said; "your conduct has effaced a friendship of twenty years;" and to General Dupont, who had just been made minister of war, "They have been hard upon you, general, but you have certainly chosen a bad time to revenge yourself." The plenipotentiaries refused to confer with Prince Talleyrand. "We do not acknowledge your Provisional Government," said Macdonald, "and therefore we have nothing to say to it." A second interview with the Emperor Alexander was fixed for the following day.

It was not at Paris, but at Essonne, where the grave question, which for the moment at least should settle the fate of France, was to be decided. The emperor sent for Marshal Marmont, and as he failed to appear, the general officer appointed to replace him. This office had been confided to General Souham, an old servant of the Republic, habitually discontented, and but little in favor of Napoleon, whom he had served well however. Peremptorily called to Fontainebleau, he thought that the secret convention concluded with the Prince of Schwartzemberg was known, and that the lives of the generals engaged in these negotiations were threatened. He therefore assembled his comrades, and told them his suspicions. They were all surprised at the non-appearance of Marshal Marmont, and resolved not to wait for him, but to take without him the course in which they were all agreed. Without informing the troops of the object of their march, notwithstanding the objections of Colonel Fabvier, Marmont's

aide-de-camp, the generals of the 6th corps gave orders to leave the quarters of Essonne, and to advance upon Versailles on the 5th at four o'clock in the morning. Marshal Marmont received this news while with Marshal Ney, in company with his colleagues. "I am lost!" he cried; "I am dishonored!" He gave vent to his irresolution and weakness in wailings and lamentations. The marshals were bewildered when they had to return to the Emperor Alexander. The allied sovereigns and their representatives were awaiting them; none of them knew of the move of the 6th corps. The plenipotentiaries of Napoleon renewed their importunities; the Czar, less hostile than his allies to the regency of the Empress Marie-Louise, seemed to hesitate, when an aide-de-camp entered, and announced quietly the great event of Essonne. "The whole corps?" inquired the Czar. "Yes, the whole corps."

The die was cast. The Czar, after a moment of deliberation with the allied princes and their ministers, informed the negotiators that they must give up the maintenance of the imperial dynasty. The army itself being divided, the emperor had no longer at his disposal any power with which it was possible to treat. Then, leaving the military men under the impression that they were receiving the most courteous treatment, he drew Caulaincourt aside for a moment, renewed to him his assurances concerning Napoleon, insisting on the offer of the island of Elba, which he had already formally offered, and promised a principality in Italy to Marie-Louise and the King of Rome. "Make haste!" he said, "for every hour the situation of your master is losing what the Bourbons are gaining; you will very soon find it out of your power to treat at all."

Marshal Marmont had not dared to show himself at the hotel in the Rue St. Florentin; he had just returned from a hurried visit to Versailles, where a mutiny had occurred among the soldiers, who had discovered the defection of which they were the unconscious instruments. The Provisional Government had flattered and urged Marmont; he appeared in the midst of his troops, explaining to them the danger which threatened them from the side of the enemy, beseeching them to return to obedience, and to trust him. "They knew him," he said; "they knew very well that he would not lead them aside from the path of honor." The soldiers were appeased; the allied armies were already advancing to cut off the road to Fontainebleau. Marshal Marmont returned to Paris, laden with praise and thanks from the royalists—hence-

forth dishonored before that tribunal of public opinion which rarely takes into consideration the difficulties of the situation, and loves to visit on one man the faults and misfortunes of all.

In time the negotiators had returned to Fontainebleau: Marshal Ney ardently resolved to obtain from the emperor an abdication pure and simple, which he had imprudently promised to Talleyrand. Caulaincourt and Macdonald explained in sadness to Napoleon the insurmountable obstacles they had to deal with. The emperor was aware of the revolt of the 6th corps, and spoke bitterly of Marmont. "I have treated him as my own child," he said, "and the wretch has ruined me. The others blame him, but they are sorry not to have been before him. One hundred and fifty thousand men are left to me; but if I had them all at hand, I could only carry the war beyond the Loire, draw the enemy into the heart of France, and increase our misfortunes. No, there is an end of it. But to leave France in this state! I wanted her to be so great; and how small she has become! And to think that in a few hours' time I might have been able to raise her up. Oh, Caulaincourt, what joy! I have, however, no more taste for reigning; your hearts are tired of me, and eager to give themselves to others. I frighten them, and the Bourbons must be allowed to come. God knows what will be the result! To-day they are going to reconcile France with Europe; but into what state will they bring her to-morrow? They will bring on an internal war. They will not even know how to take care of Talleyrand. Never mind, I must surrender; the struggle it would be necessary to engage in would entail horrible calamities. You will see how content they will be to act like Marmont without dishonoring themselves."

Caulaincourt insisted on the material conditions of the agreement. The emperor seemed to disdain them, without losing sight of the interests of his family. He wanted to secure Tuscany for his son; but the Emperor Alexander, when he was sounded on the subject, replied that Austria would not consent. "What!" cried Napoleon, "not even Tuscany in exchange for the French Empire?" He also made a pretence of stipulating advantages for the army; his faithful negotiator delicately hinted that he no longer reigned, and that the great national interests were no more at his disposal. He brought him back to the cession of the island of Elba, which had seemed to satisfy him. "Attend you to that matter," replied the emperor; "think of my family, Caulaincourt: such de

tails are hateful to me. Let them allow me an old soldier's pension; I want no more!"

The last official act of the Duke of Vicentia, and his last service to his fallen master, was to carry to Paris the formal deed of abdication, expressed in almost the same terms as when he had reserved the throne for his son, and the regency for his wife. He loftily and unreservedly relinquished that power which by transcendent genius he had raised so high—which by his faults and overmastering ambition he had undermined and destroyed. Joy burst forth on every side, scarcely restrained by shame, or any feeling of remorse. In Paris the demonstrations of delight of all parties, monarchical, republican, or constitutional, exceeded the bounds both of reason and propriety; the most cringing of Napoleon's worshippers showed the most eagerness in insulting him. Those who had shown self-respect enough to resist his despotism, now forgot their dignity in giving full sway to their gratified hatred. Chateaubriand published an abusive pamphlet, which he had prepared during the last days of the empire. Napoleon's statue, which some royalists had in vain attempted to throw down from the top of the Vendôme column on the day the allies entered Paris, had been carefully unscrewed, and now rested in a warehouse. "I frequently told you that statues were of no use," said Napoleon, on hearing of this insult. He tried, when too late, to recall his abdication. "Since I am the only difficulty, there is no need at all for a treaty," said he; "a simple arrangement for exchange of prisoners is enough to secure my liberty." The sovereigns allied against him wished to have other guarantees, though even these were soon to prove insufficient to secure them repose.

The treaty was concluded, securing to the Emperor Napoleon entire sovereignty of the island of Elba, with an income of 2,000,000. The same sum was to be every year divided between his brothers and sisters. Parma and Placentia became the dowry of the empress and the little king of Rome. The Empress Josephine kept an income of 1,000,000. With the "extraordinary treasure," formerly increased by war-contributions from conquered nations, the emperor had at his command a capital of 2,000,000 to recompense his servants. Napoleon's agents defended his interests in so haughty and offensive a manner, that but for the Emperor Alexander's determination to be generous they would have had no support. Napoleon accepted everything, not without irritation and

painful recollections of the past. "If they had shown courage for two hours longer, I might still have saved France," he repeated.

For twenty-five years the men who had successively ruled the destinies of France promised her, one after another, to save her. They had dragged her through the massacres of the Terror, the degradations of the Directory, and the pomp of the Empire, from battle-field to battle-field; in the midst of glory and bloodshed she had driven back, and then conquered, Europe; and after holding in her hands the history of the world, she was now vanquished and exhausted, calling aloud for rest at any price, and for order and liberty. The Emperor Napoleon was conquered like her, and more than her, and he conceived the idea of escaping from those humiliations and griefs which nations can endure with courage, being certain of their existence at least. On the night of the 11th he tried to poison himself. Long previously, during the extreme dangers of the Russian campaign, he had had this remedy prepared against the captivity which he dreaded, and kept it ever since. The poison acted feebly and imperfectly, and Napoleon did not succeed in procuring death. He felt ashamed of his momentary cowardice. "God does not allow it," said he, referring the result, as he always did at important junctures of his life, to that Supreme Will which he often believed was in alliance with his own. He signed the treaty on the 11th April, while waiting at Fontainebleau for the completion of the formalities necessary to put him in possession of the island of Elba, and now every day deserted by some of those who recently served him on their knees. When Marshal Berthier set out for Paris, he promised to return. "I shall see no more of him," said Napoleon to Caulaincourt. Berthier did not come back.

I have no wish to dwell upon the painful details. Only a few faithful friends, the Duke of Vicentia, the Duke of Bassano, Generals Drouot and Bertrand, still remained with Napoleon when, on the morning of the 20th April, he for the last time assembled before him the regiments of the old guard. He was visibly affected, and his voice faltered. "Soldiers," said he, "my old companions in arms, I now bid you farewell. For twenty years I have constantly found you on the road to honor and glory. In these recent days, as well as in those of our prosperity, you never ceased to be models of valor and fidelity. With men such as you our cause was not

lost; but the war was interminable, and would have been a civil war, rendering France only more unhappy. I have therefore sacrificed all our interests to those of the country. I go away; you, my friends, continue to serve France. Its happiness was my sole thought, and will always be the object of my desires. Be not sorry for my fate; if I have consented to survive myself it is in order to assist your glory. I wish to write the great deeds we have done together! Farewell, my children! I wish to press you all to my heart; at least, let me embrace your general and your flag!"

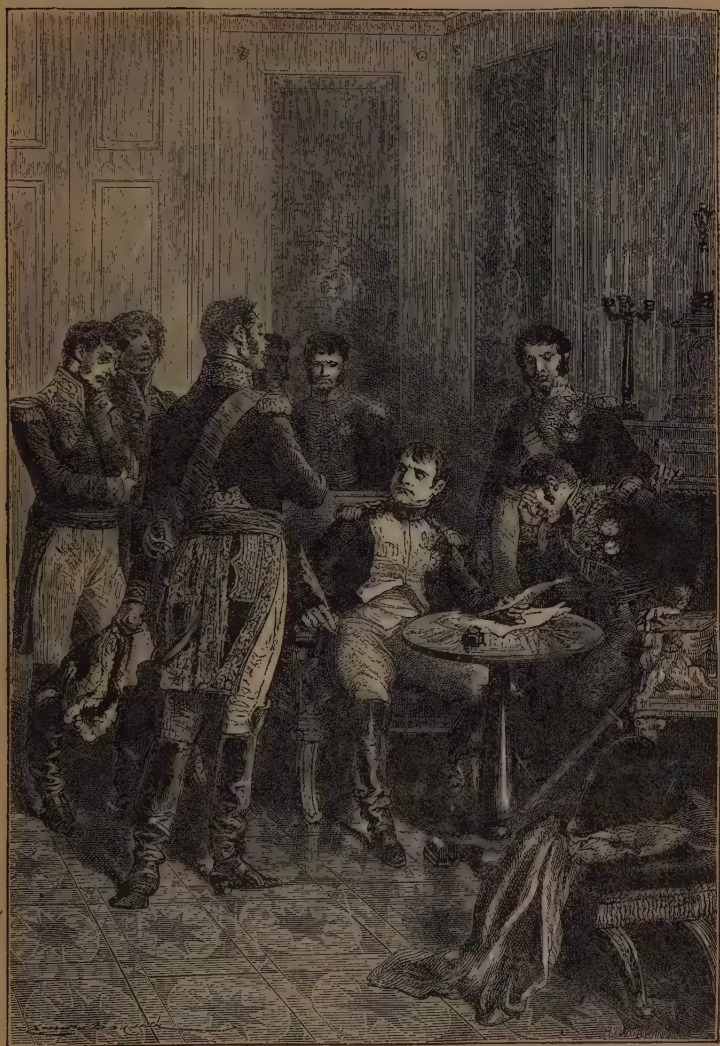
He, at the same time, clasped in his arms the brave General Petit, who was bathed in tears, and held the eagle of the old guard. Many voices, choking with emotion, replied to the voice of the emperor. He cast a parting look over the faithful companions of his battles and fatigues, who had heroically devoted themselves, without personal ambition or secret motive, and then rushed into his carriage and drove off, abandoning the throne and power which he had so misused, and taking with him that incomparably brilliant renown which only he alone could have tarnished, and was again to tarnish.

General Drouot agreed to command the small corps of the old guard which was to accompany Napoleon to the island of Elba. General Bertrand's personal devotion kept him close to his master. The commissioner of the allied powers accompanied the great captive to his place of exile. "You will answer to me for him with your head," said the Emperor Alexander to Count Schouvaloff. During the last days of the journey, when Napoleon had to cross the southern departments, which were violently excited by old royalist passions against the man who was to them the representative of revolution, oppression, and war, all in one, the protection of the foreign commissioners was almost indispensable to Napoleon's personal safety. When giving up Lyons, Marshal Augereau had issued against him an abusive proclamation. The emperor was for a short time compelled to put on the uniform of an Austrian officer, in order the more easily to conceal himself in the ranks of his own escort. This last stage of bitter disgrace only lasted for a moment, and as they approached the sea the people appeared more kind or indifferent. The deposed emperor embarked on the 28th April, in the gulf St. Raphael, on board the English frigate the *Undaunted*, and on the 3rd May cast anchor in the harbor of Porto-Farrajo, with shouts of joy from the Elban population, who were proud of the sovereign.

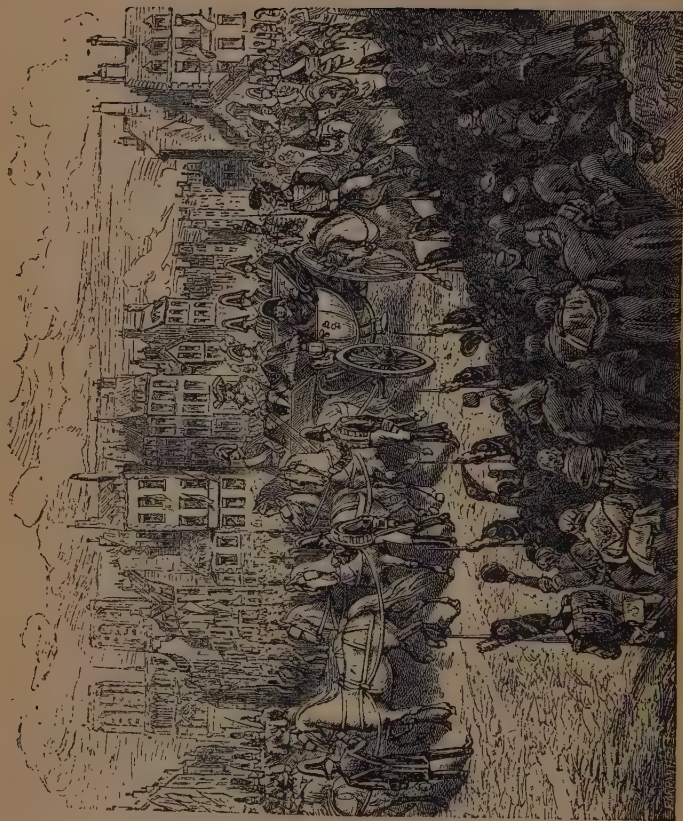
whom the chances of fortune had just thrown upon their shores. His wife and son were at the same time leaving Rambouillet, where the Emperor Francis had come to fetch his daughter. She took the road for Vienna, after sending assurances to her illustrious spouse of her constant attachment, and the wish she felt to visit him soon with her son. The princes of the imperial house were now scattered, and Napoleon remained alone.

"Since I have taken any share in the government of men," writes Guizot in his *Mémoires*, "I learned to do justice to the Emperor Napoleon, a genius of incomparable activity and power, to be admired for his horror of disorder, his profound instincts of government, and his energy, rapidity, and success, as a reconstructor of the social system: a genius, however, without bounds or restraint, that would receive neither from God nor men any limit to his desires or will, and therefore remained revolutionary when opposing the revolution; of superior intelligence with regard to the general conditions of society, but with only an imperfect, or shall I say coarse? understanding of the moral wants of human nature, and at one time doing them justice with sublime good sense, at another misunderstanding and outraging them without impious haughtiness. Who could have believed that the same man who made the Concordat and reopened the churches in France, should take away the Pope from Rome, and keep him prisoner in Fontainebleau? Amongst great men of the same rank, Napoleon was the most necessary to his time, for no one ever with such promptitude and success brought order out of anarchy; but he was also the most chimerical in the view of the future, for after obtaining possession of France and Europe, he found himself driven by Europe from France itself; and his name will remain greater than his works, the most brilliant of which, his conquests, immediately and entirely disappeared with himself. While paying homage to his greatness, I am not sorry that my appreciation of him was only in his last days, or after his removal. Under the empire, in my opinion, there was too much arrogance of power, and too much disdain of right and justice, too much revolution, and too little liberty."

What were henceforth to be the guarantees for liberty, and therefore for all the interests which liberty was herself to guarantee? By what institutions should the control and influence of the country in its government be exercised? That was the great problem discussed at Paris while the Emperor



ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON



ENTRY OF LOUIS XVIII. INTO PARIS.

Napoleon saw gradually disappear around him the last traces of his fallen greatness. The Senate had got rid of the prudent direction of Talleyrand, and eagerly, though with difficulty, pursued a two-fold purpose, that of preserving its influence and wealth under the new régime, while at the same time maintaining in the new Constitution the revolutionary principles and theories. Those who drew up the project mostly belonged to the minority in the Senate, derived from the Republic. They were keenly opposed to the Abbé Montesquiou, who passionately defended the royal prerogatives. The executive power and the nomination of the High Chamber were conceded to the sovereign, but his elevation to the throne was exclusively attributed to the spontaneous motion and free will of the nation. Louis Stanislaus Xavier, of France, brother of the last king, was only to be proclaimed king of the French after having officially accepted the Constitution and promised to respect it. An additional article secured to the senators then in office, that their salaries were to be in perpetuity, and not shared by their future colleagues. On the 6th April the Senate enthusiastically voted for the new Constitution, and it was at once ratified by the Legislative Body.

“The senators of 1814 have been much and justly blamed for the self-conceit with which, when overthrowing the empire, they attributed to themselves not only the integrity, but the perpetuity, of the material advantages which, owing to the empire, they had enjoyed. It was in fact a cynical fault, and one of those which are most prejudicial to the powers and the minds of a people, for they offend both honorable sentiments and envious passions. The Senate committed another, which was less glaring, and more conformable to national prejudices, but still more serious, both as a political blunder and from its consequences. At the moment of proclaiming the return of the ancient royal house, they made a display of their claim to choose the king, thus misunderstanding the monarchical right whose empire they were accepting, and practicing the republican right even when restoring the monarchy. This was a startling contradiction between their principles and actions, a childish boast with respect to the great action to which homage was being paid, and a deplorable confusion both of rights and ideas. It was obviously from necessity, not from choice, and on account of his hereditary title, not as the elect of the day, that Louis XVIII. was recalled to the throne of France. There was no truth, dignity, nor prudence, but in this procedure

alone: to openly acknowledge the monarchical right of the house of Bourbon, and ask of it to acknowledge openly in its turn the national rights as proclaimed by the state of the country and the spirit of the times. This mutual avowal and respect for mutual rights constitutes the very essence of free government. It is by a steady adherence to that, moreover, that monarchy and liberty develop together; and it is by frankly returning to it that kings and peoples have put a stop to those civil wars called revolutions. Instead of that the Senate, being at the time obstinate and timid, while wishing to place the restored monarchy under the flag of republican election, merely summoned up the despotic principle to oppose the revolutionary principle, and excited the rivalry of the absolute right of the people and the absolute right of the king." *

For several days the representative of the absolute principles of the royalty, in his own mind as well as in public opinion, Count D'Artois (soon afterwards termed "Monsieur") had been making preparations to return to Paris, through his able agent Vitrolles; and on the 12th April he made his entry as the king's lieutenant-general, a title soon after confirmed by a vote of the Senate. It was with great difficulty that the prince was induced to accept this condition of his new power, and the Emperor Alexander had to interpose to persuade Vitrolles that it was absolutely necessary for the house of Bourbon to enter into the sentiments and ideas of new generations. The Count D'Artois insisted on keeping the white cockade, but consented to wear the uniform of the national guard. The kind and courteous manner which had always characterized the youngest brother of Louis XVI. again appeared in the affecting words used by the prince as he entered, after so many years, into the capital of his ancestors: "Why should I be tired?" said he; "it is the first happy day I have had for thirty years." It was observed, however, that no engagement was entered into, and that no indication of the future intentions of the government escaped from the lips of the lieutenant-general of Louis XVIII. The *Moniteur* undertook to fill up the omission by attributing to the prince the following short speech, which was composed by Count Beugnot after the event:—"Gentlemen of the Provisional Government, I thank you for all you have done for our country. My emotion prevents me from expressing all that

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc., vol. i.

I feel. No more divisions; peace and France; I return to her. Nothing is changed, unless it be that there is now one Frenchman more."

The prince's speech to the Senate was more explicit and authentic. It was composed by Fouché, who had recently returned from Illyria, and took an active part in the negotiations of the Provisional Government with Monsieur's councillors, though at the same time without yet presenting himself before the latter. "I have received information of the constitutional act calling the king, my august brother, to the throne of France," said the count. "I have not received from him power to accept the Constitution, but I know his sentiments and principles, and have no fear of being disavowed when I give the assurance in his name that he will accept its bases. The king, by declaring that he would maintain the present form of government, has acknowledged that the monarchy must be counterbalanced by a representative government divided into two chambers, viz., the Senate and the Chamber of the Deputies of Departments; that taxation will be according to the free consent of the representatives of the nation, political and individual liberty secured, the liberty of the press respected, with the restrictions necessary for the public order and tranquillity, and the liberty of religious worship guaranteed; that property will be inviolable and sacred, ministers responsible, and liable to prosecution by the representatives of the nation; that the judges be appointed for life, the judicial power independent, none being separable from the courts to which it naturally belongs; that the national debt will be guaranteed, military pensions, grades, and honors preserved, as well as the old and new nobility, and the legion of honor maintained, the king deciding who shall receive the decoration; that every Frenchman will be admissible to civil and military service, that no person will be prejudiced by his opinions or votes, and that the sale of national property will be irrevocable. These, gentlemen, seem to me to be the bases essential and necessary to consecrate all rights, define all duties, secure all existences, and guarantee our future."

The Senate expressed itself satisfied. The Legislative Body, showing more cordiality, was received with marked favor. The crowds in the streets showed good-will, as well as curiosity and astonishment. The involuntary eagerness of Marshal Jourdan—who had suppressed the use of the tri-color amongst his soldiers from a conviction that the Duke of Ragusa had

done the same—quietly disposed of the difficult question of the national colors, and by an order of the Provisional Government the whole army resumed the white cockade of Bourbon.

Meantime the congress of sovereigns had just been completed by the arrival of the Emperor of Austria and the Prince Royal of Sweden, neither very popular, though in different ways and for different reasons. Count d'Artois took in hand the management of affairs, and added to the members of the Provisional Government Marshals Moncey and Oudinot, and General Des-solle. The names of heads of departments were not changed, though the prince's confidants, with Vitrolles at their head, retained full influence with him. There were already frequent disputes about nominations, and even the financial resources; Baron Louis, appointed minister of finance, had some difficulty in securing the addition to the Treasury of the 5,000,000 which had been uncivilly taken from the carriages of the Empress Marie-Louise, at Orleans. A continuance of the taxes decreed by the Emperor Napoleon without consent of the Legislative Body was decided upon, and an issue of Treasury bonds ordered, the financial difficulties being enormous, as well as the burdens left by the empire. The resolution and ability of the new minister, however, now began to inspire confidence. The only tax suppressed was the war-decime, added to the indirect contributions.

A diplomatic convention preceded (23rd April) the definitive treaty which was to determine the position of monarchical France in Europe. It secured the evacuation of the territory as fixed in the month of January, 1792, and decided what places still held by French troops beyond those limits were to be restored. All the conquests of the revolution and empire were thus taken from us under the head of preliminaries, and without "affecting the arrangements for the peace." In the very midst of the enthusiasm excited among certain classes of society by the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the monarchy, there was felt generally a painful sense of depression. So much blood shed to no purpose, so much wealth spent without result, constituted fatal charges against the fallen régime, which cast their shadow upon the disarmed princes who had been unable to defend us against our victorious enemies.

Meantime, King Louis XVIII. had embarked at Dover. When at Hartwell he recently gave a cold reception to Larochefoucauld-Liancourt, whom he disliked personally, and whom Talleyrand had stupidly chosen to inform him of what

was taking place in Paris. The restored monarch was speedily inundated with advice from his brother and friends. The Emperor Alexander had taken care to send Pozzo di Borgo to wait upon him. Some unfortunate words addressed to the Prince Regent as he was leaving England displeased the royalist liberals in France as well as the Emperor Alexander. "It is to the advice of your Royal Highness," said Louis XVIII., "to this illustrious country and the confidence of its inhabitants, that I shall always attribute, under divine Providence, the restoration of our house to the throne of its ancestors." The people, however, everywhere hailed the king's progress with shouts of joy, and on the 29th April he reached Compiègne. Politicians alone were anxious to know under what title the monarch intended resuming his authority. The corporate bodies and chief officers of the army hastened to overwhelm him with their homage, though it sometimes lacked dignity. Marshal Berthier assured Louis XVIII. that his armies would be happy to be called upon to second his generous efforts by their devotion and fidelity. The king received their eager civilities with much kindness and dignity. Leaning on the arms of the marshals who were beside him, he said, "Come closer, and stand round me; you have always been good Frenchmen. I hope France will no longer require your swords; but if we ever are compelled, which God forbid, to draw them, as gouty as I am I should march with you." The embarrassment which some naturally felt in no degree lessened their vanity. The deputation of the Legislative Body was received with marked distinction. The Senate was not represented.

Talleyrand undertook to lay before the monarch the new Constitution. "We shall have a constitution," he had assured the anxious senators, "but our king is a man of culture and education, and you must be ready to defend your work." His first interview with Louis XVIII. convinced him that he had a difficult and useless task before him. He had just rendered most eminent services to the House of Bourbon, supporting their cause with distinction, and preparing beforehand the way for the triumphant return of the monarch who now kept him waiting in his ante-chamber. On his entering, Louis XVIII. at once reminded him of their former discussions, before the opening of the Constituent Assembly. "If results showed that you were right," he added, "you would say to me, 'Let us sit down and talk!' and as I have triumphed I say to you, 'Sit down and let us talk together.'" The conversa-

tion led to no result. The king avoided any positive engagement as to the terms of the Constitution which he had evidently resolved to substitute for that projected by the Senate.

The Emperor Alexander, in his turn, set out for Compiègne. Since his overthrow of Napoleon and rejection of the imperial dynasty, the Czar openly supported Talleyrand and the liberals, even beyond the actual and natural sphere of his influence, and believed that by the enormous leverage of the services he had rendered Louis XVIII. he should impose upon him the acceptance pure and simple of the Constitution drawn by the Senate. He insisted strongly, reminding the king, who had scarcely yet again stepped on his native ground, that his return was due to foreign arms. "Less is asked from your Majesty than from Henry IV.," said he, "yet he conquered his kingdom himself."

Louis XVIII. acknowledged the necessity for a constitutional government. He had never liked the violent proposals of the emigrants, but kept carefully aloof from them; yet he was profoundly impressed with the greatness of his race and the rights which it conferred upon him. To the claims of the Senate, the urgent pleading of Talleyrand, the intervention of the Czar, he still proved inflexible. He rejected a scheme for a royal declaration, which was drawn up by Talleyrand; and instructed his private councillors, Blacas, Maisonfort, and Vitrolles, to prepare his preliminary programme of a Constitution. The impassioned eagerness and enthusiasm which were visibly increasing every day around him, confirmed him in the belief that he was free to act as he chose. "What would you have me to do?" said the Czar to Lafayette. "My wish was that instead of them giving a Constitution, the Bourbons should receive one from the nation. I went to Compiègne in the hope of getting from the king a renunciation of his nineteen years of reign, and other claims of that sort; but the deputation of the Legislative Body had been there before me to acknowledge it unconditionally. Against the king and the Legislative Body I was powerless."

It was after advancing to the Chateau St. Ouen, near Paris, that Louis XVIII. at last issued the royal declaration which afterwards became the "Charter." No copy had been communicated to Talleyrand, when on the 3rd May, before the king had left his room, it was posted everywhere:—

"Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all who shall see these presents.

"Recalled by the love of our people to the throne of our fathers, enlightened by the misfortunes of the nation which we are destined to govern, our first thought is to invite that mutual confidence so necessary to our power and their happiness.

"After giving our careful attention to the plan of a Constitution proposed by the Senate at its sitting of the 6th ultimo, we acknowledge that its bases are good, but that many of its articles, bearing the marks of the precipitation with which they were drawn up, cannot in their present form become fundamental laws of the State.

"Resolved to adopt a liberal Constitution, and wishing that it may be wisely constructed, while unable to accept one which necessarily implies correction, we convoke on the 10th of the month of June, of this year, the Senate and Legislative Body, promising to lay before them the result of our labors with a commission chosen from both these chambers, and to give as basis of that Constitution the following guarantees:—

"The representative government will be maintained as it at present exists, consisting of two bodies, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies of the Departments.

"Taxation will be by free consent.

"Public and personal liberty secured.

"The liberty of the press respected, with the precautions necessary for public tranquillity.

"The liberty of religious worship guaranteed.

"Property will be inviolable and sacred; the sale of what belonged to the nation irrevocable.

"Responsible ministers can be prosecuted by one of the Legislative Chambers and judged by the other.

"Judges will be appointed for life, and the judicial power independent.

"The public debt will be guaranteed; and military pensions, grades, and honors preserved, as well as the old and new orders of nobility.

"The legion of honor shall be maintained, the decorations being at our disposal.

"Every Frenchman will be eligible for civil and military service.

"Finally, no person will have need to be anxious on account of his opinions or his votes."

As a matter of fact, King Louis XVIII., while maintaining the principle of his sovereign and free will, accepted all the

guarantees of liberty claimed by the Senate; granting, moreover, what was claimed by public opinion, which had no very clear notions as to constitutional rights, and was for the most part unfavorable to the Senate, despising them for their former complaisance and recent defection. The partisans of absolute power, the very men who afterwards ranked as the moderates of their party, with Villèle at their head, pleaded various arguments against this contrivance of English importation, foreign to French history, ideas, and manners, and which would cost more to establish, said they, than our former organization would cost to repair.

For all parties it is difficult to learn the lesson that a return to the past is impossible. The royalists of 1814 could not go back to absolute power. "Henceforth with us it can only belong to the revolution and its descendants, they alone can assure the masses of their interests by refusing them the guarantees of liberty. With the house of Bourbon and its partisans France has need of being free, and she only accepts their government when herself sharing in it. The Charter was already written in the experience and mind of the country; it was the natural result of the thoughts of Louis XVIII. returning from England as well as of the deliberations of the Senate when throwing off the yoke of the empire. It was the product of the necessity and reason of the times. Power and liberty found in it something to employ themselves upon, or defend themselves with success. The workmen were more likely to be scarce than tools or work."*

The Senate accepted, though rather ungraciously, the royal declaration, and waited upon the king at St. Ouen, under the presidency of Talleyrand, who in his speech took care to dwell upon the liberal guarantees. The public satisfaction was general when Louis XVIII. made his entry into Paris, on the 3rd May, 1814, at eleven o'clock forenoon.

Beside the king, in the open carriage drawn by eight white horses, was seated one who attracted the looks of all by a natural and touching sympathy—the Duchess of Angoulême, formerly the royal princess, who when a child left the Temple, after the cruel death of all her family, and had never since left her uncle's protection. Her face showed that many tears had been shed by those fair eyes, as had long previously been said by Madame de Sévigné of Marie d'Este, wife of James II.

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

Shouts of joy resounded round the royal procession, which proceeded at once towards Notre Dame. Only the grenadiers of the old guard, lining the street, showed in their looks some indications of a past that was still threatening. Motionless and stern from their unbending discipline, they seemed cut out of marble, each like a terrible image of restrained anger. "If at that moment they had been summoned to take revenge," says Chateaubriand in his *Memoirs*, "it would have been necessary to exterminate them to the last man or they would have eaten everything." On entering the palace of the Tuileries, which she last left on the 10th August, 1792, the Duchess of Angoulême fainted.

Meantime neither the allied sovereigns nor their soldiers had appeared in the procession of the king now returned to his country and capital. Next day they defiled before him, as if to honor him and say farewell. The negotiations were already being arranged for the definitive treaty of peace, which was to restore the French frontiers to the limits of 1792, and restore our colonies, except the Isle of France, St. Lucia, and Tobago. Part of St. Domingo formerly belonging to Spain was again restored. Some rectifications of territory added about 500,000 souls to the various eastern departments. The Great European questions as to the new formation of states lately conquered or dismembered by Napoleon, were mostly referred to the congress which was soon to be opened in Vienna. The kindness of the Emperor Alexander, with the justice and prudence of Castlereagh, alone made those conditions acceptable. Public opinion in England, and the passion for revenge of the Germans, demanded excessive severity. On the 2nd and 3rd June the allied sovereigns left Paris, the highways being all already crowded with the columns of their soldiers; and on the day when the King opened the Chambers (4th June, 1814), the foreign troops had evacuated the capital and immediate suburbs.

The charter had been discussed by a commission chosen in the Senate and Legislative Body, including Barbé-Marbois, Barthélemy, Boissy d'Anglas, Chabaud-Latour, Fontanes, and Lainé. The king's commissioners were Ferrand, Count Beugnot, and the Abbé Montesquiou, who had recently been appointed home minister, and had immediately chosen as secretary-general, M. Guizot, still quite young, and recommended to him by Royer-Collard. This choice seemed to moderate men an omen of good. Talleyrand, of course, became

foreign minister; and Blacas, the king's friend and private secretary since the death of the Duke of Avary, became minister of the royal household.

"I believe it was quite possible," says Guizot in his memoirs, "for a king of energy and steady purpose to employ three such men at once, whatever difference and inconsistency there might be amongst them. None of them aspired to govern the State, and each in his sphere could be of service. Talleyrand's principal object was to treat with Europe alone; Montesquiou had no desire to rule at court; and Blacas, calculating, prudent, and faithful, could be a useful favorite in opposition to the claims and intrigues of the princes and courtiers. But Louis XVIII. was not qualified to govern his ministers; as a king he had great negative talents, but nothing active or efficacious. Of an imposing presence, judicious, shrewd, and self-possessed, he could restrain, stop, or baffle, but was unable to direct, inspire, or convey impulse while holding the reins. He had few ideas and no passion, and steady application to work scarcely suited him any better than movement. He supported well his rank, rights, and power; he guarded himself from faults; but, if only his dignity and prudence were unassailed, he was led anywhere or did anything, having too little mental and physical energy to govern men and make them assist in accomplishing his purposes."

The Constitutional Charter, promulgated on the 4th June, 1814, was generally in faithful agreement with the spirit and principles of the declaration of St. Ouen. Its preamble was drawn up by Beugnot, but so hurriedly that he had not time to show it to the king, who was then engaged with the speech he was about to make. The new peers of France were invited to the sitting, and fifty-five of the senators were excluded from the list, twenty-seven as foreigners, and twenty-eight as regicides or revolutionists. Forty great lords of the old régime, and nearly all the marshals of the empire, were added to the remaining senators. The Legislative Body was termed the Chamber of Deputies, and was to sit for its regular time. From the very diversity of its sources, the Chamber of Peers was necessarily doomed to be divided and powerless. The Chamber of Deputies, however, generally in favor of the Restoration, recovered with the regular exercise of its power, a confidence and energy never seen under the empire, and it was its hands that were to exercise a real and preponderating action in a government which was confused and badly assorted.

worked upon from within by different tendencies and inspirations. Nevertheless, the king's speech at the opening of the Chambers, had the good fortune to satisfy nearly all parties. The king himself was greatly delighted at his success.

A statement of the condition of the kingdom, mainly drawn up by Montesquiou, and published soon after the opening of the session, was deficient in grandeur and display compared with the pictures—often false, but always bearing the stamp of indisputable power—which Napoleon used to flaunt in the eyes of the nations. It left no doubt as to the liberal and earnest intentions of King Louis XVIII., and had the merit of making known the state of affairs, and the necessity for remedying the evil of every kind under which France was laboring. Baron Louis undertook to lay out in fuller detail the state of the finances; the statement of his method, which was of extreme simplicity, depended upon two things—constitutional order in the State, and the credit of the Government; reckoning, with these two conditions, upon public prosperity and public honesty, he was afraid neither at debts to be paid nor expenses to be made.* The empire left debts exceeding 800,000,000; yet the whole of the ministry bravely supported the baron, and his budget was passed.

At one time new burdens seemed about to be laid on the State. When proposing to the Chambers that emigrants should be re-possessed of their properties which had not been sold, Ferrand, the Postmaster-General, who held the rank of a minister, and had been appointed to state arguments in favor, excited a violent discussion in the Chamber. He threw out hopes of still larger restorations in the future, which were impossible in the financial circumstances, and added a eulogium upon emigration, which caused universal censure. Thanks to the minister's imprudence, the proposal as to the unsold property was very nearly lost. The law as to the press was also keenly attacked. "In its first and fundamental idea," says Guizot, "this project was sensible and sincere. Its object was to consecrate by law the liberty of the press, as the general and permanent right of the nation, while at the same time imposing on it, immediately after a revolution of long despotism or at the commencement of a free government, several limited and temporary restrictions. The two persons who mainly drew up the scheme, Royer-Collard† and myself, had

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

† Then "Director of the Press."

this double end in view—nothing more and nothing less. But that good sense may prevail, there must be frankness and daring. The attitude of the government was embarrassed; and in presenting the scheme, the real meaning or true intention of it was not pointed out. An amendment was necessary in the Chamber of Peers to give to the measure that political and temporary character which it should have borne at first, and which showed its real origin as well as its proper limits. The moderate liberals themselves became alarmed and violently resisted any return to censure. Thus, through not being presented under its proper designation, the measure caused more discredit to the government than any security its success could have gained."

The reorganization of the army and its necessary reduction, the payment of arrears of pay, and placing a multitude of officers on the reserve list, also caused threatening difficulties, which were complicated by the restoration of the old military household of the king, for the purpose of supplying employment and food to that part of the emigrant and ruined nobility towards whom the restored monarch was conscious of great obligations. Titles of honor granted in the army to princes of the royal family also produced discontent, since it caused those generals to whom Napoleon had formerly granted them to be deprived. The legion of honor, however, was continued, the only modification being that the head of Henry IV. was substituted for that of Napoleon, on the cross. Talleyrand proposed to place on it that of Louis XVIII. himself, but the king refused. The attentions paid to the national guard were not successful in rallying them freely. At the first muster of the body-guards, they expected to supplant the absent national guards. Even amongst the military chiefs, dissatisfaction soon displaced their first enthusiasm. Masséna had been excluded from the Senate as a foreigner. Davout had by his long resistance at Hamburg offended the allied sovereigns, and on the king refusing to receive him, he at once became the idol of the army, and in spite of his military severity, which he never relaxed, he was incessantly surrounded by the half-pay officers who thronged Paris, and even by those who were under orders to join their regiments, thus incurring the censure of the Minister of War. The marshal retired to his property of Savigny.

In presence of the general dissatisfaction fermenting in the army and amongst the public, the king asked General Dupont

to resign, and appointed Marshal Soult to be Minister of War. The last of Napoleon's lieutenants, he had had the honor of gaining a battle, and for a moment driving back the English, before Toulouse (12th April, 1814). At first he had been unjustly treated on this account, because he fought during a suspension of arms, of which he was ignorant, and had even been excluded from the Chamber of Peers; but his great display of ardor as a royalist had effaced this fault, and Blacas went himself to announce his promotion. The "direction" of the police was at the same time taken from Beugnot, whose temperate and cautious reports were at variance with the secret police of the Count d'Artois and his friends. He was appointed minister of marine in place of Malonet, who had just died. Monsieur wished to appoint to the police the Duke of Otranto, who had gained favor with the most fanatical royalists; but the king refused, choosing Andre, who had been a member of the Constituent Assembly, an honorable and moderate man, yet popular among the emigrants, to whom he had frequently been of service. Talleyrand had just set out for Vienna, appointing Jancourt as interim foreign minister. The insufficiency of the cabinet became daily more obvious, and prejudices became daily more general and serious.

"Scarcely had France entered upon her new régime when distrust took possession of her, and became daily worse. This régime was liberty, with its doubts, struggles, and dangers; no one was accustomed to liberty, and it satisfied no one. By the Restoration, the men of old France had promised themselves victory; from the Charter, new France expected security. Neither the one nor the other finding satisfaction, they on the contrary found themselves face to face with their mutual claims and passions. A wretched disappointment for the royalists, to see the king victorious without being so themselves; a stern experience for the men of the Revolution, to have to defend themselves—they who had so longed ruled. Both were astonished and annoyed at the situation, as to a wrong done to their dignity and rights. In their irritation they both gave themselves up to all kinds of chimerical plans and proposals, to any passionate longings or alarms.

"That was only the natural and inevitable result of the very novel state suddenly introduced into France by the Charter put into practice. During the Revolution men fought, under the empire they kept silence; the Restoration brought liberty into the midst of peace. In the general inexperience and

susceptibility, the movement and bustle of liberty, it was the civil war ready to begin again.”*

To be sufficient for such a crisis, to maintain both peace and liberty, no government would have been too strong or too able. In their timidity and inexperience, the councillors of King Louis XVIII. were constantly committing faults, which they tried in vain to correct. The philosophical spirit, sprung from the eighteenth century and the revolution, was on its guard against the attacks which it feared from the liberty of thought. An order of Count Beugnot as to the observation of Sundays and holidays, intended to quiet the consciences of Count d'Artois and the Duchess of Angoulême, gave offence to the liberals, and was not carried out. A request was made to the Pope to abolish the Concordat; and Pius VII. himself, on being restored to Rome, claimed the restitution of Avignon and the Comtat-Venaissin. Much popular excitement was caused at the funeral of the actress Mdlle. Raucourt, because the Church, in accordance with its former rules, refused to read the service over her body. This common fear and distrust found dangerous interpreters in the newspapers. The *Censeur*, a liberal organ, keenly attacked the faults of the government and the procedure of the partisans of absolute power, while declaring its devotion to the house of Bourbon; but its heavy and solemn style rendered it already harmless. The pungent jokes of the *Nain Jaune* against the “throne and altar party” struck more dangerous blows at the new State, and served the cause of the exiled Napoleon. Pamphlets were circulated in great number; and Carnot having conceived the strange idea of addressing to the king a defence of regicide, his brochure was soon published. It gave expression to the public disappointment and regret: “We did not reckon up the sacrifices to recover the son of Louis IX. and Henri IV., but the return of the lilies has not produced the effect which was expected.” Chateaubriand replied with much talent and moderation to Carnot’s accusations and sophisms.

The government of the king strove in vain to calm the increasing fermentation. The princes made journeys into the provinces, with but little success. The army gave many indications of annoyance and discontent: General Vandamme was reported to have been insulted. General Exelmans had written to Murat to offer his sword in defence of Naples, and

* Guizot’s *Mémoires*, etc.

the letter falling into the hands of the police, he was put on half-pay, and received orders to report himself at Bar. He maintained that, being no longer on active service, the minister of war had no right to fix his residence, and remained in concealment. His wife being near confinement when a forced search was made in her house, she addressed to the Chamber a protest, which was referred to the government. The Chamber passed to the order of the day when the general's petition came before them, and by a royal order he was sent before the court at Lille, where he was unanimously acquitted, and received an ovation from the officers of the garrison.

The reorganization of the magistracy also supplied grounds for serious charges. The reduced "Court of Cassation" saw several of its members discharged; and a bill as to the respective duties of the magistrates was so much changed by amendment, that the government gave up the idea of bringing it before the Peers. A plan for reconstituting the University also met with much opposition. Fontanes, recently "Grand Master" of the Imperial University, a post which he occupied with distinction, found himself obliged to retire, with a pension of 30,000 francs (1200*l.*), and the grade of grand officer of the legion of honor. Every day the spirit of opposition and distrust was more developed in the country as well as the Chambers. Moderate and honorable, the king's government "held no formidable designs whatever against the new interests and rights of the country; but it was without initiative or vigor, isolated in its own country as if foreign, divided and hampered within, weak with its enemies, weak with its friends, its only object being security and rest, and daily called upon to treat with a restless and daring people, who were passing suddenly from the severe shocks of revolution and war to the difficult labors of liberty."*

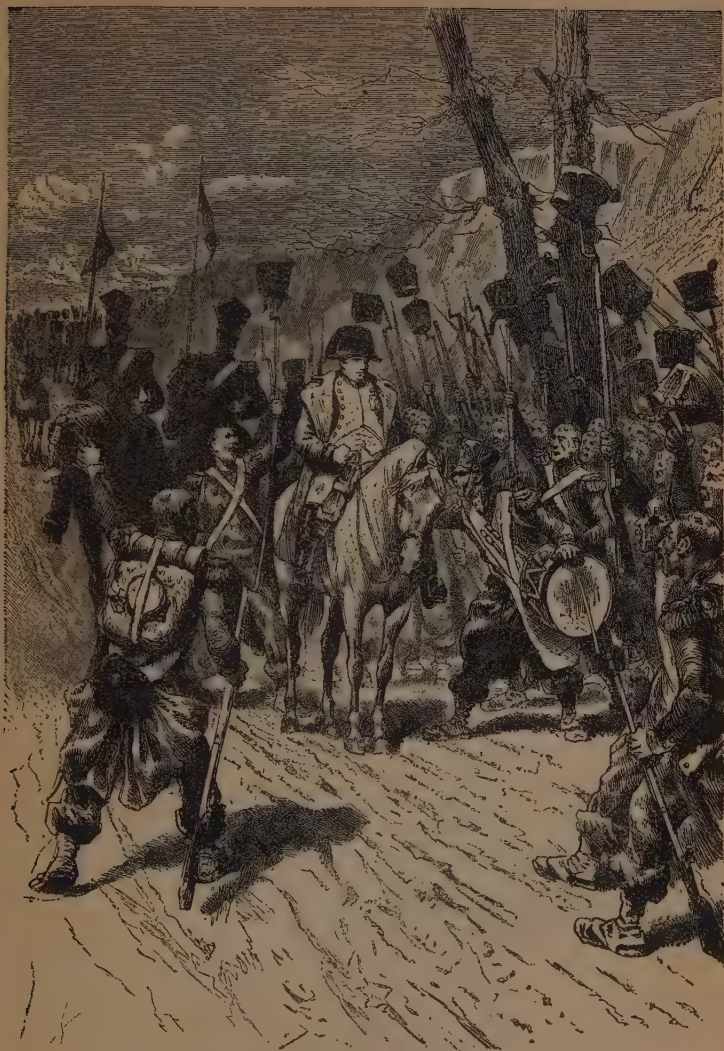
The Chambers were prorogued on the 30th December. On the 21st January, an expiatory ceremony, which was natural and legitimate on the occasion of removing the remains of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, awoke painful memories and passions, still only half-extinguished. Anxiety and anger were mixed in the minds of those who had formerly been compromised in the crimes of the French Revolution. There was heard everywhere that wind the forerunner of the tempest which Napoleon with clear-sighted malevolence saw, when he

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

said, "The Bourbons will put France at peace with Europe, but how will they put her at peace with herself?"

While the horizon, recently serene, was thus becoming gloomy at home, Talleyrand's steadfast mind and consummate skill was securing for us at the Congress of Vienna a position which on account of our recent misfortunes was more honorable than influential. The plenipotentiary of France had from the first taken his position as representative of legitimacy, that divine right which had just replaced the head of the house of Bourbon on the throne of his ancestors; and it was by the assistance of this principle that he maintained the national dignity in face of the arbitrary claims of the four great allied powers, England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, whose ambition was to regulate as they pleased the affairs of the world, without admitting sovereigns of a lower order to the discussion. Nearly all the monarchs of Europe were assembled at Vienna, or had sent their most eminent statesmen. The Porte alone was not represented in this great congress of nations. The Pope had sent a legate.

Two great questions were laid before the congress, that of Poland and that of Saxony. The Emperor Alexander had formerly shown himself disposed to reconstitute, himself and under his sovereignty, an independent kingdom of Poland, but the difficulties and opposition which he encountered in Russia removed the desire. He continued, however, well disposed towards the Poles; but the national instinct of Russia aimed at nothing short of claiming possession of the whole of Poland, just as public opinion in Prussia loudly insisted upon the annexation of Saxony. Austria was naturally opposed to this double ambition, though Metternich's prudence moderated the expression of his anxiety. England attached no great importance to the fate of Saxony, but kept anxious watch upon the excessive aggrandizement of Russia, and therefore found it necessary to look to the French plenipotentiary for the assistance which Castlereagh's haughty bluntness was loath to request. Talleyrand had instructions to protect the interests of the King of Saxony, who was allied to the royal family of France, and whose misfortunes moreover were due to his long-continued attachment to the French cause. Another important part of his duty was to obtain the overthrow of Murat, and the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of Naples, as well as an indemnity for the Parma branch, who had been dis-



"SOLDIERS OF THE 5TH DO YOU RECOGNIZE ME?"



BLUCHER'S CAVALRY DEVASTATES THE ENVIRONS OF PARIS, &c.

possessed by the appanage granted to Marie Louise and the King of Rome.

Talleyrand's personal intentions went still further. With a painful sense of the disadvantages caused by the isolation of France, he resolved to use every effort to break the coalition recently formed to fight against us, and the various contradictory interests discussed at the congress supplied him with both opportunity and means. Castlereagh failed in his wish of separating Russia from Prussia, and joined with France in a treaty, to which Austria at once adhered. On the 3rd January, 1815, Talleyrand signed a diplomatic and military alliance with these two powers. The secondary states speedily sent in their adhesion. France had regained her rank among the great states, and her plenipotentiary's joy and pride broke forth in his correspondence. "The coalition is broken," he wrote Louis XVIII. "Fifty years' negotiations would not have been worth so much to France as the federative system which we have secured for her."

Thus all parties were bound together upon the great questions of diplomacy, while exteriorly their affairs seemed to make no progress. "If the congress does not go on, it dances," said the old Prince of Ligne, when attending one of the innumerable evening parties where the sovereigns and ministers daily met together. Negotiations still proceeded, however; and the new alliance had a decisive influence upon the resolutions of the congress. In March, 1815, the question of Poland, much reduced by the abandonment to Prussia of the Grand Duchy of Posen, was nearly disposed of. The Emperor Alexander kept Warsaw as the centre of his new state; and Prussia had reduced her claims upon Saxony, which was to recover her independence and her sovereign at the cost of one third of her territory. The kingdom of the Netherlands was formed, consisting of Belgium and Holland, and receiving Luxemburg and Limburg in exchange for the Rhenish provinces, now ceded to Prussia. Hanover became a kingdom, with some increase of territory. Denmark lost Norway, and in exchange for Swedish Pomerania—which had been promised her, but excited Prussia's cupidity—received the Duchy of Lauenburg, though not without a struggle. The territory of Genoa was granted to Piedmont, as an additional guarantee against France. The negotiations seemed generally rather unfavorable to the French project against Murat, some engagements having been

entered into with him; but Castlereagh had need of Talleyrand to obtain from the congress a unanimous adhesion to the noble crusade undertaken by England against the slave-trade. The Duke of Wellington had just arrived at the congress in order to take the place of the English prime minister, who was recalled to London by the opening of Parliament: he was well-disposed towards the Bourbons, and disliked Murat's presence in Italy as being an element of disorder. He was also disposed to second Talleyrand in wishing to see Napoleon removed from the French coasts to a further distance than Elba. Metternich had no objection to transport him to the Azores, but the Czar's generosity and loyalty were obstinately opposed to this. He rightly considered himself the author of the treaty of the 11th April, and peremptorily insisted on its strict fulfilment. He even made a claim upon the French government for the payment of the sums stipulated in Napoleon's favor. The latter had received no money. The Empress Marie-Louise refused to leave the Duchy of Parma, which they wished to restore to the Queen of Etruria, and the Emperor Alexander supported her. When they still kept urging him, he at last lost temper and said, "Why, they may some day, very possibly, let loose the monster who is so much dreaded by Austria and many others!"

The "monster" was meanwhile fully informed of all that took place at the Congress of Vienna. The great negotiations were completed, and the sovereigns preparing to separate, entrusting their plenipotentiaries with the duty of drawing up the articles, when all at once the news came that the Emperor Napoleon had left Elba and landed at the Gulf Juan. Their surprise was exceeded by their alarm. The final operations of the congress were immediately prorogued. It was no longer a time for treating, but for fighting. The bonds of coalition were drawn tighter by the common danger. They waited for news from France, all the foreigners believing instinctively that Napoleon would march upon Paris. Talleyrand alone attempted vainly to persuade himself and others that the emperor was directing his march towards Italy.

For several months there had been a general persuasion, secret or declared, that a new shock was in preparation, and that the new government, which was scarcely founded, was to be shaken in its insufficient authority. There were numerous plots of various kinds. "They plotted openly," says the Duke of Rovigo in his *Memoirs*, "even at the corners of the streets;

and everybody, except perhaps the ministers, knew what was going on." Generals, such as Davout, Savary, Maret, and Lavalette, who remained faithful to Bonaparte, and displeased with their treatment at the hands of the Restoration, or who had naturally no share in the royal favors on account of having so long served Napoleon, plotted simply and purely for Napoleon's return from Elba and his restoration to the throne. Other generals, who were formerly attached to the emperor, and shared in the illustrious memories of his victories—Lefebvre-Desnouettes, Drouet d'Erlon, Lallemand—were preparing a military movement in the forces under their command, to compel King Louis XVIII. to accept the conditions of a more liberal government. In case of refusal, these conspirators intended to conduct the monarch and his family to the frontier, and proclaim the regency of the Duke of Orleans, whose opinions were considered, on good grounds, to be favorable to the constitutional party. It was also upon the Duke of Orleans that the hopes of those liberals were fixed who determined to attempt the work of legal reform by means of the Chambers, though some had dreams of a republic. Fouché had a share in all these plots with more or less ardor and display; his connection with Elba was unimportant and unfrequent.

It was against the government of the Bourbons, and the tendencies with which it was charged, that public opinion was excited. The majority of the conspirators had no wish for Napoleon's return, yet he was hovering over the situation like a threatening phantom, and all men felt secretly convinced that he had not ended his life. Some pitied him, some dreaded him, some hated him, but nobody had yet forgotten him.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HUNDRED DAYS (26TH FEBRUARY TO 15TH JULY, 1815).

"THE question has been much discussed as to who were the conspirators that on the 20th March, 1815, overthrew the Bourbons and brought back Napoleon. This is a minor point and is only interesting as an historical curiosity. The silliness of those who organize plots is boundless, and when results seem to prove that they were in the right, they take credit to them-

selves for what is due to causes much greater and more complicated than their machinations. It was Napoleon alone who in 1815 overthrew the Bourbons, by evoking in person the fanatical devotion of the army and the revolutionary instincts of the people. However tottering the recently restored monarchy might be, it required this great man and his great strength to lay it low. France was stupefied, and allowed the event to be accomplished without either resistance or confidence. Napoleon's own opinion of the matter was formed with admirable good sense: 'They have allowed me to come,' said he to Count Mollien, 'just as they allowed me to go.'"*

The Emperor Napoleon never finally abandoned confidence in his cause, though it had seemed absolutely ruined on the 6th April, 1814, when he signed his abdication at Fontainebleau. On leaving France to shut himself up in the island of Elba, he always cherished the hope of returning. When apparently occupied with securing his position in his narrow kingdom, he took care to form a small body of troops, 1100 men strong, most of whom belonged to his old guard. With over 3,000,000 francs which he had brought with him, he was able to buy four small vessels. He carefully read the newspapers, and received some private news from France, which kept him informed of the state of increasing agitation in the army and the nation. From Vienna he was informed that the allied sovereigns proposed to remove him from the coasts which he still menaced by his presence, and at the same time learned that the negotiations were finished and the congress about to break up. This double news caused him some alarm, because he had long feared lest he should be removed to such a distance as would render his proposed enterprise impracticable. The faces of his companions told him how utterly weary they were of waiting. "When do we set out for France?" they sometimes asked. Several soldiers had already left the island, tired of the first sorrows of exile. Napoleon's plans were already becoming less vague, and he had secretly begun to prepare to leave, when a young man, Fleury de Chaboulon, formerly an "auditor" in the Council of State, landed (22nd February) at Porto Ferrajo. He came from France, and being supplied with a pass-word from the Duke of Bassano, received at once the emperor's attention. His instructions were to inform the illustrious exile of the actual state of affairs in France, and the discontent in the

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc., vol. i.

army. He had himself requested the mission, and now delivered his message with enthusiasm. "Then, they still remember me?" said the emperor two or three times; "the soldiers have not forgot me?" Then, looking keenly at the young man, he said, "What are your instructions for me? What do they advise me to do?" No one had dared to take the responsibility of an opinion, as Fleury declared to the emperor, who on dismissing him had him conveyed to Naples, lest the secret of which he had had a glimpse should prove too much for the young emissary of his friends. The emperor's mother alone knew of her son's determination, having taken up her abode with him to console him in his exile. Though generally firm, even to impassibility, she was for a moment alarmed at the terrible chances of another tragical enterprise. Then summoning up her strength, she said, "Go! and may God protect you, as He has so many times protected you! You cannot remain here."

On the 26th February the soldiers of the little army were still engaged in some works at the harbor when they received orders to go on board. Several days previously Colonel Campbell, who had orders from England to keep a secret watch upon Napoleon, had gone to Leghorn on duty. A merchantman which was seized in the harbor, and two small transport vessels freighted for Rio, constituted the little fleet. All other preparations being completed, no notice was given to the soldiers, but they all knew the object of the voyage. The Princess Borghese, who came frequently to Elba to see her brother, was present with her mother at the embarkation. For two days an embargo had been laid on all vessels, and no news of his departure was possible. The Emperor Napoleon put to sea.

The wind being uncertain, the sailors were doubtful as to what course to take. Some ships-of-war were seen out at sea, but Napoleon was resolved not to go back. On meeting a brig of the French navy he ordered his soldiers to lie down on the decks of the small vessels. The Elba flag floated in the breeze—white, strewed with bees. The captain of the brig recognized the commander of the small imperial fleet, and they hailed each other. "Whither bound?" asked Captain Andrieux of the royal marine. "Genoa." "We are for Leghorn: how is the emperor?" "Very well." The vessels resumed their course; and a favorable wind starting up, the small vessels cast anchor on the morning of the 1st of March in Gulf Juan. the soldiers landing with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!"

The population of Cannes showed neither opposition nor enthusiasm. A sudden attack made upon Antibes had not succeeded, but several artillerymen escaped from the town and joined the small army. They procured horses and provisions. The emperor ordered a table and chair to be brought, and sat down in a wood of olive-trees to examine his maps. He resolved to follow the road to Dauphiné because it was rough and hilly, and therefore more suitable for his purpose. Another reason was, that the garrisons on that route were weak, and more easily gained over than large forces commanded by superior officers. It was upon the "nation of camps" that Napoleon calculated to exercise the prestige of his presence, the leaders of the army having for the most part escaped from his influence. By following the road along the coast he would have to meet Masséna, who was in command at Marseilles; and besides, the mountain road led to Grenoble, a bustling town not well-disposed to the Bourbons, which he might stir up for his cause. At eleven o'clock in the evening the bivouac on the coast was raised, and the little army was drawn up in marching order, having resumed the eagles and tricolor almost as soon as they planted foot on French soil. After the emperor had ordered them to close their ranks, the handful of faithful and devoted men who had accompanied him heard him read with a loud voice the proclamation, which he thus addressed to the whole of the French army:—

"Soldiers!

"You have not been conquered! Two men from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their prince, their benefactor. Those whom for twenty-five years we have seen overrun Europe to stir up enemies against us, or who passed their lives fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, and cursing our beautiful France—how will they presume to command and chain up our eagles, they who never dared look upon them? Shall we suffer them to inherit the fruit of our glorious labors, to take possession of our honors and property, to slander our glory? Should their reign last, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With eagerness do they change their natures! They are trying to poison that which is the admiration of the world; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is amongst those very enemies with whom we fought on the battle-field.

"Soldiers! In my exile I heard your voices, and am come

through all obstacles and dangers. Your general, summoned to the throne by the prayer of the people, and raised upon your shields, is now restored to you; come and join him. Tear down those colors which were proscribed by the nation, and which for twenty-five years all the enemies of France have rallied round. Display the tricolor which you carried in our great battles. We ought to forget that we were the rulers of the nations, but we ought not to permit any one to mix himself in our affairs. Who would pretend to be, who could be, our master? Get back those eagles which you had at Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, Tudela, Eckmühl, Essling, Wagram, Smolensk, Moskowa, Lützen, Würtchen, and Montmirail! Do you think that that handful of Frenchmen, to-day so arrogant, could bear the sight of them? They would return whence they came, and there, if they wish, they would reign, as they pretend to have done for nineteen years. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, Italy, Egypt, the West, and the grand army, are humiliated; their honorable scars are mocked at; their successes would be crimes; these brave men would be rebels if, as the enemies of the people pretend, their lawful sovereign were in the midst of foes. Honors, rewards, their affection, are for those who fought for them, against the fatherland and against us. Come, soldiers! stand by the banners of your chief! His existence is only yours; his rights are only yours and the people's; his interests, his honor, and his glory are only your interests, your honor, and your glory. Victory will march at the double; the eagle, with the colors of the nation, will fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre Dame! and then will you be able to boast of your deeds, then will you be the liberators of your country!"

A second proclamation, conceived in the same spirit, but more explicit as to the "treason" of Marmont and D'Angereau, was addressed to the French nation. A number of copies of these two incentives to civil war had been prepared during the voyage, and were immediately printed. Napoleon spoke to the nation and the army; the moment had now come for action. From Grasse, where he arrived at daybreak, he directed his steps towards Sisteron, crossing the snow. The population remained curious and indifferent. On his way over the mountain, the emperor stopped for a few moments in a cottage to warm himself. "Have you any news from Paris,"

he asked the mistress of the place: "do you know what the king is doing?" The old woman shook her head. "The king! the emperor, you mean; he's always down there. People don't know much in these parts." On these heights, life always flows smoothly in the same channel of ignorance. Five-and-twenty years before this, some mountaineers of the High Alps first learned of the French Revolution by going down to the plain to buy salt. They had got a good bargain, and it was while inquiring the cause of this diminution in price that they were informed in the same breath of the abolition of the tax, and of the events which turned France and the world upside down. On the 4th of March Napoleon arrived at Sisteron, and on the 5th at Gap. The country people began to be roused into enthusiasm, and the peasants' carts were placed at the disposal of the worn-out soldiery. The news of the landing, sent by express from Draguignan, began to spread, but the officers still remained shut up in the mountain recesses, with much ado to restrain their soldiers. Nowhere did Napoleon find any obstacle to hinder his rapid march. General Mouton-Duvernet, who had arrived at Grenoble post-haste from Valencia, placed himself in the emperor's way with the view of disputing the mountain passes with him; but he had already overcome these difficulties, and the general fell back upon Grenoble, where great excitement prevailed. The lower orders were, like the peasantry, favorably disposed towards Napoleon, even though they had not, like these, acquired any large quantity of the national property. The bourgeoisie was divided; the royalists talked big. Generals Marchand and Mouton-Duvernet, and the *savant* Fourier, prefect of the Isère, ordered a general concentration of troops, the regiments stationed at Vienne and Chambéry being called out. Labédoyère, the colonel of one of the latter, was young, of good family, and distinguished bravery; and his influence with the troops was reckoned on to keep them to their duty. A detachment of engineers was told off to destroy the bridge over the Bonne at Ponthaut. The inhabitants opposed this, and the soldiers had no heart in their work. They had been reinforced by a battalion of the 5th of the line, and a small body of Polish Lancers attached to Napoleon, had just arrived to protect his passage over the river, when the men began to mingle and to converse amicably with each other. Lessard, the commander of the battalion, fell back with his corps upon the mountain passes; and, almost at the same moment, General Cambronne appeared upon the

scene with the grenadiers of the island of Elba, who at once proceeded to take possession of the abandoned bridge. The emperor himself advanced with the bulk of his following. Several scouts had already appeared, announcing the arrival of Napoleon, and calling upon the soldiers of the 5th not to fire. The lieutenant-colonel ordered them to retire. "They won't fire," said some citizens or half-pay officers who had made haste to get near Napoleon, and who knew the temper of the men. The emperor approached the soldiers in person.

"What do you wish me to do?" said the brave Lessard to one of General Marchand's aides-de-camp, who happened to be near him; "see how they tremble like aspens at the bare thought of seeing him." He had ordered the retreat, but Napoleon appeared at the same moment. "Soldiers of the 5th," he cried, "do you recognize me?" "Yes, yes!" exclaimed every voice. "What man among you would fire upon his emperor?" A unanimous shout of "Long live the emperor!" was the immediate response. The lieutenant-colonel, alone and dismayed, saw all his soldiers throwing themselves at the feet of Napoleon, when the latter advanced towards him. "Who made you lieutenant-colonel?" "You, sire." "And captain?" "You, sire." "And you wished to fire upon me?" "Yes, sire, because it was my duty." So saying, he tendered the emperor his sword. The latter took it, and pressed his hand. "We shall meet again at Grenoble," he said: then, turning to Generals Drouot and Bertrand, "There, that's all right; to-night we shall be in Grenoble, and in ten days in Paris."

In truth, all was over. The irresistible prestige of Napoleon's presence had had its effect on the first body of troops which he had encountered, and would, by its swift contagion, gain over all those who had not yet beheld him, but who were rushing to meet him. Colonel de Labédoyère called out his regiment, raised the eagle of the 7th on leaving General Marchand's house, and left the town, marching at the head of his soldiers to join the emperor. They embraced, and Napoleon thanked the young chief for his ardent devotion. "We are tired of seeing France humiliated," said Labédoyère; "but, sire, everything is much changed, a new reign must be inaugurated." "I know it, and am resolved upon it," was the emperor's reply.

He repeated this to every one who visited him at Grenoble during the next few days. At the news of his coming the au-

thorities retired; General Marchand went over into the department of Mont-Blanc, in the hope of assembling some elements of resistance about him. The prefect, dreading, on his own account, the charm of the presence of Napoleon, whom he had accompanied in Egypt, and continued to cherish a great liking for him, had directed his steps towards Lyons, not without apologizing for his departure. The town gates were closed, but the peasants on the one side, and the townspeople on the other, succeeded by their efforts in breaking them open, and soon the little troop of soldiers from the island of Elba was saluted by the frantic cheers of the populace, as well as the soldiers. The massing of the troops ordered for the defence of Grenoble against Napoleon would immediately furnish him with a small army, and with enormous resources, both in artillery and ammunition. Such guns as had come from the island of Elba the emperor had left on board his ships. "It is not with cannon-shots that I am going to make this campaign," he had said. The same enthusiasm spread like wild-fire through every regiment. Seven thousand men, ready to perish in his cause, set out on the 8th for Lyons. The soldiers had all mounted their old cockades with the tricolor, which they had carefully kept. "To-morrow I will be at your head," Napoleon told them. The news of the landing of Napoleon in the bay of Juan, on the 1st of March, did not reach Paris till the 5th. At first, it was kept a close secret, and only troubled for a moment the king, Louis XVIII., naturally calm, and a little dull of comprehension, by age and infirmities. The first thought was to place the princes at the head of the armies which were charged with the task of opposing the invader. The Comte d'Artois offered to repair to Lyons, and took with him the Duke of Orleans, much against his will; the Duc d'Angoulême was at Bordeaux; the Duc de Berry remained near the king, while Marshal Ney advanced on Besançon; Marshal Macdonald was to join the Duc d'Angoulême at Nîmes. These two commanders had negotiated the abdication of Napoleon, and their fidelity was reckoned on accordingly. Marshal Ney displayed the greatest zeal. He is reported to have said, in his soldier-like, passionate manner, "Fear nothing, sire; I will bring him to you in an iron cage." The public was confirmed in its fears by the convocation of the two chambers. An ordinance was promulgated, enjoining all citizens to pursue Napoleon, and to seize him alive or dead, in order to deliver him over to a military commission. The ministers, particularly

Blacas and the Abbé de Montesquiou, were troubled at these grave events, without putting any great faith in them; Marshal Soult knew better the redoubtable spirit which was about to enter the lists, and he meanwhile made a show of necessary zeal. The public was divided; among sensible men, sadness and uneasiness reigned supreme over all other sentiments. War appeared to all to be inevitable abroad; it was threatening at home; the remembrance even of past oppression and suffering was not yet effaced. Meanwhile the towns were animated by various interests, and almost everywhere in the country districts the return of Napoleon was eagerly welcomed, for those who had acquired national property had learnt mistakenly to tremble for the security of their possessions. The country regarded with apathy the recommencement of that terrible struggle, of which it was the stake, and in which it had not yet learnt to take any important part. The army was agitated by the keenest passions. The feeling of duty, or, in some cases, personal animosity, caused several of the leading military men to incline rather to resistance, while the great body of the officers and men yielded to the powerful charm which compelled them to follow in the footsteps of their emperor. The Comte d'Artois had been coldly received at Lyons, and all the efforts of Marshal Macdonald were unavailable in extracting from the troops a single shout of "Long live the king!" Napoleon was already approaching the city gates, and the princes took their departure in the sad conviction that the soldiers were going to break forth into cheers at the sight of their old general. Macdonald, once more attempting to gain over the army, awaited the arrival of Napoleon's advance-guard, and placed himself at the head of the leading battalions. Meanwhile, the hussars preceding the emperor, uttered shouts of triumph, to which the marshal's soldiers were not long in responding. These latter now hastened to overthrow the barricades erected on the bridges and ran to meet their comrades, making, like them, the air resound with the cry of "Long live the emperor!" Macdonald spurred his horse to the gallop, accompanied only by his aides-de-camp. Some of his troopers insisted on pursuing him, in the hope of bringing him back to the emperor, and effecting a reconciliation, but the marshal made good his escape from their somewhat obtrusive zeal. Napoleon was already established at the archiepiscopal palace as the guest of his uncle, Cardinal Fesch. His language was evidently affected by his triumphal progress;

it was less modest upon the necessities of the new government, less exclusively preoccupied with the wants and views of the people. Yet Napoleon knew what the force was upon which he depended for aid, and also that the hidden groundwork of revolutionary instincts was still favorable towards him. He announced his intention of immediately convoking the electoral bodies in Assembly. The coronation of the empress and the King of Rome would then be celebrated, and the nation itself would preside over the carrying out of such changes in the constitution of the empire as might be desirable. This convocation was announced by decree from Lyons, and other measures followed, restoring to office procurators and magistrates who had been dismissed by the Restoration Government. Thus Napoleon, at the first blow, and by an act of daring, regained the power of a master for the moment absent from the throne. He nominated, as prefect of Lyons, Fourier, who had fled from Grenoble to avoid him, and the illustrious *savant* accepted the post.

Vengeance occupied the first place in Napoleon's thoughts on his return to France. All the émigrés who had not obtained, prior to 1814, the regular erasure of their names from the revolutionary list, were to be forthwith expelled, while those who had purchased commissions in the army were degraded. The white cockade and all orders before or subsequent to the Legion of Honor were abolished; the decrees of the assembly which had reference to the old nobility and titles were re-established; and the goods of the Bourbon princes were confiscated, as also were those of Talleyrand, Dalberg, and Vitrolles; and the same measure was put in force against the Mayor of Bordeaux and Marshals Marmont and Augereau. These latter were to be tried impartially. Grand Marshal Bertrand, now the emperor's major-general, raised objections to such severities, which he thought neither generous nor well-timed. "You will listen to nothing," said the emperor, angrily, and postponed the decree in the meantime. A fortnight after his arrival in Paris, he ordered Bertrand to countersign it. "Sire," responded his faithful servant, "a minister who countersigns an act of the sovereign is morally responsible for it. Your Majesty has declared by your proclamations that you will grant a general amnesty; these I countersigned with all my heart, but I will not countersign the decree which revokes them." The decree appeared without the countersign.

Meanwhile the emperor was hastening his march, for he felt

around him the pressure of a paramount necessity. The south was agitated, passionately excited by royalist tendencies and the recollection of long-sighted interests. At Marseilles, the populace dreaded the return of the continental blockade which caused its ruin, and a column of volunteers was advancing upon Grenoble. Marshal Masséna did not oppose this; he remained sad and motionless in his military command, restraining with much ado the fury of the populace and resolved simply to do his duty. Marshal Ney was advancing to meet the emperor.

He had faithfully accomplished his task at Besançon, cheering the sinking courage of the royalists, making up the deficiency in military preparations, and strongly convinced that Napoleon cherished a personal grudge against him for what he had dared to say and do at Fontainebleau at the time of the abdication. Generals de Bourmont and Lecourbe were charged with the command of the two divisions of his brigade. The one was an old royalist and former chief of Vendéans; the other, an old republican of the army of the Rhine who had been disgraced by the emperor. They advanced with the marshal to Lons-le-Saulnier.

The attitude of the troops began to grow doubtful. Napoleon had arrived at Mâcon amid the mad enthusiasm of the populace, both town and country along the route bursting forth into transports of rejoicing. The Burgundians, formerly animated by the most fervent revolutionary sentiments, bore themselves with corresponding delight before the great leader, born of the revolution, which he had subdued without forsaking, and which required his support in the future. The popular enthusiasm spreading, the marshal perceived around him its earliest effects. Flying into a passion, he fronted his royalist staff, who appeared somewhat restless. "Let them go," said he; "let them go; if they tremble, leave me alone; I shall know how to seize a gun from the hand of a dragoon and fire the first shot." A speech in which he had addressed his officers had left them cold and discontented; and the news received every day of the triumphant demonstrations of the people in the emperor's presence, increased his anxiety. With anger he heard of the evacuation of Lyons, but already Mâcon had driven out the royalist authorities, and Dijon was proceeding to proclaim the restoration of the empire. In the department of Ain, the prefect had been pursued by the insurgent inhabitants of Bourg. Everywhere people told with what dreadful facility the con-

flagration gained. A letter from Marshal Bertrand was conveyed to his old friend Marshal Ney on the night of the 13th. Perhaps a letter from the emperor accompanied that of the major-general. The officers entrusted with it commented upon these words in the letter, used by Bertrand for the purpose of gaining over his comrades in arms to the emperor's cause:—"All the requisite measures are taken and success is inevitable." Marshal Ney believed he saw the vast network of Bonapartist conspiracies embracing all France, the blow already struck at Paris, an understanding established in Europe with the Emperor of Austria and the coalition powers: Napoleon, it was said, accepted the treaties and had no further desire for war. All the rumors floating in the air, eagerly caught and magnified by the people, acted on the mobile spirit of the illustrious soldier, himself drawn on to his destiny by the allurements which moved the masses, alike military or rustic. Believing himself duped by the government of the king, he now suddenly saw in exaggerated proportions all the petty injuries inflicted on his *amour-propre*, all the transient dissatisfactions which he had experienced since the restoration of the Bourbons. "My dear," he wrote to his wife, "thou shalt cry no more to get away from the Tuileries." He conferred with his generals of division, and they both sadly perceived the uselessness of resistance. "Thou hadst better not have meddled in the affair at all," said Lecourbe, "and left me alone in peace." The marshal caused the troops to be assembled. Some stir had already manifested itself in the barracks. Ney advanced in front of the lines. "Officers, sub-officers, and soldiers," he exclaimed, "the cause of the Bourbons is lost forever. The legitimate dynasty which the French nation has adopted is going to remount the throne. To the Emperor Napoleon, our sovereign, belongs alone the right to reign over our beautiful country! Whether the Bourbon nobility choose to return to exile or consent to live among us, what matters it to us? The times are gone when the people were governed by suppressing their rights. Liberty triumphs in the end, and Napoleon, our august emperor, comes to confirm it. Soldiers, I have often led you to victory; now I would escort you to join this immortal legion which the Emperor Napoleon conducts to Paris, and which in a few days shall reach the capital, where our hope and our happiness shall forever be realized. Long live the emperor!"

A cheer, loud and unbroken, burst from the lips of all in re-

sponse to the marshal's cry; swords leapt from their scabbards, shakos waved on the points of bayonets, the soldiers rushed upon their general to kiss his hands and his garments. The marshal yielded to the enthusiasm of the men, whom he had freed by a single word from a restraint that was insupportable. The officers of his staff alone maintained an ominous silence. One of them, an old émigré, broke his sword, saying, "You should have warned us, monsieur le marshal, before making us be present at such a spectacle." Without exception the inferior officers participated in the feelings of the soldiers.

From Lyons, and as if he had never ceased to reign, Napoleon ordered the march of the army corps. On the eve of making his submission, Ney was troubled at the thought of again seeing Napoleon. "Tell him that I love him still, and to-morrow shall embrace him," said the emperor to Marshal Bertrand, when Ney joined him at Auxerre. Next day the marshal wished to attempt some explanations; "There is no need," said Napoleon. "I have always held you to be the bravest of the brave." "You have done well," replied Ney, "to count on me for the defence of the fatherland; it is for France that I have shed my blood, and for her I am ready to shed it to the last drop! I love you, sire, but the fatherland before all!" "It is for the sake of the fatherland that I have returned," interrupted the emperor. "I know her to be unhappy, and I shall render her all the aid that she expects of me." Four divisions were united at Auxerre, and they took the way for Fontainebleau. Everywhere the public gave themselves up to transports of irresistible excitement. To send troops against Napoleon was only to send him reinforcements.

The agitation was growing in Paris; and the precautions of the police, the indignant protestations of the constituted authorities, and the false news circulated by the royalist journals, were no longer able to conceal the rapid progress of a conflagration unexpected and terrible. The royalists, startled and exasperated, attacked all those who did not share in their indignation, or whom they could suspect of even a thought of defection. They were goaded into measures that were conflicting and badly conceived, promising to the army favors which they had but recently refused, re-calling to activity officers and non-commissioned officers who had been placed on half-pay, invoking the support of the national guard, replacing the minister of war, Marshal Soult, by the Duc de Feltre, and André, the minister of police, by Bourienne. Fouché had

declined the offer of the latter office. "It is weakness that has ruined us," said the newly appointed officers, who were resolved to employ force at the moment when power had escaped from their hands.

Meantime, Lainé, president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Montesquiou, minister of the interior, had formed a better understanding of the instincts of the country and the profound causes of discontent which delivered the nation over to a military sway. Lainé, held in esteem by all, and an eloquent and conscientious man, sought to rally around the throne the clear-headed and honest men who formed the constitutional opposition party. Lafayette and Benjamin Constant seconded his efforts; they promised liberal measures, they emphasized the dangers which liberty ran at the hands of the Emperor Napoleon, they attempted at the same time to obtain from the king a change of the ministry, and particularly the removal of Blacas, who was distrusted by all the constitutional party. But these efforts were fruitless; the friends of the Comte d'Artois, and even the confidants of Louis XVIII., were opposed to the concessions. The Bonapartist movement set on foot recently in the department of the Nord, by Generals Lallemand and Lefebvre-Desnouettes, had miscarried; from this they conceived the hope that the movement for the defence would here be able to find an effectual basis, and they prepared an army outside of Paris, which was to be commanded by the Duc de Berry, with Marshal Macdonald for major-general. The Duc de Orleans and Marshal Oudinot were charged with the task of concentrating the army corps. The king and the princes returned to the Chamber for the purpose of renewing their alliance with the people. The king had written his own speech; on his entering he was received with loud cheers.

"Gentlemen," said he, "in this moment of crisis, when the public enemy has entered a part of my kingdom, and when he menaces the liberty of all the rest, I come into your midst to draw closer the bonds, which, in uniting you to me, constitute the power of the State. I come, in addressing you, to explain to all France my sentiments and views. I have reformed my country, and have reconciled it with all the foreign powers,—powers which undoubtedly will be faithful to the treaties by which we have restored peace. I have labored for the good of my people; I have received—I receive every day—the most touching marks of their love. Could I, at sixty years of age, more fitly end my career than by dying in their defence?

"I fear then nothing for myself, but I fear for France. He who comes among us to light the torch of civil war, brings also the plague of foreign war; he comes to place our country once more under his iron yoke; he comes, in fine, to destroy this constitutional charter which I have given you,—this charter, my best title in the eyes of posterity—this charter which all the French cherish, and which I here swear to maintain. Let us then rally round it! May it be our sacred standard! The descendants of Henri IV. shall be the first to range themselves beneath it, and they will be followed by all good Frenchmen. Let the concurrence of both Chambers give all necessary support to the authority, and this truly national war shall prove by its happy result what a great people are capable of, united by the love of their king and the fundamental law of the kingdom."

It was too late to rally by conciliatory words the forces imprudently sundered; too late to incite an honest and courageous effort on behalf of constitutional liberty. The enthusiasm, popular and military, had brought back Napoleon with an irresistible impulse. Already he had reached Fontainebleau (19 March), re-entering with triumph the palace which, almost broken-hearted, he had quitted some months before. The next march he resolved to direct to the Tuileries. The more sanguine supporters of the government wished to advance towards the west, there, relying on the one side on Bordeaux, and on the other on Vendée, to raise up all this region, supremely royalist, against the usurper. Others, with the Duke of Orleans and Marshal Macdonald at their head, proposed to retire into a place in the Nord, Lille or Dunkirk, with a faithful following, in order to await on French soil the great duel which would infallibly take place between the Emperor Napoleon and Europe. The personal desire of the king, old and easily fatigued, was to abide in Paris as long as possible, and when flight was unavoidable, to pass immediately to England, the only asylum that was really safe. The émigrés in a body bitterly opposed the idea of again quitting France. Departure from Paris, meantime, became necessary, for the enemy was already at the gates, and the city was almost surrounded by the army. The king resolved to set out secretly, fearing a popular outburst and a pursuit. The retreat on Lille was decided, and Marshal Macdonald was charged with its protection. On the night of the 19th, at eleven o'clock, all the members of the royal family then in Paris set out stealthily to drive to St. Denis. The last

efforts of Lainé, by which, during the day, he attempted to reconcile the constitutional party, were useless; Lafayette had vainly proposed to put himself at the head of the national guard. At the same moment Madame de Staël, like the king, prepared to quit Paris. Her drawing-room had been the centre of the liberal movement: she fled before the return of the despot, who had for a long time pursued her with his hatred. "Well, he is back again!" she had exclaimed a little while before to La Valette; "it is no illusion. My God! liberty is now lost! Poor France! after so much suffering, and despite vows so ardent and unanimous! Since he prevails, I go away from this country! Ah! if the Bourbons had the power of will—if they had listened to us! But no matter; I love them, I sorrow for them. They are honest men, and they alone were able to give us liberty."

So fled royalists and liberty, abandoning the game without any resistance to the powerful genius who now advanced—little caring for engagements contracted, and for the dangers which menaced the country from within, or the terrible calamities of war ready to unloose themselves on us anew. One hope still remained to France, overcome in these first movements by stupor and disquietude; liberty had not raised her head in vain, she had reasserted her proper place, and her power over the minds of men. It was in the name of liberty henceforth that all parties fought, and even despotism was obliged to raise her flag. Napoleon invoked the Revolution, and the Bourbons invoked the Charter; times indeed were changed. Already the emperor promised some liberal concessions. The whisper of an intention to resist all oppression passed ere long throughout the whole of France.

On the 20th March, 1815, Napoleon once more entered Paris, having been warned at daybreak of the departure of the royal family. "Never was the personal grandeur of a man displayed with more tremendous *éclat*; never had act more audacious, or better calculated in its audacity, struck the imagination of the people. And outward force failed not the man who found so much of it in himself, and in himself alone. The army clung to him with a blind devotion. Among the masses of the people the revolutionary spirit and the warlike instincts, the hatred of the old régime and the national pride, were stirred up by his appearance, and rushed forth at his service. He re-mounted, with an eager retinue, a throne forsaken at his approach. But alongside of all this show of strength, brilliant and strik-

ing, there revealed itself, almost simultaneously, an element of remarkable weakness. The man who came to traverse France in triumph, carrying all before him by his personality, whether friends or enemies, re-entered Paris by night, as Louis XVIII. had left it, his carriage surrounded by cavaliers, and encountering in his passage only a handful of gloomy-looking people. Enthusiasm had accompanied him on his route; at his destination he found coldness, doubt, liberal mistrust, prudent abstentions, France profoundly disturbed, and Europe irrevocably hostile.

"The journey in the vicinity of Paris had enlightened Napoleon as to the state of feeling in the metropolis. Alighting at the foot of the staircase in the Tuileries, he remarked to Count Molé, who attended him, 'Well! I have played a fine prank!'"*

The king and the royal family had meantime proceeded on their way, and further than their best and wisest friends might have desired. Once arrived at St. Denis, Louis XVIII. had directed his course towards Abbeville, always inclined to draw nearer to England. His household troops followed in great disorder; Marshal Macdonald alone preserved discipline in the corps. The marshal rejoined the monarch at Abbeville, and conjured him to proceed to Lille, where the Duke of Orleans had already arrived, with Marshal Mortier. The gates of the town were so jealously guarded, that Macdonald had some difficulty in reaching the prince, who was able, he said, to assure to the king the possession of the place for a very short time, on condition that he was not accompanied by his household troops. The soldiers in the garrison at Lille were not ill-disposed, but they were persuaded that the émigrés wished to deliver France over to the English. The royal party then ran the risk of being received with bullets, and on the other hand, the town was incapable of defence without considerable forces. The advice of the Duke of Orleans was that the king should shut himself up in Dunkirk, a small and very strong place, that could be reached from England by sea, and which consequently offered great guarantees for safety. The marshal supported this advice, as also did Blacas, who accompanied the king on his arrival at Lille. A visit made to the barracks confirmed experienced soldiers in this view, and all were of opinion that the king should fix his departure for the morrow.

* *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps.*

The will of Louis XVIII., although seldom exhibited, was absolutely unchangeable. He was anxious for repose, of which he could not be certain except in England. The twenty-five leagues, he declared, which separated Dunkirk from Lille presented serious dangers, and he preferred to pass at once into Belgium, where he would be free to return afterwards to Dunkirk. The arguments of the Duke of Orleans, and Marshals Macdonald and Mortier, being exhausted before the resolve of the king, the two military chiefs stated that they would escort his Majesty to the frontier, but that they were resolved on no account to emigrate, their intention being to retire into the country. The Duke of Orleans, who had shared the counsel of the marshals, did not believe it safe, in his quality of prince of the blood, to remain in France. Meanwhile, he himself proposed to leave the king at the Belgian frontier, the rallying-point of hostile troops, and to return to England, to the little house at Twickenham, on the banks of the Thames, which he had long inhabited under the empire, and which was his own property. Only Marshal Berthier, captain of a company of the body guards, felt impelled to accompany Louis XVIII., as he had formerly accompanied Napoleon. The household troops were disbanded, and only 300 men, under the orders of Marshal Marmont, left French soil to join the king, who, with the Comte d'Artois and the Duc de Berry, directed his course towards Ghent. The Duke and Duchess of Angoulême were still in the south of France; the Duke of Bourbon was in Vendée, and lost no time in embarking at Nantes. The military leaders who had attempted to oppose some resistance in the north and east, Marshal Victor in Champagne, and Marshal Oudinot in Lorraine, had abandoned their commands, finding that they could not control their troops. In Alsace, Marshal Suchet had hoisted the tricolor; while at Orleans, Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr had peremptorily ordered his corps to resume the white cockade, and put General Pajol in prison for exciting the troops in favor of the emperor. But meantime the movement had become too violent even for the energetic will of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr; a regiment of cuirassiers revolted, and released General Pajol, putting to flight the royalist authorities, and Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr himself. The south alone was seriously agitated by rancorous political and religious passions. At Paris, the Emperor Napoleon had recovered the reins of government without obstacle.

The formation of his ministry was his first care. In sur-

rounding himself with devoted men, it was still important that he should avoid names stained by associations of arbitrary power; the Duke of Rovigo being inadmissible for the police, the gendarmerie was entrusted to him, with instructions to watch Fouché, who was said to have an understanding with the Bourbons. The emperor shrugged his shoulders, having some knowledge of the complicated and contradictory intrigues of the Duke of Otranto; still he put him at the head of the police. Decrès resumed his post as minister of the navy, Count Mollien of finance, the Duke of Vicentia of foreign affairs, and Marshal Davout of war, though not without some resistance on his part. "I had always the misfortune to meet with little sympathy in the army, being blamed for severity," said the marshal. "That is precisely what I want," replied the emperor. "The discipline is loose, and I must have a man of inflexible honor and courage, with sufficient talent and resolution to meet with me the whole of Europe face to face." Carnot was appointed home minister, his former renown as a republican standing him in good stead: his brilliant defence of Angers drew upon him the public attention. The command of Paris, as well as of all the movable troops, was entrusted to Count Lobau. Thus the highest military authority was placed in the heart of France, under the direction of men of the greatest ability and energy. Replaced upon the throne by an insurrection of the army, Napoleon had no intention of leaving the power at their mercy. While reconstituting the empire, he resolved to reconstitute the army.

Forces were already in preparation to guard the frontiers; and on the 21st, 25,000 men assembled on the Place Carrousel. The emperor was hailed on his arrival with loud and enthusiastic shouts. "Soldiers," said he. "I came with 600 men into France, because I depended upon the love of the nation and the memory of my veteran soldiers. I have not been deceived in my expectation; and for that, soldiers, I thank you. The glory of what we have just accomplished belongs to the people and to you; mine merely consists in having known and appreciated you. Soldiers, the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was raised by foreign hands, and had been proscribed by the will of the nation, expressed in all our national assemblies; and also because the only interests it guaranteed were those of a small number of arrogant men, whose claims are opposed to our rights. Soldiers, the imperial throne can alone guarantee the rights of the people, and especially the foremost

of our interests, that of our glory. Soldiers, we are going to march to drive from our territory those princes, the foreigners' auxiliaries. The nation will not only assist us with its wishes, but will even follow our impulse. The French people and I both depend upon you. We have no wish to meddle in the affairs of foreign nations, but woe to him who meddles in ours!"

It was an unfortunate and irreparable fault of the Emperor Napoleon on this occasion to throw upon Europe the blood-stained burden of his own unbridled ambition, on account of which the affairs of France had become those of the whole world by the primitive right of self-defence. Though he had long had an accurate knowledge of the various dispositions of the allied sovereigns, he was now anxious to test the intention of the Emperor Francis. The Austrian ambassador, like those of the other powers, had asked for his passports as soon as the ministry was constituted; and by a general order and arrangement, the couriers despatched by Napoleon to all the courts, to announce the emperor's restoration to the throne of France, had been everywhere arrested. Flahault, Napoleon's aide-de-camp, who had previously been well received at Vienna, was now unable to proceed beyond Stuttgart, and the despatches of which he was the bearer were taken from him and sent on to Vienna. On Fouché's recommendation the emperor gave secret instructions to Montrond, a man of the world, a wit, but fond of intrigue, and of doubtful character. He was intimate with Talleyrand, and was supposed to have considerable influence over that diplomatist, the most important of all to be gained over. Montrond had been in the army, and when made prisoner showed his rare courage even in his transactions with the English who detained him on board a man-of-war. Admiral Keith, commander of the squadron, was hot-tempered and violent, and happening one day to fall into a passion before Montrond, he told him that Frenchmen were all rascals without any exception; to which the prisoner immediately replied, "Englishmen are all well bred, my lord, with only one exception." It was this daring and skilful man who succeeded in reaching as far as Vienna, with instructions to carry off the Empress Marie-Louise on certain conditions, if she seemed willing to bring back her son to Paris. Fouché had added some instructions to those of the emperor. Montrond was to speak of the regency of the empress.

The course to be followed by the allies was irrevocably taken, as Napoleon was well aware, at the very time when he was

still trying to negotiate through Montrond at Vienna, as well as by Queen Hortense's mediation with the Emperor Alexander. The Czar had intimate relations with her, and secured for her children the duchy of St. Leu. On the 13th March, at the very moment when the emperor was leaving Lyons to advance upon Paris, the representatives of the sovereigns assembled at Vienna signed a declaration, drawn up by Talleyrand, which was soon after published all over Europe:—

“Napoleon Bonaparte,” said the manifesto, “by breaking the convention which assigned him a residence in the island of Elba, has destroyed the only legal title on which his political existence depended. By his reappearance in France, with projects of disturbance and revolution, he has voluntarily deprived himself of the protection of the laws, and has proved to the eyes of the whole world that peace or truce with him is impossible. The powers therefore declare, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world he has delivered himself up to public vengeance. They at the same time declare that they will employ every means and combine all their efforts in order to defend Europe from any attempt which should threaten again to plunge the nations in revolutionary disorder and wretchedness.”

On the 25th March “the attempt” was consummated at Paris; the king and royal family were in flight. The allied powers renewed with each other the treaty of Chaumont, and began to devote their whole energies against the enemy of the general peace. They had not in every point fulfilled their engagements concluded with him on the 11th April, but he on his side had so notoriously violated them, that the shortcomings of the other contracting parties were entirely overlooked. The Emperor Alexander, who had been accused by his allies of being weak and fickle on account of his kindness to Napoleon, announced openly that he would spend against him his last soldier and last penny. Metternich and Wellington, with Talleyrand's concurrence, used their influence against the unhappy King of Saxony, to compel him to agree to his own spoliation. The final arrangements were completed, and the allied sovereigns took the title-deeds of their new States. The Duke of Wellington boldly undertook in the name of England to fulfil all the engagements comprised in the treaty of the 25th March. This procedure excited some stormy discussion in the English Parliament, but the opposition was more apparent and theo-

retical than earnest and practical. In their real hearts, with greater moderation and respect for the national liberty, the English wished for Napoleon's overthrow and the restoration of the Bourbons, as much as the Austrians, Prussians, and Russians. The habitual prudence of the Emperor Francis and his minister, as well as a consciousness of what was due to family considerations, modified at Vienna the national eagerness of Prussia, the wounded susceptibility of the Czar, and the hereditary hate of Pozzo di Borgo. The latter gave vent to his passion in his letters to Castlereagh. "We left Louis XVIII. face to face with all the elements of revolution," he wrote; "and when burdened with the results of our imprudence and his own, Bonaparte came upon the scene, the army overthrew the throne which they ought to have supported, the people were amazed and stupefied. They will applaud still more the contrary piece when, as I trust, we shall put it on the stage. But, if we wish for repose, we must put the king in a position to be able to disband the army and form a new one—to purge France of fifty first-class criminals, whose existence is incompatible with peace. The French ought to undertake the execution, and the allies ought to provide them with the opportunity of keeping their word."

In presence of such passions as these, in so violent a state of excitement, Montrond's mission had no chance of success. Talleyrand repulsed it with friendly but firm candor. After some short emotion on the first report of her husband's return to France, the Empress Marie Louise still adhered as before to the resolutions and choice which had been made at Napoleon's abdication. She declared she would never return to the emperor, and preferred for her son the duchy of Parma to the throne of France. The little King of Rome, separated from his mother, had already been installed in the imperial palace at Vienna, and treated as an archduke of Austria. On the 13th April, the *Moniteur* published in Paris the declaration of the powers, which had previously been treated as an apocryphal document. A report by Caulaincourt proved the inutility of the efforts made with the allied powers to maintain peace. "The emperor did not expect any important result from such a procedure, and was but little surprised at not finding from family ties, and sentiments, some assistance against political interests and engagements. Without anger against any one, and probably also without blaming himself, he understood and accepted the position now forced upon him by his past life: it

was that of an unrestrained gambler, completely ruined though still standing, who is playing a desperate game against all his rivals together, with no chance left but one of those unforeseen strokes of luck which the most consummate skill cannot bring about, but which is sometimes granted by fortune to her favorites."*

While Napoleon was thus accepting the challenge of Europe, and preparing to meet it, his affairs in France seemed to superficial observers to proceed still more and more triumphantly. The Duke of Bourbon's attempt at an insurrection in Vendée had temporarily failed. Vitrolles fixed his headquarters at Toulouse, to organize the attempts at resistance in the south. The Duchess of Angoulême was at Bordeaux, where the troops had recently sworn fidelity to her. She reckoned upon the royalist sympathies of the population; but General Clausel was advancing to take possession of the town in the emperor's name. He had brought no armed force with him, but rallied several battalions on his way, and at his approach the Blaye garrison displayed the tricolor. On reaching the bridge of Cubzac, which had been destroyed, the general held a conference with Martignac, the commander of the royal volunteers at Bordeaux, and soon after destined to a more illustrious career. The moderation of Napoleon's delegate did not conceal his confidence, and the increase of dissension in Bordeaux speedily proved it well-founded. The princess was soon informed by her most faithful friends of the hesitation shown in the regiments, and the personal danger she might incur. Disregarding all danger, she wished to ascertain personally the sentiments of the troops. The left bank of the Dordogne, recently held by the royalist outpost, was already abandoned, and the right bank also soon after. The duchess wished an attack to be made on the detachments seen near the river, with tricolor cockade and flag. "Madame," replied General Decaen, "we should certainly be taken between two fires, that of Clausel's troops and that of the garrison."

The duchess went herself to the barracks, and walked up to the soldiers, who were drawn up in the court. "Gentlemen," said she, "you are aware of the events now taking place; a stranger has just taken possession of the throne of your lawful king! Bordeaux is threatened by a handful of rebels; the national guard are resolved to defend the town, are you willing

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc. vol. i.

to assist them? I wish you to answer me frankly, yes or no. I await your reply."

Nobody spoke; and the ranks remained silent as death. The princess again spoke: "Have you then forgotten already the oath you so short a time ago renewed in our presence? If there be still among you some men remaining faithful to the king's cause, let them show themselves." A small group of officers immediately gathered before her; and the duchess, as she looked at them said, "You are a very small number; no matter, one knows at least on whom to depend." Some voices in the ranks called out, "We shall obey our chiefs in all orders given for the service of the country, but we do not wish a civil war, and will never fight against our brothers." The princess received a similar reply from all the regiments which she visited with such fearless courage. At the Château Trompette, which was held by the Angoulême regiment, she asked them, "Do you no longer acknowledge me? Do you not call me your princess?" Then raising her eyes to heaven, as if at the same time declaring her resolution and throwing the disgrace of it back upon those who rendered it necessary, she exclaimed, "Good God! how hard it is, after twenty years of misfortune and exile, to leave one's country again! Yet I never ceased to pray for France, and always do it still, for I am a Frenchwoman; but you! you are no longer French! Go!"

Murmurs of complaint were heard, and the soldiers were themselves on the point of provoking that civil war which they so justly feared. The Duchess of Angoulême withdrew, assuring the people of Bordeaux that all she asked from their loyalty was calm, and temporary submission. Several quarrels having taken place in the suburbs, General Clausel fired some cannon on the right bank of the river. "It is to Madame the Duchess of Angoulême that you owe your safety," he said next day, on taking possession of Bordeaux. "I never dared fire upon the princess while she was writing the fairest page in her history." It was only on the 19th April that the Duchess of Angoulême reached the coast of England at Plymouth.

Meanwhile the Duke of Angoulême, after leaving Montpellier and Nismes, had carried Pont St. Esprit on the 28th March. On the 29th he marched to Montélimar, and on the 2nd April forced the bridge over the Drôme, which was defended by troops sent from Valence by General Debelle; and next day he took possession of Valence. At the same time, Vitrolles and his partisans were arrested at Toulouse by an

insurrection of the troops. At Nismes, General Gilly was at the head of two regiments who revolted; they had been left in the town by the Duke of Angoulême, and were encouraged by the Protestant population to resume the tricolor. Pont St. Esprit was retaken from the royalist volunteers, who had charge of it. A column marching towards Grenoble, under the orders of General Gardanne, also refused to obey, taking their officers along with them. General Grouchy arrived from Lyons, accompanied by a large number of militia-men, who had volunteered their services, and the Duke of Angoulême, seeing that he was in danger of being hemmed in, evacuated Valence, only to find the Avignon road intercepted by Gilly. The prince was surrounded, and compelled to capitulate; he sent Damas to wait upon General Gilley, who showed the greatest readiness to come to terms, granting to the duke full freedom, on condition that the regular troops should enter the imperial service, and the volunteers be disbanded. The capitulation was submitted to Grouchy for ratification, who thought it necessary to refer it to the emperor. Napoleon's first thoughts were in accordance with his orders to the generals ordered to resist the princes, "Push them out." But, on hearing of the dissatisfaction among the troops, and the excitement of the revolutionary populations, which was shown by great severity against the royalists, the emperor was, for a moment tempted to retain the Duke of Angoulême; the previous despatch, however, had been forwarded hurriedly by Bassano, and the prince, who had been well-treated during his retention at Pont St. Esprit, was conducted to Cette, whence he sailed, on the 16th April, for Barcelona. Marshal Masséna had decided to declare himself in favor of the empire, and on threatening Marseilles from Toulon, to which he had retired, the municipality did not dare resist, and thus the restoration of the empire was proclaimed throughout all the south of France. The civil war was smothered; and on the 16th April the emperor assembled the national guard of Paris, and announced this happy result. His real object was to show them the entire nation submissive to his laws, in order to draw them into the same way.

"Soldiers of the national guard," said he, "this very morning the Lyons telegraph has informed me that the tricolor-flag floats at Antibes and Marseilles. A salute of a hundred guns, fired on our frontiers, will let the foreigners know that our civil dissensions are at an end. I say foreigners, because as

yet we have no experience of enemies; should they assemble their troops we shall also assemble ours. Our armies are all composed of brave men, who have gained distinction in a hundred battles, and who will present to the foreigner a barrier of iron, whilst numerous battalions of grenadiers and chasseurs of the national guard are defending our frontiers. Soldiers of the national guard, you have been compelled to display colors which were rejected by France, but the national colors were in your hearts. You swear ever to take them as a signal to rally round, and to defend this imperial throne, the only and natural guarantee of your rights! You swear never to suffer strangers, over whom we have several times shown ourselves masters, to interfere with our government! You swear finally to sacrifice everything to the honor and independence of France!"

The emperor spoke to the national guard of what then principally filled his mind, that impending struggle with the foreigner which had become the supreme question between him and France, and was presently to decide the actual possession of the throne. He had a deep sense, however, of other difficulties and dangers which were less obvious and glaring than the armies of the enemy, foreboding a threatening future, and already beginning to destroy that union of sentiment and purpose so indispensable to a people who must defend their national independence. Since his return from Elba, Napoleon made constant efforts to become or appear liberal. He abolished censure of the press, and restored to it perfect liberty. "After what has been written about me for a year," said he, "they cannot say more against me; whereas there are still many charges to lay on my adversaries." He prepared the "Act Supplementary to the Constitutions of the Empire," for the purpose of absolutely modifying their character; and, in spite of Madame de Staël's departure, it was to her friend, Benjamin Constant, that he applied to draw up that important document, the latter assenting, either because he was gained over, or from submission. Napoleon accepted in principle the constitutional monarchy, round which all liberals had rallied, while admitting beforehand the opposition he was likely to meet with from the Assemblies. "With reference to projects, I have now none but that of gaining a battle, regaining our independence, and avenging the misfortune of having seen 200,000 strangers in our capital! and that done, peace! When the only question left is the administration of

France, I shall certainly feel no humiliation in hearing the representatives oppose me with objections, or even refusals; after ruling and conquering the world, there is nothing so unpleasant in being contradicted at home that I cannot bring myself to submit. In any case my son will do so, and I shall try to prepare him by my lessons and example. But let me be allowed to conquer, only once to conquer, those sovereigns formerly so humble, to-day so arrogant: that is what I ask from God and the nation!"

"For intelligent men," says Guizot in his *Mémoires*, "it was a strange sight, and in two respects somewhat ridiculous: Napoleon and the liberal leaders engaged in a close struggle, not as enemies, but in order to persuade, gain over, or overmaster each other. There was no need for very close inspection to see that on neither side was their conference or its discussions considered trustworthy. The one, as well as the other, knew well that the real struggle was not between them, and that the question on which their fate depended would be decided by other means than their conferences. If Napoleon had conquered Europe, it is very certain he would not have long remained a rival of Lafayette and disciple of Benjamin Constant; and as soon as he was beaten at Waterloo, Lafayette and his friends applied themselves to the task of overthrowing him. From necessity, or of set purpose, men's real intentions and passions are sometimes concealed in the innermost thoughts, but they promptly rise to the surface as soon as they think there is a chance of reappearing with success. For the most part, Napoleon resigned himself with infinite suppleness, cunning, and intellectual resource, to the comedy which the liberals and he played together; at one time defending quietly, but obstinately, his old policy and present views; at another gracefully abandoning them, without denying them, and as if from courteous respect to opinions which he did not hold. Occasionally, however, whether purposely, or from want of patience, he violently became himself again, and the despot, who was both son and subduer of the Revolution, reappeared in his whole entirety. When asked to insert in the Supplementary Act the abolition of confiscation, as proclaimed by the Charter of Louis XVIII., he angrily exclaimed, 'I am being forced on a path that is not mine, weakened, and fettered! France wishes for me, but is not allowed to have me. Such an idea was excellent; it is execrable! France asks what had become of the emperor's arm, that arm which

she is now in want of to subdue Europe. Why should I be told about kindness, abstract justice, natural laws? The first law is necessity; the highest justice is the public safety! Every day has its own difficulty, every circumstance its law, every man his own natural character. Mine is to be not an angel! When peace is secured we shall see.'

"On another occasion, when engaged with the same Supplementary Act with reference to the institution of the hereditary peerage, he gave full swing to the abundant fertility of his ideas, and considered the question from all sides, throwing in a multitude of opposing arguments and opinions, without drawing any conclusion. 'Peerage is out of harmony with the natural state of men's minds; it will offend the pride of the army, and raise against me a thousand individual claims. Where do you imagine I can find the aristocratic elements which a peerage demands? Yet a constitution without an aristocracy is only a balloon lost in the atmosphere. A ship is directed because there are two counterbalancing forces, and the helm finds a fulcrum; but a balloon is the sport of a single force, there being no fulcrum; the wind carries it away, and it is impossible to guide it.' When the question of principles was decided upon, and the Chamber of Hereditary Peers was about to be appointed, he was strongly inclined to call to it many names of the old monarchy. After mature reflection he gave up the idea—not without regret, we are told by Benjamin Constant, and declaring, 'We must nevertheless come back to that some time, but recollections are too recent: let us defer the matter till the fighting is over, and I can easily have them if I am the winner.' He would have liked to adjourn in the same way all questions, and do nothing till his return as winner. But liberty had returned to France along with the Restoration, and he himself had just awoke the Revolution afresh. He was face to face with those two powers, compelled to endure them, and was now attempting to make use of them until he should be able to conquer them.'"

From an undefined but powerful sense of the eternal struggle which exists between them and liberty, the revolutionary masses were disposed to serve the Emperor Napoleon. In the faubourgs of Paris, the population organized a confederation, and resolved to go to the emperor and ask leaders and arms. He agreed to their wishes, giving them a name, "Confed-

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc., vol. i.

erates," which had no sinister associations, and their cohorts defiled one after another across the Place du Carrousel. "I remember," says Guizot, "meeting in the gardens of the Tuileries a group of about a hundred of the confederates, of rather disreputable appearance. They gathered under the windows of the palace, shouting 'Long live the emperor!' and trying to persuade him to show himself. After keeping them waiting a long time a window at last opened, and he appeared and waved his hand to them; but almost at the same instant the window closed, and I plainly saw Napoleon shrug his shoulders as he retired, much annoyed no doubt at having to take part in demonstrations the character and importance of which were disagreeable to him." A similar movement took place in several provinces, that in the west taking the form of reprisals for the hostilities of the Vendéans and "Chouans." The civil war again broke out.

Meantime the Supplementary Act had been completed, and was published on the 22nd April. The liberals asked for an entirely new constitution, which should confer upon Napoleon the imperial crown by the will of the nation, on condition that that condition was fulfilled. Napoleon when proclaiming it did not thus understand the sovereignty of the people. "You deprive me of my past," he said to his experts; "I wish to keep it. What would you make of my eleven years' reign? The new constitution must be a continuation of the old, and it will be the sanction of several years of glory and success." It was on the emperor's part a proof both of his skill and pride to maintain, both by the preamble and the very name of Supplementary Act, the old empire which he was re-forming. With the exception of the confiscation, which Napoleon did not consent to abolish, the additional act contained in principle all the liberties necessary, and justified the following declaration of the preamble:—"The emperor wishes to give to the representative system its full extension, while combining in the highest degree political liberty with the power necessary to secure respect abroad for the independence of the French people and the dignity of the throne."

It had nevertheless the bad fortune to be unfavorably received by all parties, except the constitutionals, who, owing to Constant's assistance, thought they had some interest in it, and moreover found in the new constitution several of their dearest theories. The revolutionists were violently opposed to this act, conceded by favor of the monarch, and the royalists

ridiculed it as a parody of the Charter. All were certain that the imperious will of the master would soon be manifested behind the studied moderation of language, regardless of the guarantees granted at the moment. "Your constitution is better than it is said to be," was said to Constant by Lafayette, who was then much courted by partisans of the liberal empire; "but you must get people to believe that; and to bring that about, it must be at once put in force." The promulgation of the Additional Act took place on the 1st June at the Champ de Mai, with a great display of the old imperial pomp—a useless and painful reminiscence of the times when the glory of victory made amends for demonstrations which were frequently puerile. The Chambers were immediately convoked, and on the 7th June the emperor himself gave the oath to the new members. "Gentlemen of the Chamber of Peers, gentlemen of the Chamber of Representatives," said he, "three months ago circumstances and the confidence of the people reinvested me with an unlimited power. To-day the most urgent desire of my heart is fulfilled; I am about to begin the constitutional monarchy. Men are powerless to guarantee the future; institutions alone secure the destinies of nations. The monarchy is necessary in France to guarantee the liberty, independence, and rights of the people. I aspire to see France enjoy all the liberty possible,—I say possible, because anarchy always brings back absolute government. A formidable coalition of kings have a spiteful hatred against our independence, and their armies are arriving on our frontiers. . . . It is possible that the first duty of a prince will soon call me at the head of the children of the nation in order to fight for our country: we will do our duty, the army and I. As for you, peers and representatives, show the nation an example of confidence, energy, and patriotism; and, like the senate of the great people of antiquity, be determined to die rather than survive the dishonor and degradation of France. The holy cause of our country will triumph!"

The war had already begun, and the Emperor Napoleon prepared to set out under sorrowful and painful auspices. With few friends about him in his palace, often reduced to the society of Queen Hortense and Lavalette, who had become a favorite with him, he left to his brothers Joseph and Lucien a certain amount of political action. They undertook of their own accord to flatter and gain favor with the Chambers. Joseph was partly responsible for the disaster which had fallen

upon one member of the imperial family. Before leaving Switzerland, where he had recently taken refuge, he wrote to Murat, urging him to join the emperor and join his forces to his. "Reassure the Austrians, in order to separate them from the coalition," said he. "Talk and act as your heart dictate; march to the Alps, but do not cross them." Murat, through the intervention of the Princess Borghese, had already been reconciled to Napoleon, but the latter carefully advised him not to begin hostilities. But the excitable and fickle-minded King of Naples became inflamed with a return of warlike ardor, and having collected 50,000 men crossed Italy, causing much confusion. The Pope withdrew to Genoa as well as the King of Sardinia, and the Grand-Duke of Tuscany set out for Leghorn. Murat then, without consulting the emperor, or making any reference to France, proclaimed himself King of Italy, promising Italian unity as the result of that new authority. After several days' stay at Bologna, hesitating and uncertain about his march, he saw his troops, who were still more undecided, gradually disperse; and when he joined battle with the Austrians at Tolentino and Macerata, he was completely beaten. Returning to Naples in disguise, the unhappy king said to his wife, who had disapproved of the enterprise, "Madame, don't be astonished to see me still alive; I did everything I could to die." All chance of victory or revolution being lost, Murat set sail for Provence. Queen Caroline came to terms with the Austrians and English, and the house of Bourbon again ascended the throne of Naples. The dethroned king having asked leave from Napoleon to join him, received orders to remain in the department of Var. His wife and children were conducted to Trieste, in spite of the engagements entered into by the Austrians. Queen Caroline merely claimed the right of personal freedom.

Thus fell to pieces the last of the thrones raised in Europe by Napoleon for members of his family, a few days before the commencement of the great struggle which was to decide his fate as well as that of France, so imprudently identified with his destinies. The military preparations, as well as was possible within so short a time, were at last completed: and on 12th June the Emperor Napoleon left Paris, anxious about the state of affairs in the interior, the excited and confused state of men's minds, and that test of a new form of government which was about to be tried in painful and difficult circumstances. He had information of all the intrigues carried on

about him or abroad, by some of his own servants even, under Fouché's direction. "You will not succeed in governing the Chambers," he said to his ministers on the eve of his departure. "If I don't soon gain a battle they will eat you all up, however big you may be. Fouché thinks that assemblies are ruled by gaining over several old members, by finding their price, and flattering several young enthusiasts; but he is wrong. That is intrigue, and intrigue does not go far. In England, though those means are not absolutely neglected, they have others, much greater and more important. Pitt used to govern the Chambers by a movement of the eyebrow, and Castlereagh still does the same. Ah! if I had the same tools to work with, I should not fear the Chambers. But have I nothing similar? At present, we must get out of the difficulty as we best can. If I am victorious, we shall easily compel everybody to confine himself to his prerogatives; if I am conquered, God only knows what will become of you and myself!" Even when signing the act constituting the Council of Government, he still repeated "Ah! it is indispensable for you that I should gain a battle!"

The whole of Europe was waiting for that battle—that day which was to decide the fate of all. For more than a month the belligerents had paraded their forces, and Napoleon made unparalleled efforts to fill up the gaps caused by the reductions of the Restoration. He had found 180,000 men under arms, and by calling out soldiers on leave and retired veterans, brought up the efficient forces to 288,000. He still awaited the levy of 1815, the mobilized national guards—resources of no use on entering a campaign. The line, therefore, who alone were really fit for service, had to supply the wants of the interior, as well as face the dangers on the frontiers. Only 180,000 fighting men marched under the emperor's orders. The nucleus of the army was still composed of old troops accustomed to the hardships of war; even then and in the midst of those insufficient forces, a certain number of recruits marched for the first time against the enemy. France had not had an opportunity of resting after the efforts which had lasted for twenty-five years. "The moment is at hand to conquer or perish," said Napoleon to his soldiers on the 14th June, when reaching his head-quarters at Avesnes.

The forces of the allies had long been prepared. Wellington, resting on Brussels as the basis of his operations, counted about 100,000 men under his orders. Blücher, cantoned around Liège

with 120,000 soldiers, excited their ardor by his insatiable passion. The Russians, Austrians, and secondary powers of Germany, formed on the east an army of 300,000 combatants, which was still further from the theatre of war, and could not enter upon the campaign before the middle of July. The emperor was informed of this situation of the enemy, and drew out his whole plan of operations accordingly. He resolved to take the offensive immediately, in order not to have upon his hands at once the armies of the north and east. He proposed therefore to throw himself between the Prussians and the English, and then beat them, successively and separately, with an army of about the same strength as those of Blücher and Wellington taken separately. It was with this object that he ordered a concentration of troops on the northern frontiers, Beaumont being chosen as centre. On the evening of the 14th all the corps had come up, with only thick forests between them and the enemy, from whom they concealed our movements. The ardor of the soldiers was extreme. "The excitement of the troops," wrote General Foy on that date in his military journal, "is not that of patriotism, or enthusiasm, but an actual madness to fight for the emperor and against his enemies; no one thinks there is any question about the triumph of France."

Napoleon had fully decided to march immediately upon the enemy. The Duke of Wellington had labored to moderate Blücher's impetuosity by showing him the necessity of combining his operations with those of the eastern army, in order to invade the French territory on all points at once. His main object was to protect the new kingdom of the Netherlands, as that of the Prussians to defend the Rhenish provinces. The Duke of Wellington's brilliant staff had a constant succession of balls and entertainments at Brussels, where the great English general remained in case of an attack by the sea-coast. On the night of the 14th, Charleroi, being insufficiently defended by the Prussians, was carried by Generals Pajol and Rogiat; and other corps having crossed the Sambre at Marchiennes, the enemy fell back on Quatre-Bras and Fleurus. The emperor thus found himself placed between the two armies of the enemy, and advanced towards Namur, the road to which was barred by General Ziethen. Resolving to prevent the movements of the English, which could only be effected by the Quatre-Bras road, Napoleon at once took measures to take this important post from the Prussians. Marshal Ney had just arrived unexpectedly; there being some embar-

rassment in their relations, the emperor had sent him on a mission to the frontier without any further orders. When Ney took part in the Champ de Mai ceremony, Napoleon dryly saluted him with, "Ah! there you are; I thought you had gone abroad!"

He had now need of the marshal in the great engagement which was about to take place, and immediately entrusted him with the command of the left wing, enjoining him to husband his forces carefully, without, however, neglecting the effort necessary to occupy Quatre-Bras. "Do you know this post?" asked the emperor. "I certainly ought to know," replied Ney; "I served in a campaign here in my youth, and remember that it is the point where all the roads meet." "Exactly so," continued Napoleon; "take possession of it; the English might by means of it join the Prussians."

The emperor at the same time himself advanced towards Gilly, to carry the Prussian position near the river Soleilmont.

During his long military career, Marshal Ney held the character of being brave even to extreme rashness. On the 15th June, 1815, in presence of the perilous position of the army and France, he showed hesitation and fear, and, believing that he was threatened by superior forces, did not dare to advance as far as Quatre-Bras; but leaving a division at Frasnes, at about a league from the post he was to occupy, returned to Charleroi for new orders. Our forces were thus scattered, and the emperor ordered a concentration in the plain of Fleurus on the morning of the 16th, Marshal Ney's corps being still ordered to occupy Quatre-Bras. The orders were somewhat late. General Gerard's corps were much grieved at the departure of General Bourmont, who had formerly, after being leader of the Norman "Chouans," served the emperor and then King Louis XVIII. Wishing to continue his career, he had again entered the service during the Hundred Days till he was influenced by fresh insurrections in Vendée, and withdrew to Ghent. "The Blues are always blue, and the Whites always white," said Napoleon on hearing this news.

At noon he arrived with the army near the village and stream of Ligny. The Prussian masses deployed before us to defend the highway leading from Namur to Brussels. There were three villages on its banks, St. Amand-le-Hameau, St. Amand-la-Haye, and St. Amand the Greater. The generals suspected that the English were near, but Napoleon said they could not have yet arrived, that at the very most the advanced

guard might have attacked Ney at Quatre-Bras. He was now waiting for the signal of attack which was to have been given by his illustrious lieutenant's cannon; he had ordered him to fall on the Prussians' rear, after occupying the point where the roads met. When no cannon-shot was heard, Napoleon at last ordered the attack at half-past two, carrying immediately St. Amand the Greater and St. Amand-la-Haye. There was a keenly-contested struggle in the village of Ligny. After taking most of the houses, our soldiers could not pass beyond the village, because the Prussians' reserves were ranged out in an amphitheatre on the heights as far as the Windmill of Bry. The emperor had already twice sent an order to Ney to hurry his march, in order to execute the backward movement which he had already indicated. Forbin-Janson carried the following letter from the major-general; "Marshal, the engagement of which I gave you notice is very important; the emperor commands me to say that you are to manoeuvre immediately so as to surround the enemy's right and fall sharp on his rear. The Prussian army is lost if you act with vigor; the fate of France is in your hands."

The greatest of all misfortunes for an illustrious warrior is to find himself in a critical juncture inferior to the resolution demanded by necessity. Ney had this misfortune on the day of Quatre-Bras, whatever personal heroism he may have displayed. After receiving late information of the movements of the French, the Duke of Wellington, after giving his army orders to march, secretly left Brussels in the midst of a grand ball given by the Duchess of Richmond, and hurried to Quatre-Bras with Count Perponcher and several officers of his staff. On being informed of his arrival, Ney, who was already in hesitation when face to face with the small army of the Prince of Saxe-Weimar, believed that he was about to be attacked by the whole English army. General Reille was seized with the same apprehension, and had not advanced with his corps beyond Gosselies. Count Erlon, who was placed in rear, was ordered to make two contradictory movements. The emperor had commanded him to march on the mill of Bry, and after he had taken that direction, Ney insisted on his coming to his assistance. He was impatiently expected at Ligny when he turned to go back, and thus deprived the gallant defenders of the village of the support necessary to complete their victory. After losing most valuable time in marching and counter-marching, Erlon arrived at Quatre-Bras too late to assist Marshal Ney.

Blood flowed in torrents in the plain of Fleurus, and the battle assumed quite a new character of ferocity. The movement upon the Prussian rear not being executed, the emperor ordered a fresh manœuvre which at last compelled the enemy to evacuate the positions which had been so many times taken and retaken during the day. The Prussians retired, leaving a large number of dead on the blood-stained field. The high road from Namur to Brussels remained in our hands, but the enemy were allowed to retreat unmolested. No news had arrived from Quatre-Bras when the emperor returned to Fleurus at about eleven o'clock in the evening, leaving his troops to bivouac on the plain, exhausted as they were with marching and fighting. The battle was gained most creditably, but Napoleon waited for the report of Marshal Ney's operations.

It was three o'clock before Ney made up his mind to attack the 20,000 men of the English army who had just arrived at the important post which he was directed to occupy. After allowing them time to take up their position before him, he charged all along the line: and attacked by a trouble to which he was entirely unaccustomed on the battle-field, he persistently tried to break the English lines, hurling upon them charge after charge of cavalry with complete success at several points; but he was finally repulsed by the unyielding obstinacy of the enemy. At six o'clock Wellington received a reinforcement of 10,000 men; and a last attempt by Valmy's cuirassiers having failed upon Quatre-Bras, the marshal determined to remain on the defensive, and held his ground about Frasnes with heroic courage. Advancing on foot in the midst of his soldiers, Ney felt bitterly the uselessness of his efforts. As the bullets whistled round him like hail, the illustrious soldier muttered sadly, "Would to heaven they were all in my body!"

The English, however, had been detained at Quatre-Bras the whole day, and were thus unable to bring assistance to the Prussians. Napoleon took this into account, and made due allowance for it, when the marshal informed him of the results of the battle. He at once sent him orders to advance towards Brussels, the direction which he intended to take himself. He hoped to fight the English in front of the forest of Soignies, without leaving them time to rally the Prussians. Marshal Grouchy with the right wing, was at the same time ordered to watch the Prussians, pursue them and keep them apart from the English, whilst the emperor with his centre and left wing,

still amounting to 70,000 men both together, should advance against the Duke of Wellington.

On the 17th the whole day was occupied with the various movements necessary to come up to the enemy. A violent storm hindered the march, soaking the fields and rendering the transport of artillery extremely difficult. After staying some time at Quatre-Bras, the Duke of Wellington had fallen back upon the position on the height of St. Jean. He despatched an aide-de-camp to Marshal Blücher, to know if he could reckon upon being supported by one of his corps. "At one o'clock I shall be on the ground," replied the old hero, who on the previous evening had been trod under the horses' feet during the battle of Ligny; "if the French don't make an attack on the 18th, we shall certainly attack them on the 19th." In spite of their heavy losses, all the Prussian corps had rallied round Wavre, at four hours' distance from the English.

The emperor's last verbal instructions to Grouchy were "above everything push the Prussians forward vigorously and keep up constant communication with me by your left." During the whole day, on the 17th, the marshal, being led astray by indications which he had misunderstood, sought in vain for the Prussians, thinking they had marched towards the Rhine. In the evening the emperor sent him new instructions; "Pursue the Prussians with only one detachment, if they are on the road to the Rhine; do the same if they are marching upon Brussels. If they are posted in front of the forest of Soignies, keep them together and occupy them, while you detach a division to take the left wing of the English in rear." This order was as precise as it was prudent and masterly, and the fate of the day depended on its execution. Marshal Grouchy declared till the day of his death that he never received it. By an unfortunate neglect the message was not sent more than once, and over the confined area where the destinies of the world were then being decided there were numerous small detachments of the enemy. From Grouchy's personal report which arrived during the night, Napoleon felt somewhat confident that Grouchy had himself anticipated the manœuvre. His only fear now was lest the English should escape him by plunging into the forest of Soignies, and the two hostile armies effect a junction behind that thick curtain of verdure. At night, when out on a difficult reconnoitering expedition, under rain and cannon-shot, on suddenly coming in sight of the fires of the English behind Mont St. Jean, he exclaimed with heroic

joy, "Ah! I have them, those English! We have nine chances out of ten against them!" "I know them well, sire," replied Major-General Soult; "there are no troops to match them for the defensive; they will die on the spot, without stirring an inch." "I know all that," said the emperor, "but I shall manœuvre." He went to bed at his bivouac at the village of Rossomme; he slept, and the Duke of Wellington also reposed. The rain still continued falling. When Napoleon rose before daybreak, the clouds seemed to be going off, and General Drouot assured him that in five or six hours the ground would be firm enough to bear the weight of the artillery. "That will give Grouchy time to arrive," said the emperor. It was Blücher who gained by the attack being delayed.

I have no intention of entering upon a minutely detailed account of that keenly contested battle, so often described by eye-witnesses with contradictory statements and conclusions. The battle-fields extended over a space of nearly a league, from the old château of Hougomont on the right to La Haie-Sainte on the left. It was crossed by the highway from Brussels to Charleroi. Wellington occupied the small village of Waterloo, at some distance from the road passing in front of the farm of Mont St. Jean. The French army was grouped round the village of Belle-Alliance and the hamlet of Rossomme. The English positions were partly protected by the slope of the height, the summit of which was provided with formidable artillery. They had held their posts for some time; were well rested and fed, and quite prepared to endure the fight, as in the fatal days of the ancient struggles between the two nations at Crecy or Agincourt. The French came to the battle without having taken time to renew their strength by several hours of rest; the ardor which animated them was sufficient for every effort. The English general had taken the precaution to post a body of reserve on the road from Mons to Brussels, and had written to King Louis XVIII. to withdraw to Antwerp in case the French should march upon Ghent. The long trains of ambulance wagons which had gone to the capital with the wounded had meantime caused much excitement and alarm there, and the English, who were very numerous, were making preparations to leave it. Brussels was awaiting in terror the triumphant arrival of the Emperor Napoleon.

The fighting, however, was not begun before eleven o'clock, when Jerome Bonaparte's corps attacked the hedges, walls, and defences of the château of Hougomont. The English

were dislodged from it, and the building set on fire, with a body of foot guards still in possession of the main court.

It was round La Haie-Sainte, however, that the fighting raged with greatest fury. A charge of English cavalry had forced through Ney's battalions, carrying off his batteries, cutting the horses' traces, and sabring the cannoniers and artillerymen. On Napoleon sending reinforcements the fighting again began. Wellington, motionless under a tree, listened to the bullets and balls which crashed through the branches over his head: "Well directed," said he; "they did not aim so well as that in Spain." Marshal Ney was now master of La Haie-Sainte, and wished to push forward on the Brussels road, but already the practised eye and foreseeing genius of Napoleon anticipated the approach of the Prussians. No news had been received from Grouchy, and it was necessary to stop the new enemies who were advancing. Count Lobau was entrusted with this duty, and took up a position parallel to the Charleroi highway. At three o'clock the Prussians were on the ground, having easily crossed the thick woods which had been left undefended on account of Grouchy's arrival being expected. They immediately joined in the fighting; and, before going himself to this part of the battle-field, the emperor, who had no more infantry at his disposal, sent General Milhaud's cuirassiers to Ney, with instructions to wait for his orders before charging the English centre. On his way, Milhaud said to Lefebvre-Desnouettes, who was in command of the light cavalry of the guard, "I am going to charge; support me." Without waiting for other orders, the general put his corps in movement, and a terrible mass of men and horses advanced to the front. Ney, full of joy, and the hope of a great triumph in his eyes, exclaimed, "I undertake, entirely alone, to put an end to the English army!" And without waiting a moment in his unrestrainable impatience, he ordered the attack, at the moment when the Duke of Wellington had just reformed his lines which were shaken by serious losses: the batteries had been abandoned. A first charge of our cavalry having failed at this point, the second charge forced the ranks of the English brigade and drove them back violently upon the second line of infantry; the confusion became general. Scarcely had the corps of Lefebvre-Desnouettes arrived, when Ney hurled them into the furnace of battle, where each soldier, "being only witness of his own feats of prowess, could not tell how the fate of the day inclined." One after another the corps of the English cavalry came to measure

strength with our cuirassiers, fighting with a keen determination as unconquerable as the courage of their general. Ney, with his hat and clothes torn by bullets, mounting one horse as soon as another fell under him, always as inaccessible to fear as to death, rushed forward in the van of his soldiers; asking from the emperor the cuirassiers and grenadiers of the guards which he had not yet given. Napoleon beheld at a distance this terrible combat, begun without his orders. "It is too soon," said he; "too soon by an hour!" He ordered, however, the movement asked by Ney, who himself led the reinforcements to the attack, with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" Once again the English lines were broken, but they re-formed again after each charge, frequently hemming in some of our cavalry in their fatal circle. Wellington had on his side sent forward all that remained of his cavalry. Thus, one after another, all the corps were engaged in this ever-renewing struggle. Ney, more ardent and indefatigable than when the fighting began, in a transport of heroism and despair, asked for the infantry of the guard in order to triumph at last over the English resistance. "If we don't die here under the English bullets," said he to General d'Erlon, "there is nothing left for you and me but to fall miserably under those of the emigrants!" The emperor had shrugged his shoulders and said, "Infantry! where does he think I can get any? You see what I have on hand, and look at what I have still to cope with . . . !" In fact, Bulow's corps of 20,000 against Lobau's 10,000 soldiers were now being joined by the masses of Blücher's army, fresh for the fight, and the old Marshal himself had already arrived on the battle-field.

It was an essential part of Wellington's plan to wait for this assistance, every moment more and more necessary. General Picton had been killed at the head of the left wing, and when General Kemp, who replaced him in command, sent to ask the general-in-chief for reinforcements, Wellington replied, "Tell him that I have no reinforcements to send him. He and I and all the Englishmen here have only one thing to do, to die at our posts." "Hold firm, 95th," he said, a few minutes previously, under the attack of Milhaud's cuirassiers; "what will they say in England if we give way?" "Don't be afraid, sir," replied the soldiers, "we know our duty." "This is hot work," repeated the Duke twice, as he threw himself within one of the squares which had just been formed to meet a charge of the French cavalry, "but we shall stand it out!"

In every part of this battle-field, so obstinately contested, there was displayed the same enthusiasm, ardent or restrained, full of passion and determination to win the victory. The emperor himself rallied the young guard when giving way before the Prussians, and ordered two battalions of the old guard to support them. "My dear fellows," said he, "now is the critical moment; shooting is no longer of any use; you must close with the enemy, man to man, and throw them down at the point of the bayonet into the gully from which they have come to threaten the army, the empire, and France!" "Long live the Emperor!" shouted the grenadiers in reply, as they drove back the Prussians for a long distance, and crossed in their turn the gulf which lay between. In the distance approached Blücher's soldiers. Ney loudly called for the invincible veterans, who alone might decide the victory, and supported by General Friant, he at last hurled them forward upon the English centre. That was the decisive moment. General Hill, who had just joined Wellington, said, "You may be killed here, what orders do you leave me?" "To die on the spot to the last man, so that the Prussians may be all on the ground," replied the invincible leader of the English army.

Meanwhile Grouchy had not arrived, and the Prussians were all at hand. After Ney's heroic imprudence, and the absence of reinforcements which might turn the tide of battle, the emperor had only one more chance to try, that of crushing the centre of the English army. To meet the attack of the old guard, Mortland's regiment, who had been lying on the ground on the plateau by Wellington's order, suddenly rose and fired their muskets when almost touching their opponents. General Friant was wounded, and some squadrons of English cavalry, now relieved by the approach of the Prussians, charged in their turn. Our heavy cavalry were destroyed, and only 400 chasseurs of the guard remained at the disposal of the emperor. They rushed against the hostile tide which was ever advancing, but were everywhere out-numbered. The cuirassiers who held Mont St. Jean found themselves compelled to fall back to avoid the danger of being separated from the main body, and D'Erlon's corps were dispersed at the same time. Wellington had taken the offensive. Night being come, the soldiers could no longer distinguish the emperor, from whom alone they now derived confidence. The terrible suspicion of treachery pervading their minds, the ranks were becoming conscious of defeat. There was no longer any reserve in the

rear, the Prussians had forced our lines at Plancenois, and were all on the battle-field. The guard alone still resisted, forming in squares which kept constantly contracting as death made larger and larger gaps in their ranks. One cry was in the mouths of all, the expression of the single thought in all their hearts, whoever may have first chosen the words: "The guard dies, and never surrenders!" "Let none of us surrender!" was still repeated by the soldiers when there were not more than 150. The English fired with grape-shot upon this fortress of unconquerable hearts and arms. The wounded and dying took refuge behind the lines that were still standing. A final charge with the bayonet, urged by heroic despair and passion, signalized the last effort of the old guard. The emperor watched them from a distance, in the midst of the rushing and raging tide of battle. "All is lost; they are mixed together!" said he, when he saw the hairy hats of his grenadiers confounded with the English horses and soldiers. The confusion and rout were becoming general. Marshal Ney, after rallying the remains of the Durutte division, said to them, "Come, my friends, and see how a marshal of France dies!" and led them again to face the enemy, while the commander of the Rullière battalion detached the eagle from their standard and concealed it under his jacket. After a fifth horse had been killed under him, he headed the charge on foot, but without finding the death which he sought, and without receiving a single wound. A square of the 1st regiment of grenadiers surrounded the emperor with their ranks, and drew him to a distance from the battle-field. Not a word was spoken. On the Charleroi road, which was a crowded scene of frightful disorder, men flying and pursuing, foot soldiers and horse soldiers wounded and dying, all hurried on or fell in a confused mass. Wellington's aides-de-camp tried to draw him out of the danger in which he stood of being shot by both friends and foes. "What does it matter?" said the English general, as impassible in victory as during the fight, "let them fire as they like, the battle is gained!"

The Emperor Napoleon alone said a few words to the soldiers who were protecting him. His brother Jerome and the major-general marched by his side. No one knew what had become of several of the generals: some were killed, and a large number wounded, and more than 20,000 French soldiers remained on the battle-field. The Prussians had given no quarter. The English showed humanity to the wounded. "Leave it all to

me," said Blücher to Wellington, when the two leaders of the allied army met between Belle-Alliance and Plancenois. "I undertake the pursuit." A large number of the flying soldiers fell into the hands of his cavalry. Fortunately fatigue obliged them to halt at the small river Dyle. The Belgians everywhere received the escaping army with kindness.

The emperor advanced to Charleroi, whence he set out for Laon, ordering Jerome and Soult to lead the remains of the army towards that town. By a despatch sent in search of Marshal Grouchy, he was informed of the disaster, and ordered to retreat upon Namur. The orderly who carried the message met the marshal and his corps between Wavre and Limal. The previous evening they had made an ineffectual attack on Wavre, and General Gerard was severely wounded; yet though certain of death, he tried, with General Vandamme's concurrence, to persuade their chief to march to the noise of cannon at Waterloo, which thundered in the distance. Nothing now remained for him but to obey the emperor's instructions, as he ran the risk of being surprised by the victorious enemy, and thus adding a new misfortune to the deplorable position of affairs. He commenced the march towards Laon with his corps, saying repeatedly to his lieutenants, "When you see my orders, gentlemen, you will admit that I could not act differently from what I have done."

It was the end, and everybody knew it; none better than the Emperor Napoleon. He had risked on one cast of the die his fortune and his empire, but fate had betrayed him. He vainly made a final effort to enumerate the resources still at his disposition. When he reached Paris, on the evening of the 20th, urged by his councillors to return to his capital, and sorry to leave the army, he for a moment gave vent to his bitter disappointment before Caulaincourt. "The army fought magnificently," said he; "they were seized by a panic terror, and all was lost: Ney acted like a madman: he made me massacre my cavalry. I am quite knocked up, and must have two hours' rest before I do anything. I am choking!" While a bath was being prepared he said, "I shall at once assemble the two chambers in special session; I have no longer an army or a single musket; my only resource is the country. I hope the representatives will second me when they feel the responsibility which rests upon their heads."

The Duke of Vicentia made no reply. He had in vain tried to enlighten the emperor as to the state of public opinion in

Paris and the Chambers. The rumor of the disaster had spread over the capital, in spite of the lying message read by Regnault de St. Jean in the tribune of the representatives. For three days every battle had been represented as a brilliant victory, and on the 21st the minister of state announced that a great battle had been fought four leagues from Brussels; that the English army, after fighting the whole day, had been obliged to yield up the field, when some traitors by spreading alarm caused a state of disorder which the presence of his Majesty could not rectify; that some serious disasters were the result, but that his Majesty having come to Paris to confer with his ministers as to the means of restoring the material of the army, also intended to consult the Chambers as to what legislative measures present circumstances demanded.

No one considered the result of such false statements, not even those who suggested them. The emperor was aware of the distrust with which several leading representatives were animated against him. On the day after the elections they chose Lanjuinais to be president, as a living proof of their independence, and Napoleon felt greatly annoyed. During his absence, men's minds became more and more uneasy. The reports of Carnot, Caulaincourt and especially that of Fouché on the home and foreign affairs of France, had aggravated the alarm, without throwing the representatives into the emperor's arms. When discussing the reply to the speech from the throne, Lepelletier, an old "terrorist," proposed that the title "saviour of the country" should be conferred upon the emperor. "But wait till he has saved it!" exclaimed Dupin, then quite young.

Every hour the chance of safety seemed more doubtful. On the 21st of March, at the opening of the session, La Fayette mounted the tribune and said, "Gentlemen, when for the first time during many years I raise a voice which the older friends of liberty will still recognize, I feel that I am called to speak to you of the dangers of our country, which you alone at present have the power to save. Sinister rumors have spread . . . , and they are unhappily confirmed. The moment has now come for us to rally round our old tricolor flag of '89, the flag of liberty, equality, and public order, and it is this only which we have to defend against foreign pretensions and external aggression. Permit, then, a veteran of this sacred cause, who has never known party-spirit, to submit to you a few preliminary resolutions the necessity of which I trust you

will appreciate:—The chamber of representatives declares the national independence to be in danger; it declares its sittings permanent; it invites the ministers to throw themselves forth with upon its confidence.”

The proposition was carried unanimously.

Whilst the ministers were being thus appealed to in the chambers, they were assembled in Council with the emperor. Marshal Davout had found him in his bath, his body worn out with fatigue and his mind weighed down by misfortune, but he had recovered his strength, announced his intention of claiming from the country the dictatorial power which was necessary to him at this supreme crisis. The ministers looked at each other, confounded in the presence of the illusions which still existed in the mind of their master. “The emperor is wrong to count upon the chambers,” said the Duc Decrès, “they are resolved upon a separation from him.” Regnault de Saint Jean d’Angély expressed himself in the same sense. “Speak frankly,” said Napoleon, “it is my abdication which they desire.” “Yes, sire,” replied the Minister of State, “and if your Majesty does not tender it, the chamber will perhaps dare to demand it.”

Lucien Bonaparte now rose, always faithful in the time of trouble to that brother whose imperial yoke he had but lately shaken off.

Since the chamber does not appear disposed to join the emperor in order to save France,” he said, “the emperor must save her by himself. Let him declare himself dictator, put the country in a state of siege, and call all patriots and good Frenchmen to its defence.” “I do not fear the deputies,” cried Napoleon, “whatever they may do; the people and the army I have still. One word from me, and they would be annihilated.” At the same moment the proposal of La Fayette arrived from the chamber. Napoleon was troubled. “I was wrong not to dismiss all these people before my departure,” he said, “they will ruin France. Regnault has not deceived me; I will abdicate if I must.” Meanwhile, after long uncertainty and several vain attempts at reconciliation, the emperor decided upon sending Lucien as bearer of his message to the chamber. He entered in the uniform of the national guard, accompanied by Carnot, Caulaincourt, Fouché, and Davout, and said, “Gentlemen, being appointed commissioner extraordinary from his Majesty to the representatives of the people, I come to propose to them certain means of sav-

ing the country." He at the same time announced that a committee had been charged with renewing and carrying out negotiations with the foreign powers with the view of putting an end to the war. "But," added the emperor's message, "it is necessary that there should be the most complete harmony. I count upon the patriotism of the chambers and on their personal attachment to me."

Jay ascended the tribune. Moderate and honest by nature, he was that day the instrument of Fouché's intrigues. In a few simple but effective words, he asked the ministers if they believed peace to be possible as long as the Emperor Napoleon remained on the throne. Seeing their silence and embarrassment, he rose to eloquence, and described the deplorable condition of France, and concluded with a proposal that the chamber should demand the emperor's abdication. In vain did Lucien courageously attempt to defend his brother and reproach France for her inconstancy. La Fayette rose, and vividly expressed the general sentiment. "Prince, you are calumniating the nation. It is not for having abandoned Napoleon that posterity will be able to reproach France, but, alas, for having followed him too far. She has followed him in the fields of Italy, in the scorching Egyptian sands, in the burning fields of Spain, in the vast plains of Germany, and the icy wastes of Russia. Six hundred thousand Frenchmen sleep by the banks of the Ebro and the Tagus; can you tell us how many have fallen on the banks of the Danube, the Elbe, the Nieman and the Moskowa? Alas! had she been less constant, France would have saved two millions of her children; she would have saved your brother, your family, us all, from the abyss into which we are to-day being dragged, without knowing if we will be able to extricate ourselves from it."

The real gravity of the situation burst upon the chambers. It burst upon the Élysée Palace in spite of the emperor's agitation and changes of thought. He had received news from the army; about 50,000 men had already rallied at Laon, and some reinforcements could be counted upon; with the depots, some hundred thousand men could be formed. The military party was not absolutely lost, and the impassioned obstinacy of the great gambler was unwilling to abandon it. Two commissions had been appointed by the chambers, charged with deliberating with the ministers upon salutary measures. The home policy was discussed, but at every motion, at every proposal, the idea of the abdication cropped up in the propositions and

speeches. The representatives expected to hear it proclaimed on the morning of the 22nd of March. When they assembled in the hall at nine o'clock, they received a communication from General Grenier to the effect that several negotiators had been sent to the allies' camp charged with treating in the name of the chambers. The germ of the abdication was contained in this declaration, but the impatience of the representatives was not satisfied with this. It was said that the emperor still hesitated, and Fouché's creatures industriously disseminated the fear of seeing him all at once again vigorously take possession of power by a direct appeal to the people and the army. Forfeiture began to be talked of: a vote was even proposed. General Salignac, who had been disgraced under the empire, craved an hour of respite for his old chief, in order to give him time to take his resolution before voluntarily laying down the proudest sceptre in the world. "If I asked you to give him till to-morrow, or till this evening," he said, "I could understand your objections, but one hour!" "One hour! one hour! Let him have one hour!" was the cry from every bench. The news was immediately carried to Napoleon.

For a moment his pride revolted at the summons, and at the respite allowed him. "I will not abdicate for a hare-brained lot of Jacobins and adventurers!" he cried, "I ought to have denounced them to the people and turned them out; but lost time can be made up!" Then, recovering himself, and perceiving the vanity of his hopes and the uselessness of his anger, "Write to these gentlemen, that they need not disturb themselves," said he to Fouché, who took care to follow the progress of his own intrigues, "they are going to get all they want." Fouché wrote to Manuel. The emperor dictated his second abdication to Lucien Bonaparte. "Frenchmen, in commencing the war to sustain the national independence, I counted upon united efforts, united wishes, and on the concurrence of the national authorities. I had reasons for hoping for success, and I braved the declarations of all the powers against me. Circumstances appearing to be changed, I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they be sincere in their declarations that they have only cherished it against my person! My political life is over, and I proclaim my son Emperor of the French, under the title of Napoleon the Second. The present ministers will form provisionally the council of government. The interest which I take in my son

compels me to invite the chambers to organize a regency by law without delay. Unite yourselves in the interests of the public safety, and that you may remain an independent nation."

The emperor did not attempt to deceive himself as to the meaning of the step which he took in abdicating. "My son!" he repeated two or three times, "my son! what a chimera! No, no. It is not in favor of my son that I am abdicating, but in that of the Bourbons. They at least are not prisoners at Vienna!"

After some waverings, which for a moment seemed to be favorable to the preferment of Napoleon the Second, the chambers ignoring that part of the emperor's message, resolved upon the nomination of an executive committee charged provisionally with carrying on the government. Three of its members were to be elected by the Chamber of Representatives and two by the Chamber of Peers. Fouché, Carnot, and General Grenier were immediately chosen by the representatives, and a deputation was appointed to thank the emperor for his self-sacrifice. "I hope my abdication will be for the good of France," he replied to Lanjuinais, "but I do not expect it to be." Then, as if to satisfy his conscience, he commended his son to his care. "It is in his favor that I am abdicating," he said.

He repeated this to the delegates from the Chamber of Peers. A sad and violent scene had taken place in their assembly. Marshal Ney had arrived, still greatly distressed by the disasters of Waterloo, and declaring that all was lost and that nothing was left but to treat with the enemy. General Drouot had prevailed upon him not to contradict these assertions, and the imperial message had completed the work of sowing dissension among the peers. Lucien Bonaparte had insisted upon the proclamation of Napoleon II., some other members had protested against this, and Labédoyère had flown into a passion. "There are some people here who, lately at the feet of Napoleon fortunate, wish to abandon Napoleon unfortunate. If his son is not recognized, his abdication is annulled, and he ought to take it back. The traitors will perhaps put the finishing touch to their intrigues with the foreigner. I see some now on the benches who have already done so."—A tumult of shouts had interrupted the imprudent orator, and the chamber had appointed as members of the Executive Commission, Caulaincourt and Quinette, formerly members of the convention.

In vain did certain revolutionaries and old servants of the empire still adhere to the notion of a regency which they could

nominate under the name of Napoleon II. Public opinion, bold and steadfast in its good sense, went dead for the re-establishment of the Bourbons, the emperor once out of the way. Manuel, a young advocate of Aix, known to Fouché, who availed himself of his services without employing him, cleverly dissuaded the Chamber of Representatives from a vote in favor of Napoleon II., which might have the effect of interfering with its liberty of action. "What party have we to fear?" he said. "Is it the republican party? There is no reason to suppose that that party longer exists, whether in heads devoid of or in those matured by experience. Is it the Orleans party? That party, doubtless, by the protection which it offers to the principles and to the men of the revolution, would seem to offer more chances than any other for the liberty and happiness of the people; but we know that it has not many opinions on its side. Finally, is it the royalist party? Every one opposes it in the chamber, and we are generally agreed upon the promises of the future which it holds out to France. Nevertheless, it cannot be concealed that, especially among men who cannot rise above the level of their own selfish interests, there are numerous followers who are devoted to it, some from remembrance, sentiment, or custom, others by love of peace, welfare, and quiet enjoyment."

Manuel concluded by moving an order of the day on the simple ground that, Napoleon II. being Emperor of the French in his own right, his proclamation was not necessary. The Chamber adopted his idea, and contented itself by appointing Generals La Fayette and Sebastiani, Pontécoulant, Argenson and Laforest, to go to the head-quarters of the allies, to announce officially the abdication of Napoleon, and to treat for peace. Almost deserted at the Elysée, the emperor had retired to Malmaison, where Queen Hortense had been living since the death of her mother (May 29, 1814). The acts drawn up by the executive commission bore this significant title suggested by Fouché: "In the name of the French people."

Ever since the departure of the king, in the midst of that confusion of parties and opinions, there had existed on the part of the constitutional royalists, an ardent and sincere desire to let the fugitive monarch know the truth about the state of France, and to convey to him useful suggestions as to the course he should pursue. "It was not only necessary to insist upon the necessity for his persevering in the constitutional system, and in the open acceptance of French society, such as

modern times had made it, it was necessary to enter into personal questions; to tell the king the presence of Blacas near him was essentially prejudicial to his cause; to demand the banishment of the favorite; to call forth some act, some public words which would serve to explain frankly the intentions of the king before again possessing himself of the government of his estates; to persuade him, in fine, to trust implicitly in the counsels of M. de Talleyrand, with whom, moreover, at this time, hardly any of the men who gave this advice had the slightest relation, and for whom even the majority of them had little liking." *

M. Guizot accepted this difficult mission, and has often been blamed for its unfortunate conclusion. He found at Ghent his friends, Jaucourt, Louis, Beugnot, Lally-Tollendal, and Mounier, sad and broken-spirited, bravely struggling against the passions and designs, odious or ridiculous, of party-spirit. He saw the king, calm in the midst of the storm which was raging around him. "What troubles us, sire, is that, believing in the re-establishment of the Monarchy, people have no confidence in its lasting." "Why? when the great maker of revolution is removed, the Monarchy will last. It is clear of course, that if Bonaparte returns to the island of Elba, it will be begun afresh; but when he is finished, revolutions will be finished too." "There are other things to be feared besides Bonaparte, sire. People fear the weakness of the royal government; its vacillation between old and new ideas and interests; the disunion, or at least the disagreement, of its ministers." Guizot mentioned Blacas. "I will stick to everything I have promised in the Charter," replied Louis XVIII., "what does it matter to France what friends I keep in my palace, so long as no act emanates from it which does not meet her views?" The battle of Waterloo had precipitated events and rendered prompt decisions inevitable. The king set out for Mons; there he got rid of Blacas appointed ambassador at Naples; at the same time, and while refusing his resignation, Louis XVIII. had coldly received Talleyrand. This conduct was neither prudent nor clever. Europe wished to see with whom she was going to treat, and Talleyrand had made a great name in Vienna for success and ability. On the advice of the Count d'Artois, the king directed his steps towards Cateau-Cambrésis, the head-quarters of the English army. Pressed by Pozzo di Borgo to put an end to

* Guizot's *Mémoires pour servir*, etc., vol. i.

these difficulties, the Duke of Wellington wrote to Talleyrand at Mons. "I greatly regret," he said, "that you did not accompany the king here. It is I who have eagerly persuaded him to enter France at the same time as we do. Had I been able to tell you the motives which have directed me in this circumstance, I do not doubt that you would have given the king the same advice. I hope you will come and hear them." Talleyrand immediately joined the king at Cambrai. A liberal proclamation, drawn up by Beugnot, and containing the indications of a sound policy, was signed without difficulty by Louis XVIII. Monsieur had protested violently, and he obtained with trouble a few unimportant modifications. The armies of the allied powers were already on the march towards Paris. A proclamation of the Duke of Wellington, dated June 24th, announced to the French people that he entered their country not as an enemy (except of that enemy of the human race, with whom he could have neither peace nor truce), but in order to aid them in shaking off the iron yoke which had oppressed them. Marshal Blücher, intoxicated with the vengeance which he had exercised, and with that which he was preparing, loudly announced his intention of seizing and punishing Napoleon if he could get him into his clutches, without waiting for what the allied powers should determine upon with regard to him. "It will not accord with the part we have played during these late events to debase ourselves to the trade of the executioner," the Duke of Wellington said to him. At Paris, Fouché had let Vitrolles out of prison, and charged him with making his advances to Louis XVIII. "Perhaps we shall not go quite straight, but we shall finish by arriving at him," the Duke of Otranto had said. "Have no fear for your head, it will be put on the same hook as mine, which is, it is true, in some very tolerable danger. All the madmen in the army have sworn to make me out a bad lot. We are working here in the king's service; perhaps meanwhile we shall have to go by way of Napoleon II. and the Duc d'Orleans."

"In the deplorable condition into which the enterprise of an heroic and chimerical egotism had thrown France, there was clearly only one course to follow, namely, to recognize Louis XVIII., to take action upon his liberal ideas, and to act in concert with him in order to treat with the foreigners. This was a duty in the interests of peace, and a course calculated to afford the best chances of diminishing the evils of invasion, for Louis XVIII. alone was able to repel them with some authority.

To accept without hesitation or delay the second restoration, and to place the king between France and Europe, was the course clearly pointed out by patriotism and common sense. But not only was this not done, but everything was done, or was allowed to be done, which was necessary to make the restoration appear the work of foreign efforts only, and to make France, after her military defeat, undergo a political and diplomatic one. The chamber of the hundred days lacked intelligence and resolution. It did not lend itself either to imperial despotism or to revolutionary violence, it did not become the instrument of any of the extreme parties, it applied itself honestly to the task of holding back France on the brink of the abyss into which they would have liked to push her; but its policy was entirely negative, it beat about timidly outside the harbor, instead of resolutely entering, shutting its eyes when it reached the bar, and submitting, not through confidence, but through weakness, to the infatuation and obstinacy of the old or new enemies of the king. It was to these hesitations, to these fruitless gropings of the only public power then in existence, that Fouché owed his importance and his ephemeral success. When honest men fail to understand and carry out the designs of providence, dishonest people undertake the task. On the spur of necessity, and in the midst of general impotence, there always gather together certain corrupt spirits, bold and sagacious in discovering what is likely to happen, and what contingencies may arise; and they make themselves the instruments of a triumph which does not actually belong to them, but by which they succeed in giving themselves airs in order to appropriate for themselves its fruits. Such a man was the Duke of Otranto in the hundred days. A revolutionary turned grand seigneur, and wishing to ingratiate himself under this double character with the old French royalty, he displayed in the pursuit of his object all the *savoir-faire* and audacity of a gamester, endowed with more foresight and wisdom than his fellows."* Through the endless labyrinth of these complicated and shameless intrigues Fouché marched, always with the definite view to the restoration of the Bourbons, but he required time in order to serve his personal interests under the Restoration; he was not anxious for the conclusion.

Others were more urgent, perhaps because they were honest and sincere. Marshal Davout had been badly treated by the

* Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*

court in 1814; he had at that time dipped into the military plots, and had actively and ardently served the Emperor Napoleon during the hundred days. After the battle of Waterloo, he saw France conquered, and ready to be once more torn by civil war; he took his resolution courageously, and received favorably the advances which Marshal Oudinot had been charged to make to him, by Vitrolles. With the consent of Fouché a grand council was convoked, to which were nominated the presidents, vice-presidents, and secretaries of the two chambers. The marshal demonstrated from military reports that the army was henceforth unfit to oppose the allied forces; then, as all present remained silent, he repeated: "In the light of the tidings that have reached me from the departments, as well as from the corps posted on the Moselle, and the Rhine, I regard France as lost, if she does not hasten to treat with Louis XVIII." He immediately added some conditions. The king, he thought, ought to enter Paris without a foreign guard, accepting the national colors, guaranteeing the personal security of every one, and the conservation of all property and appointments, and, finally, maintaining the Legion of Honor as the principal order of the State.

The marshal thus cut the knot of the situation with a firm hand, accustomed to serve France resolutely; the hesitations and dislikes of the old conventionals, obstructed and delayed the decision. They were encouraged in their opposition by the report that certain commissioners had just been received, empowered to treat with the allies. Before advancing towards Haguenau, where the allied sovereigns were at the time, they had seen the Duke of Wellington and Blücher at Laon, and they had gathered some impressions rather than obtained any categorical declarations. They transmitted to the feeble executive power which governed France provisionally, their opinion that the allied princes were not absolutely opposed to the ascension of Napoleon II., and that they did not insist upon the restoration of the Bourbons. This assurance circulated in the chambers by the members of the grand council whose wishes it flattered, increased the excitement and uncertainty. Meanwhile the hostile armies approached Paris. The commissioners of the chambers had not been allowed to come near the sovereigns in Alsace; they had taken the way back to Paris, not without difficulty. Negotiators were chosen afresh, and were charged to treat for an armistice with the victorious generals. The intrigues of Fouché brought them within reach of

the Duke of Wellington, who was always steady, sensible, and favorable to the restoration, pure and simple, of the house of Bourbon to the throne. He communicated to the commissioners of the executive the declaration signed at Cambrai by King Louis XVIII., counselling them to hold by the Charter of 1814, without claiming to impose on the king any humiliating conditions. A homogeneous and strongly constituted ministry was alone necessary to assure good government. Louis XVIII. had promised to confide the direction of it to Tallyrand. The Duke of Wellington did not conceal from the negotiators that the advice of the Austrians and of the majority of the allied princes was, that they should not grant an armistice, and that they should not consent to treat before occupying Paris. Already Marshal Blücher had caused the environs of the capital to be devastated by his cavalry. He had blown up several of the bridges on the Seine, and had posted his troops on the left bank.

The possible defence of Paris remained the last hope of the determined adversaries of the Restoration. More than 60,000 men were united under the hand, or were within the reach of Marshal Davout. "If he would only engage in a battle," said he, "I am ready to fight, and I hope to win." "Are you able to answer for the victory?" slyly asked Fouché. "Yes," replied the marshal; "if I am not killed in the first two hours." Carnot and Marshal Soult held the defence to be impossible, even after the gain of a battle.

It was necessary to be prepared for the most painful alternative; with hearts full of patriotic anger and sadness, the executive commission resolved to send plenipotentiaries to Marshal Blücher, who had drawn nearer to Paris than the Duke of Wellington, in order to obtain the renewal of the armistice negotiations. They believed themselves certain of a favorable reception. Marshal Davout, at the head of the troops, had great difficulty in restraining their eagerness to fight. He repressed at the same time his own indignation in the presence of the menacing enemy. The three negotiators, Bignon, interim minister of foreign affairs, General Guilleminot, and Bondy, perfect of the Seine, arrived, at his headquarters at Montrouge. They came to demand his signature to the projects of negotiation. The excitement was as great among the officers as among the soldiers. "Better to die fighting than to capitulate to the allies," reiterated the generals grouped around their illustrious leader. But France could not

perish like her heroic defenders. After a brief and final reconnaissance, Marshal Davout signed, as all the members of the executive commission had done. "I have sent a flag of truce," he said to Bignon, "you can set out."

It was a clever thought of Fouché to direct the plenipotentiaries to the head-quarters of Blücher, who, always violently opposed to the French, was jealous of the Duke of Wellington, and therefore felt flattered by the appearance of the negotiators in his camp. The English general, however, was not slow in arriving. Each had taken a side, inflexible on the important points regarding which the commissioners were empowered to treat primarily. Discussion was impossible, and the instructions of the sovereigns were as summary as the decisions of their generals. The plenipotentiaries had proposed several plans, and they were reduced to accept conditions more unfavorable than they could have foreseen. The French army should evacuate Paris and the environs within three days, and retire beyond the Loire, carrying with it its arms, artillery, and baggage. The officers of the federates were assimilated to the regular troops. The allies, once in possession of Paris, should reinstate the national guard in the interior service. The commanders of the allied armies undertook to respect and to uphold the actual authorities as long as they were in force. Public property should be respected, except that which had relation to war. In virtue of this exception we should soon lose all the treasures accumulated in our museums by victory, and which the allies had spared in 1814. Article 12 stipulated that the persons and property of private individuals should be respected; "The inhabitants and generally the individuals within the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or affected in anything relative to the duties which occupy them or have occupied them, to their conduct and to their political opinions." The enemy's generals raised no objection to this article. In his declaration of Cambrai, King Louis XVIII. had announced the intention of making some exceptions to his general clemency.

The capitulation was signed in the evening of the 3rd of July, and at four in the following morning the plenipotentiaries returned to Paris, nearly heart broken with grief, but assured in their conscience that they obtained all that it was possible to obtain from the immovable resolution of the victors. Saint Ouen, Saint Denis, Clichy, and Neuilly had to be evacuated on the same day; Montmartre on the 5th, the day following; and

on the 6th all the other barriers of the capital were to be handed over to the enemy. The movement of evacuation began immediately, at every moment interrupted by the passionate emotion of the army. Marshal Davout, at the head of his corps, seconded by the honest efforts of General Drouot, succeeded in re-establishing order in the exasperated multitude, ready to refuse obedience to the chiefs, whom it accused of having dishonored it. Meanwhile the indignation was directed especially against Fouché. The soldiers of Waterloo were still too devoted to the emperor to shift to his shoulders the grievous weight of the misfortunes of the Fatherland.

The army had slowly taken the road for the Loire, everywhere directed by Marshal Davout. Imposing even in his misfortune, he threatened the Austrians, who were preparing to cross the boundary agreed upon on the upper Loire, and held in check at the same time his enemies and his soldiers. He had laid down his functions as minister of war in order to fulfil this mournful mission, and would have no other title than that of "general-in-chief of the army of the Loire." Thanks to the generous advances of a rich banker, Laffitte, whose name was destined soon to become known, he had been able partly to discharge the arrears of pay due to the soldiers.

The capitulation of Paris had been facilitated by the removal of the Emperor Napoleon from the environs. It was one of the principal points in the instructions of the allied sovereigns that the person of Napoleon was to be delivered up to them. French honor shrank from this unworthy concession. Almost alone at Malmaison, Napoleon wavered between the desire of taking refuge in America and the idea of throwing himself on the mercy of Russia or England. He had finished by requesting that two frigates in the roads at Rochefort should be prepared to take him to America. "Since the society of men is denied to me," he had said, "I will take refuge in the bosom of nature, and there I shall live in the solitude which harmonizes with my last thoughts." Meanwhile he was troubled by the rumors which reached him concerning the chimerical projects of his friends as well as by the danger which threatened him from the hatred of the allies. At the last moment he proposed to the executive commission to place him again for a few hours at the head of the troops. "The resources of the enemy are exhausted," said he to General Beker, who was charged at the time with guarding and protecting him, "We can throw ourselves between them; and under my orders the

army will fight with the courage of despair. I shall conquer not for myself but for France, and I pledge the word of a soldier to restore on the spot the authority to the Provisional Government. I shall not keep it for a single hour after victory."

Vain projects of an ardent and solitary imagination, driven to the last limits of an existence given up to the most unheard of adventures! The proposal was immediately rejected by Fouché, who hastened the departure of Napoleon, which had been already decided upon. On the evening of the 29th of June, the emperor left Malmaison on the way to Rochefort, accompanied by General Bertrand, the Duc de Rovigo, and General Gourgaud. All his relations were to join him in America. At the moment of his departure, Queen Hortense constrained the emperor to accept the diamond necklace which she wore. He took the road for Rambouillet, still repeating, while he was leaving for ever that capital to which the noble generosity of King Louis Philippe was one day to bring back his ashes, "The Provisional Government does not know the spirit of France, it is too anxious to get me away from Paris; if it had accepted my last proposition the appearance of matters would have changed."

Meanwhile, King Louis XVIII. was approaching Paris. At Roye, where he had stopped, the emissaries of Fouché had begun their final attack in order to assure for their chief the price of his services. Monsieur went into it with ardor. "That is a new passion and one which does not come to you through Divine inspiration," said the king, laughing. He made some resistance. "In spite of what he had said to me at Ghent with regard to the regicides," says Guizot, in his *Mémoires*, "I doubt whether he made any strong resistance. His dignity was not always sustained by strong conviction or by energetic feeling, and it could sometimes give way before necessity. He had as guarantee of the necessity in this circumstance the two authorities best calculated to influence his decision and to protect his honor, namely, the Duke of Wellington and the Comte d'Artois. Both pressed him to accept Fouché as his minister—Wellington, in order to assure for the king an easy return, and also in order that he himself, and England along with him, should remain the chief authors of the Restoration, while putting a quick stop to the war before Paris, where he was afraid of seeing himself compromised in the odious rage of the Prussians; the Comte d'Artois, by im-

patient activity, always ready to promise and to agree, engaged beforehand by Vitrolles in the snares which Fouché had planted everywhere for the royalists. Louis XVIII. yielded; he promised to nominate Fouché as minister of police, and on the 6th of July, at the Castle of Arnouville, the king signed the ordinance with a visible effort. Some hours later, Fouché, the regicide, one of the most hateful among the hateful tribunes of the "Terror," was received into the king's cabinet. This was an uncalled-for degradation, which by a little patience the royal dignity might have avoided. Fouché was not in possession of the keys of Paris, and France, by the necessities of the situation, was inevitably urged towards the Bourbons. Fouché was not to enjoy a long triumph, but his momentary triumph brought disgrace and weakness to the restored monarchy.

Fouché's excuse throughout his intrigues, and his determination, as boldly displayed before the chambers, was to impose liberal conditions on the monarch. The pretext of patriotism produced no result. In an interview which took place at Neuilly between the Duke of Wellington, Talleyrand, Pozzo di Borgo, and Golz, on one side, and the Duke of Otranto on the other, the latter found himself compelled to accept the king's voluntary promises thus summed up by Talleyrand:—"The whole of the old Charter, including the abolition of confiscation, the non-renewal of the law of last year as to the liberty of the press; the immediate election of a new chamber by the electoral colleges, the unity of the ministry, the reciprocal initiative in laws, by message from the Crown, and on the proposal of the chambers; an hereditary right to the Chamber of Peers."

It was, in fact, almost a return to the situation of the preceding year. Although Talleyrand accompanied that declaration with the most liberal assurances, they were not sufficient to satisfy the chambers, who were generally influenced by a strong antagonism against the House of Bourbon, and had for several days been discussing a proposal of a Constitution, which, in many points, indicated democratic and revolutionary distrust. It was, nevertheless, necessary to decide on a plan. "The English are now arriving!" repeated sensible men, tired of hearing useless theories pompously detailed in the midst of the dangers now threatening the country. "Though the English are on the spot," replied Dupin, "I shall insist on expressing my opinion, and shall enounce it." The Chamber of Rep-

representatives proudly voted a declaration of rights, to which they remained invariably attached. The Chamber of Peers refused to adhere to them. All the gates of Paris were already in the hands of the allies.

The day was now come to determine so much fatal indecision, which had become childish or hypocritical. The executive commission sat in the Tuileries, on the 7th of July, whilst the columns of the allies, poured, without disorder, through the streets and boulevards of the capital, and took possession in succession of all the public buildings, strongholds, and the Champ de Mars. There were cannon placed everywhere; the crowds gathered in the streets silently and gloomily. A Prussian officer entered into the Council-hall, and said, "I have orders to take possession of the palace." On Fouché protesting, the officer repeated his orders. The new Minister of Police of King Louis XVIII. took a sheet of paper and wrote to the presidents of the new Chambers: "Monsieur le President, till the present we were led to believe that the allied sovereigns had not come to an agreement in choosing a prince to reign over them. Our plenipotentiaries have given us the same assurances on their return. Nevertheless, the ministers and generals of the allied powers declared yesterday at the conference held with the president of the commission, that all the sovereigns had undertaken to replace Louis XVIII. on the throne, and that he must make his entry into the capital to-night or to-morrow. The foreign troops have just taken possession of the Tuileries, where the Government is sitting. Under the present circumstances, we can do nothing for our country, but express our best wishes, and since our deliberations are no longer free, we feel it to be our duty to separate."

In reality, and by the very force of circumstances, the allied sovereigns showed their intention to replace King Louis XVIII. upon the throne of France, and Fouché put in their mouths words which they had not really spoken. He showed equal audacity next day, in inserting the following paragraph in the *Moniteur*:—"The Commission of the Government has informed the king through its mouthpiece, the president, that it is just dissolved, and the peers and deputies appointed under the late Government have received information to that effect. The chambers are dissolved. The king will enter Paris to-morrow, at eleven o'clock. His Majesty will stop at the Tuileries."

The executive commission had entrusted Fouché with no

message to the king, and the representatives were violently excited against the sort of orders they had received. On presenting themselves next day at the doors of the Palais Bourbon, they found them closed by order of the Prefect of Police, and fifty-three of them signed a protest, and lodged it with Lanjuinais. On the following day, the 8th of July, King Louis XVIII. entered Paris, welcomed with real sincerity by the populace, but without the display of enthusiastic delight which signalized his previous arrival. Marshal Masséna, on the previous evening, had again attempted, in the name of the colonels of the national guard, to obtain permission from the king to retain the tricolor; and Oudinot assisted him, but Louis XVIII. obstinately refused, in spite of the advice of the Duke of Wellington. "What a people!" said the illustrious leader of the English army; "it is easier to make them accept a regicide than a reasonable idea!"

On the same day as Louis XVIII. entered Paris, General Beker, who had arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd of July with the Emperor Napoleon, received from the executive commission, who were still acting, the order to hasten the exile's embarkation. The latter had been hitherto delaying; the English cruisers, it was reported, threatened his safety and were ready to attack the frigates. The emperor wished a safe-conduct to be asked from Wellington. At Rochefort various plans for escape were proposed; and before leaving Paris he had refused La Fayette's offer to get him conveyed to America by a merchant-vessel belonging to that nation. The regiment of marines garrisoned on the island of Aix showed great enthusiasm for Napoleon, who amused himself in reviewing them. General Beker insisted on the necessity for departure; the Prefect of Marine was authorized to embark the emperor in a man-of-war's boat, if the state of weather or presence of the enemy prevented the use of frigates; but, should he prefer to go on board an English vessel or to England itself, an ambassador was to be put at his disposition. Only two English frigates closed the entrance to the harbor.

It was to Captain Maitland, who was in command of the "Bellerophon," that Napoleon sent Rovigo and Las Cases on the night of the 9th July. Their orders were to inquire about the safe-conducts which had been asked, and at the same time sound the English officer as to the manner in which he should think it his duty to treat the emperor if either taken when out at sea, or if he should present himself on board! With refer-

ence to the first point, the captain's answer was very simple. He knew nothing as to the request for safe-conducts; in their absence, he should, of course, stop any war-ship attempting to force the blockade, and should also stop any neutral vessel attempting to escape. He had received no instructions with regard to the person of the emperor, but was disposed to believe that England would always show him the respect due to the high position he had held.

After some hesitation and several new proposals for outwitting the vigilance of the English cruisers, Napoleon decided to fall back upon his original intention. Now at bay, and reduced to the necessity of risking an absolutely desperate attempt to save himself, he wished to make before the world a final display as striking as it was painful. On the 14th of July, he wrote as follows to the Prince Regent of England:—

“Your Royal Highness,—After being aimed at, both by the factions which divide my country, and by the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have finished my political career, and now come, like Themistocles, to sit down by the hearth of the English people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most steadfast, and the most generous of my enemies.”

No law of the English constitution could extend its protection to the mortal enemy of England and Europe, after he had just given a new proof that oaths were powerless in chaining him down to enforced repose. Napoleon was secretly conscious of this, but he wished to risk this last chance of the hostile nation being imprudently generous. He delivered himself up to the risk of appearing betrayed. “Don't accompany me on board,” he said to General Beker, when setting out to embark on the “*Bellerophon*,” “I don't know what the English intend doing with me; and should they not respond to my confidence, it might be said that you have sold me to England.”

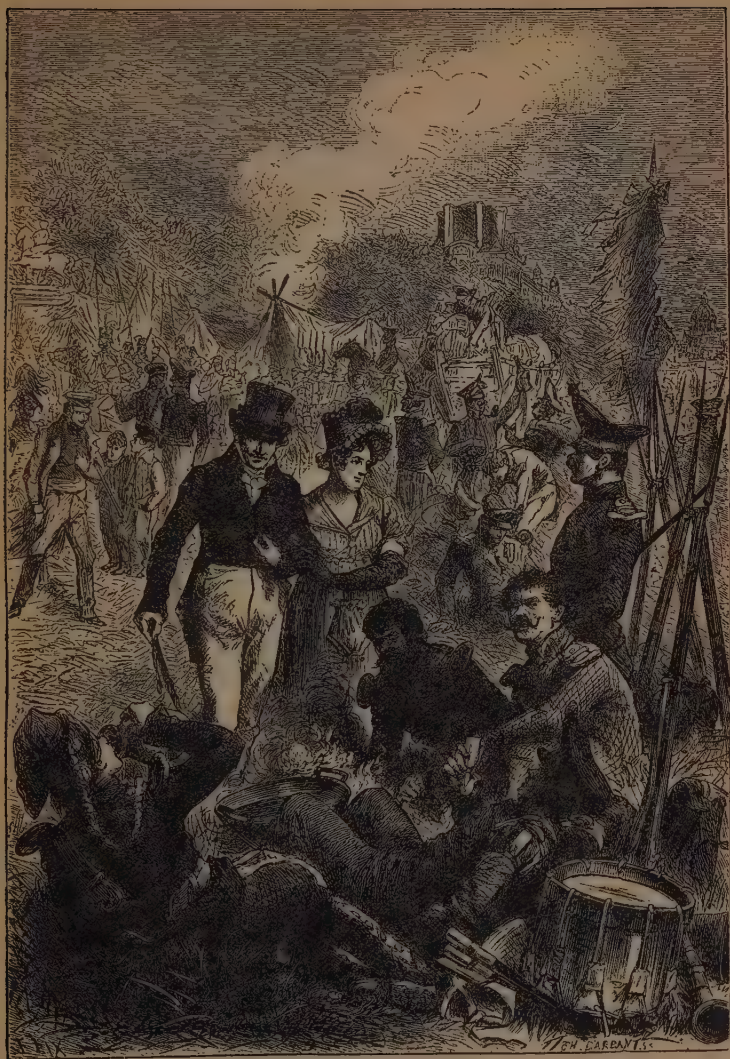
“The emperor went on board the English frigate on the 15th. General Gourgaud was not permitted to go to London with Napoleon's letter to the Prince Regent. On the 24th, the “*Bellerophon*” brought into Plymouth harbor its illustrious passenger, who was speedily besieged by the insatiable British curiosity, all Captain Maitland's endeavors to keep off visitors being insufficient.

Meanwhile, the question was being discussed in London what place would be sufficiently sure for the transportation of

the dangerous enemy who had at last, after so long and keenly-contested struggles, fallen into the hands of the English people. It had been decided to treat him as a prisoner of war, and that he should be deprived of his sovereign title and asked to give up his sword. Thus a vengeance legitimate enough to bear the name of justice was meanly gratified. Several members of the English cabinet proposed to deliver up the outlaw to the King of France; but at last the decision was that he should be conducted to St. Helena, a rock lost amid the Atlantic, between Africa and America, the most solitary of all prisons. Only three of his old servants were to be allowed to accompany him in his exile, and he was to be deprived of all personal resources.

When Lord Keith, the admiral in command at Plymouth, appeared before Napoleon with orders to announce the fate in store for him, the emperor listened unmoved, as if he had anticipated the whole. He discussed several points, and asked some questions as to the details, while retaining a quiet and natural dignity that imposed respect on the most hostile of his enemies. Throughout all England there were violent outcries against him, and the journals resounded with shouts of hatred and vengeance. When Lord Keith went towards Napoleon to demand his sword, the latter only replied by a look, at the same time placing his hand on the hilt. The admiral did not insist upon it.

It was on the 8th of August, 1815, that the Emperor Napoleon left the English coasts to cross the seas towards his prison. He was still in the prime of life, and having long enjoyed robust health, seemed still to have many years before him. Six years exhausted his physical strength and sometimes his moral courage. The weight of his captivity was to be unnecessarily increased by paltry annoyances and severity; and he resented them with a bitterness which the isolation and weariness alone might excuse. When, at last, he expired, on the 5th of May, 1821, Europe, astonished that "*ce mortel était mort*," felt itself delivered from a secret and perpetual apprehension. The French people preserved in their hearts a remembrance of which they were thirty years later to prove the persistence. Though exhausted, crushed, vanquished, and reduced, France always remained dazzled and giddy by the whirlwind of glory in the midst of which he had kept her for more than fifteen years. The rest of a long peace was now at last to heal her wounds, without exciting her gratitude for



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those who healed her, or effacing from her eyes the sight of the "deepest print ever left by mortal foot on the blood-stained dust of the world."

The genius and renown of Napoleon have nothing to fear from the light of history; justice is being done him and will continue to be done every new generation. Illustrious in the foremost rank amongst the greatest conquerors of enslaved humanity, whether subduing, ruling, or organizing, equally great by military genius, and by the supreme instinct of national government, he was constantly carried away by selfish passions and desires, whatever their importance or unimportance might be, and took no cognizance of the eternal laws of duty and justice. Corrupt, he corrupted others; despotic, he subdued minds and debased consciences; all-powerful, he constantly made a bad use of his power. His glorious and blood-stained traces remained soiled not only by faults but by crimes. The startling dream with which he dazzled France had disappeared; the memory still remains, weakened, but always fatal to our unhappy country, in her days of weariness and dejection. It is necessary that she should know what the glory and triumph of the first Empire cost her: nor must she forget the degradation and tears which were a second time to be brought upon her by the same name.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. THE RESTORATION UNDER KING LOUIS XVIII. (1815—1824).

THE Restoration of 1815 remained burdened with a bitter and heavy heritage, which it afterwards rendered more grievous by its own faults. The first months which elapsed after the definitive return of Louis XVIII. to France were disturbed by painful political antagonism, and by much imprudent severity displayed in the name of justice. We now, however, enter upon a new era, till then unexampled in our history, during which France, at peace in spite of its internal agitation, constantly tended towards that government of the country by the country which remains and shall remain the object of the most noble hopes. The sentence, "Happy the nation who has no

history!" has often been ridiculed. It is indeed false in its first application, since every free people has a history daily recommencing with animation, ardor, and effect; but it is true in this point that the inner history of free peoples is especially engraven on men's memories by striking and simple traits. Its incidents from day to day are not striking enough to excite the attention of all: it is by practical results and the general result of its powerful influence on the destinies of the country that effects of the Parliamentary régime must be judged.

In July, 1815, King Louis XVIII. had scarcely entered the Tuileries before he had to form a "homogeneous" ministry, united in the same thought and from their common object. Talleyrand had already been appointed the leader by the king, in accordance with the express wish of England and Austria; and Fouché, by dint of intriguing and perfidious cunning, obtained a place which was granted with great repugnance by Louis XVIII. The ministry of the interior had been in vain offered to Pozzo di Borgo. Pasquier remained interim Home Minister, being at the same time Minister of Justice. He summoned Guizot from the Ministry of Justice to be Secretary-General, without much personal favor towards him, but from a strong conviction of his merit. From its very origin, and in spite of the conscientious efforts both of the king and his best councillors, the new power as constituted immediately after the fall of Napoleon was weak and was to remain so.

"Talleyrand performed a great feat in Vienna. By the treaty of alliance concluded on the 3rd of January, 1815, between France, England, and Austria, he put an end to the coalition formed against us in 1813, and cut Europe into two to the advantage of France. But the events of the 20th March overthrew his work, and the European coalition was again formed against Napoleon and France, which made itself or allowed itself to be made the instrument of Napoleon. There was now no chance of breaking this formidable alliance. The same feeling of disquietude and distrust with reference to us, the same purpose of firm and lasting union animated the sovereigns and peoples. In this close intimacy again formed against us, the Emperor Alexander was specially indignant against the house of Bourbon and Talleyrand, who had shown a wish to deprive him of his allies. The second restoration, moreover, was not, like the first, his work or personal glory. The honor now belonged mainly to England and the Duke of Wellington. From motives of self-love as well as policy, the

Emperor Alexander went to Paris, which he reached on the 10th of July, 1815, with coldness and ill-temper towards the king and his councillors.

“France and her king were nevertheless in pressing want of the Emperor’s good services. They were now face to face with the passionate rancor and ambition of Germany. Her diplomatists drew up the map of our territory* deprived of the provinces which they wished to take from us. Her generals mined in order to blow up the monuments which recalled their defeats in the midst of their victories. Louis XVIII. resisted with dignity such foreign coarseness: he threatened to have his chair placed on the ‘Bridge of Jena,’ and asked Wellington openly if he thought that the English government would consent to receive him if he were to ask again for refuge.” Wellington cooled down Blücher’s passion as well as he could, and tried to remonstrate with him. But neither the dignity of the king nor the friendly intervention of England sufficed against the German passions and claims. The Emperor Alexander alone could restrain them. Talleyrand tried to ingratiate himself by personal intentions. When forming his cabinet he had the Duke of Richelieu,† who was still absent, appointed minister of the king’s household; and the ministry of the interior was reserved for Pozzo di Borgo, who had of his own accord exchanged the official service of Russia, to take part in the government of France. Talleyrand had implicit faith in the power of temptations, but this time they failed. Richelieu refused, probably by arrangement with the king himself; and Pozzo did not obtain, or perhaps dared not ask from his master, permission to become again French. Of a keen and restless disposition, daring but suspicious, he felt his situation uncertain, and could not conceal his perplexities from penetrating looks. The Emperor Alexander maintained his cold reserve, leaving Talleyrand powerless and embarrassed in that arena of negotiations, generally the theatre of his success.

“Fouché’s weakness was different, and due to different causes. Not that the foreign sovereigns and their ministers were better disposed to him than to Talleyrand, his entry into the king’s council having caused great scandal to monarchical Europe, Wellington alone still continuing to defend him; but

*After the treaty of peace, the Emperor Alexander presented Richelieu with this map.

†Richelieu had become the emperor’s intimate friend during the emigration, and was made Governor of the Crimea.

none of the strangers made an attack upon him or felt interested in his fall. It was within that the tempest arose against him. With a strange mixture of presumption and frivolity, he was confident of being able to deliver up the revolution to the king, and the king to the revolution, trusting to his skill and audacity to pass and repass from one camp to another, and govern the one by the other by betraying them in turn. It is our weakness and misfortune that in great crises the conquered become dumb. The chamber of 1815 could not yet be seen except in the distance; and the Duke of Otranto already shook, as if struck by lightning, at the side of the tottering Talleyrand.*

The military discipline, the profound and touching confidence inspired by their distinguished chiefs and all the sentiments of genuine patriotism, produced the submission of the army of the Loire, and maintained order in the ranks. The armed resistance which took place on various points of the frontiers was speedily disappearing. A few fortresses on the north and east still held out. The small town Huningue was defended till the 26th of August; and when at last General Barbanègre capitulated, and his garrison defiled on the ramparts, there were not more than about fifty men. The Archduke John, who commanded the blockading army, thought they formed only the advanced guard, and congratulated Barbanègre on his illustrious defence. The excessive severity displayed by the armies of occupation caused an expiation of the patriotic rage of the provincial populations; the violence and exactions of the Prussians, then more excusable than in recent times, frequently provoked the peasantry to secret and stern reprisals. As Secretary-General of Justice, Guizot one day saw a peasant of Burgundy brought into his private room, on charge of having killed several Prussians. The peasant having boldly denied it, Guizot wished to examine him alone. "I shall tell you by yourself," said the wine-grower, "I put seventeen of them into my well." I am very certain his confidence did not lead him into trouble.

On the 13th of July the electoral colleges were summoned by royal order to meet on the 14th of August for the new elections. The age of eligibility was reduced from forty years to twenty-five, and that of the electorate from thirty to twenty-one; while the number of deputies was extended from 250 to 402. It was decided that the peerage should be hereditary.

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc., vol. i.

The censure of printed works of less than twenty pages was abolished. A large privy council composed of prominent members of various parties assisted, on important occasions, in the deliberations of the government. These important reforms were not imposed upon the restored monarchy by any real necessity or strong expression of public opinion, but the cabinet wished to show itself in favor of a large extension of free institutions. They had moreover to conceal from people or cause them to forget the severity then exercised against individuals, under the violent pressure of the ultra-royalist journals, as well as upon the advice almost amounting to a command of the foreign sovereigns.

"It is only by making a striking example of Napoleon's accomplices that we can hope to make the monarchy last any time," wrote Lord Liverpool to Castlereagh. "Severity in their case would dispose public opinion in this country to be less stern with regard to France." The unchaining of reactionary passions in the interior was still more significant. During the hundred days the king, in his Cambray proclamation, had already announced the intention of making some exceptions to the general amnesty. On the 24th of July, 1815, two lists were published, one of which bore the names of nineteen persons to be tried by court-martial; Marshals Ney, Grouchy, Bertrand; Generals Lallemand, d'Erlon, Lefebvre-Desnouettes, Clauzel, Drouot, Cambronne; besides Labédoyère, Lavalette, and Rovigo. No title was granted to the most distinguished favorites of the fallen power. On the second list were inscribed the names of thirty-eight accused persons who were to leave Paris for certain towns indicated by the minister of police, until the chambers should have decided upon their fate. Marshal Soult and Bassano were in this number. It was with great difficulty that the ministers succeeded in erasing other names which had been originally indicated by Fouché, and which amounted to 110: the Duke of Vicentia, General Sebastiani, and Benjamin Constant were among these more fortunate exceptions. Twenty-nine peers were excluded by name from the upper chamber. Marshal Davout protested against the exceptional measures directed against those of his friends who like him had served the emperor during the hundred days. "It is my name that ought to be substituted for that of several of them," said he, "since they only obeyed the orders I had given them as Minister of War. It is obvious that to all the calamities weighing upon our unhappy country are

to be added those of vengeance and proscription." He at the same time gave in his resignation as commander-in-chief of the army of the Loire; and was replaced by Marshal Macdonald, who began to disband the troops with great success. The order to that effect appeared on the 12th of August.

It was by a constant exercise of self-control and resolute patience that the king, the ministers, and the whole of the French government succeeded in enduring the hateful violence of the Germans, and the intentional severity of the other allies. On entering Paris, the Prussians imposed on the capital a war contribution of a hundred millions, an exorbitant demand which was further aggravated by exactions incessantly renewed. The museums had already begun to be despoiled, a severe measure due to the mad attempt of the hundred days. When opening the session of 1814, King Louis XVIII. was able to congratulate himself because those masterpieces of art thenceforward belonged to us by rights more secure and sacred than those of victory. In 1815 the English cabinet, with the exception of Castlereagh, was more eager in supporting the demands of the nations who had formerly been robbed by Napoleon. The directors of the museums alone protested: the king might probably have succeeded in retaining the works of art granted to France by treaties, but Talleyrand's advice was to make no resistance. "Let the Prussians disgrace themselves," said he, when the statues and paintings were being gradually sent back to the towns they had formerly adorned. The foreign troops were more than once obliged to protect the wagons loaded with them, against the strong indignation of the population of Paris.

Throughout the whole country, according to the various temperaments of the provinces, there reigned a violent and contradictory agitation. The cantonment of the allied armies in the centres of occupation kept up indignation without imposing order. The English army occupied the north; the Prussians, all the country between the Seine and the coast; the Austrians, Burgundy and the centre of France, and afterwards Provence and part of Languedoc; the Russians, Champagne and Lorraine; the men of Baden, Alsace. Only some western states still remained partially unoccupied; they were still in arms on account of the royalist risings during the hundred days. The calm and resolute attitude of the leaders imposed respect upon Blücher himself, who wrote as follows to General de Grisolles in command at Morbihan: "Sir, your re-

quest that I should send the troops under my orders into the cantonments occupied by the royal army in Brittany is so reasonable that I agree to it with much pleasure." There was no bloodshed in the west, but bands of men overran the country parts, demanding arbitrary contributions and ill-treating the inhabitants. The whole of the south was on fire.

It was a bitter inheritance of the keenly-fought struggles and long religious persecution that the population of the south of France were left divided into parties in violent or secret hostility, who had for more than a century been perpetually tossed between the alternatives of triumph and oppression. The Protestants, who had long bent under a painful yoke which years had scarcely alleviated, found themselves delivered by the dawn of the French Revolution, which they hailed with transport. Amongst them a certain number of the constitutionals had paid, on the scaffold of "The Terror," for their generous self-illusions in 1789. The mass of the Protestant population remained attached to the principles of the revolution. They had been well treated under the empire, and had been of service to it. The attempt of the hundred days found them generally favorable, and some acts of violence were committed against the royalists who in several places supported the brave efforts of the Duc d'Angoulême. Even where religious passions had no great influence, political passions were violently excited among those populations who were equally hot-headed in their opposition. Napoleon's final fall was the signal for a shameful letting loose of vengeance which had recently been accumulated. In their violence the populace, in various towns, selected startling victims. Marshal Brune was murdered at Avignon on the 2nd of August. An old soldier of the revolution, without favor under the empire, he had been appointed during the hundred days to a command in the Var. He retired immediately upon the restoration, after taking the Bourbon colors from the regiment, and was furnished with a passport from the king's government when he arrived on the morning of the 2nd of August, at the Hôtel de Poste in Avignon. Being quickly recognized and denounced, he was violently attacked by the maddened populace. In vain did the prefect and mayor, supported by several national guards, try to rescue him from the senseless mob. The carriage was stopped, the hotel surrounded and besieged; the marshal traced to his room and shot in the head. It was at once given out that he had killed himself to escape his execu-

tioners. The murderers broke up the coffin in which their victim's body was concealed from them, dragged it to the Rhone, and hurled it into its waters. The corpse was washed ashore on the bank, but it was not till two years afterwards that the marshal's widow succeeded in finding her husband's remains.

At Toulouse similar scenes characterized the murder of General Ramel. Honorable and brave, he in vain exerted himself, as commander of the department, in repressing the excessive violence of the royalist population. He had dissolved the companies of royal volunteers formed at Toulouse during the hundred days, and serving as the rallying-point of disorder. On the 15th of August, when entering his hotel, the general was attacked by an armed band. The sentinel before his door was killed, and the general, severely wounded, succeeded with great difficulty in entering his house. The crowd continued to increase, being at every moment encouraged and excited by base and lying reports. The doors of the house and then the chamber were forced open. The unfortunate general was dragged from the bed whence he was rising to dress, and the assassins threw themselves furiously upon him, but without at once putting an end to his life. He expired at the end of thirty-six hours in the most fearful agony. The authorities had spread the report of his death in the hope of putting an end to the violence of the populace. Marseilles and Carpentras became the theatres of scenes of outrage. Information was freely circulated against the partisans of the empire, but the fury of the multitude did not await the vengeance of the law. The efforts of the Duc d'Angoulême to organize the military government of the five divisions of the south sufficed not to check the most terrible disorder.

The prince soon found himself obliged to enter Gard in person, there to appease troubles more violent still, excited and aggravated by religious animosities. Just after the fall of Napoleon, various gangs of men had banded themselves together, drawn from the lowest classes, and driven on by the shameful promoters of a cowardly revenge and an ignoble greed. At their head marched some known leaders, Trestailions, Quatremaillons, Truphémé, — names or surnames odious still on account of the memories they excite among the Protestant population. Everywhere reigned the white terror; the Protestants of Nîmes and Uzès were plunged in fear; the garrison had abandoned its artillery to the desperadoes who over-

ran the streets, maltreating and insulting Protestant women; in retiring, a great number of the soldiers were killed, while the mob pillaged the barracks of the gendarmerie. In the country isolated houses were attacked and plundered. In the town, they forced the doors of numerous dwellings. The authorities, feeble or disarmed, remained powerless, lavishing proclamations in vain, without having recourse to effective repression. The contagion of the evil spread; for more than three months Nîmes and the environs remained a prey to this detestable rabble. When the Duc d'Angoulême arrived at Nîmes in the month of November, he ordered the reopening of the Protestant churches which had been closed under the pretext of shunning the disturbance. The day after his departure General Lagarde, protecting the entrance of the Protestants into the church, was seriously injured by the shot of a pistol fired quite close to him. A few moments afterwards, he said to Madame Guizot, "Keep near my horse, no harm will come to you." Some months later his assassin, although known to all, was to be acquitted by the jury, under the violent pressure of religious and political fanaticism, on the pretext that the general had himself excited the crowd and wounded in-offensive passers-by. Meantime the churches remained closed. Enraged by this horrible violence, the passions excited in all minds were for a long time to maintain in the departments of the south a sullen feeling of which the remembrance is not yet even effaced.

The disturbances of the elections had aggravated the popular violence at various points. The scrutinies were finished, the deputies arrived at Paris, but the whole extent of the new returns was not yet understood; enough, however, was known meanwhile to assure people that the chamber would be keenly royalist. The minister found himself deceived in his hopes; his leaders were not in a condition to face the struggle which was impending. A courtier and a diplomatist, not a man for government, and less for a liberal government than any other, M. de Talleyrand still suffered under the displeasure of the Emperor of Russia and the secret aversion of King Louis XVIII. Fouché was cleverly intriguing on his account and in his personal interest. A few days later both had to succumb, and their cabinet fell with them. Talleyrand was yet to render brilliant services to his country, but Fouché's career was ended. He accepted the petty and remote mission at Dresden, and left Paris under a disguise, which he only dropped at the

frontier, in the dread of being seen in his native country, which he was never to look upon again. —

“The cabinet of the Duc de Richelieu entered on its duties with the good-will of the king and even of the party which the elections had sent into power. It was a truly original and royalist ministry. Its leader, but recently returned to France, honored by Europe, loved by the Emperor Alexander, was for King Louis XVIII. what the king himself was for France, the pledge of a more durable peace. Decazes, young and amiable, distinguished from his first appearance in the magistracy, had pleased the king personally, and he was nominated minister of police. The new keeper of the seal, Barbé-Marbois, belonged to that generously liberal old France, which had accepted and sustained with an enlightened moderation the principles that were dear to new France.”* Guizot filled as his colleague the office of secretary-general.

The Duc de Richelieu had a double mission. He had to negotiate peace with the allies and to direct the new chamber, as inexperienced as it was enthusiastic. The former task demanded at first all his efforts. He was more qualified for it than for the coming struggles in the political arena. Supported in his negotiations by the faithful friendship of the Emperor Alexander as well as by the fairness of Lord Castlereagh, he obtained several favorable modifications in the conditions of the treaty. The insane claims of Germany for the dismemberment of France had been long since abandoned. Reduced in theory to her frontiers of 1790, France kept the forts of Joux and L'Écluse and the fortresses of Condé, Givet, and Charlemont. The war indemnity was reduced from eight to seven hundred millions; the duration of the occupation of the fortresses of the east and of the north by the allies was fixed at five years instead of seven, but the districts of Belgium, Savoy, and Germany, which had been delivered to the French in 1814 by the treaty of Paris, were definitively taken away from them, and the fortifications of Hüningue were to be razed. When he at last signed, on the 20th of November, the vigorous conditions which he had disputed from point to point with the exigencies of the allied sovereigns, the Duc de Richelieu wrote to his sister, Madame de Montcalm: “All is over. I have put, more dead than alive, my name to this fatal treaty. I had sworn not to do it, and I had said so to

* M. Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps.*

the king. The unhappy prince has beseeched me, melting in tears, not to abandon him. I have not hesitated; I have the assurance of believing that no one would have obtained so much. France, expiring beneath the weight of the calamities which overwhelm her, calls imperiously for a speedy deliverance."

Before the signature of the treaty, and when its principal conditions were in abeyance, the allied sovereigns successively left Paris (Sept. and Oct., 1815). They had once more renewed among themselves the engagements of Chaumont against that power of Napoleon, fallen from henceforth, and against the revolutionary spirit, which appeared to be conquered. They had at the same time concluded a new convention about which there has been much talk without clear understanding, and which has been confounded with the coalition recently formed against the French. Under the influence of the Emperor Alexander, himself inspired by a woman of great spirit, vain, and mystic (the Baroness de Krüdener), the sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria bound themselves by a treaty rather theoretical than practical, conceived in a vague spirit of religion, and prepared by the Czar. The three monarchs, convinced of the necessity of establishing mutual relations between the powers based on the sublime truths inculcated by the eternal religion of God the Saviour, had resolved to engage themselves in the ties of an insoluble fraternity as the delegates of Providence, charged with governing three branches of one and the same family, and hoping for a mutual reward for protecting religion, peace, and justice. They called upon their peoples, to grow stronger every day in the principles and the exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to men, and they invited all the sovereigns to join themselves to them in order to tie the bonds of the holy alliance. In deference to the wishes of the Czar, almost all the allied princes adhered to this convention, as strange as it was sadly inefficacious. King Louis XVIII. did not refuse his consent. The Prince Regent of England alone took no part in it; the treaty was the personal work of the sovereigns, and was signed directly by them, while constitutional government as it was practised in England did not admit of the official intervention of princes in such negotiations. This abstention was much remarked upon when the text of the holy alliance was published, and curious spirits exercised themselves to discover in it a hidden meaning far from the thoughts either of the Emperor Alexander or of his devoted friend.

The work of external pacification was achieved, while that of the interior, still more necessary and important, appeared further than ever from attainment. The hundred days had done a still greater evil to France than the loss of the blood and the treasure which they had cost her; they rekindled the old quarrel which the empire had stifled and which the charter was intended to extinguish—the quarrel between old and new France, between the émigrés and the revolutionists. It was not only among political parties but among rival classes, that the struggle began in 1815 as it had burst forth in 1789. For the first time for five-and-twenty years the royalists saw themselves the stronger. While believing their triumph legitimate, they were a little surprised and intoxicated by it, and delivered themselves over to the enjoyment of power with a mixture of arrogance and ardor, as if they were little accustomed to conquer, and not very sure of the force which they hastened to display. Very different causes threw the chamber of 1815 into the violent reaction which has remained its historical characteristic. First and foremost were the passions of the royalist party, its good and bad feelings, its moral and personal sentiments, the intention of restoring to honor the respect for sacred things, old attachments, sworn faith, and the pleasure of oppressing its former conquerors. To the transports of passion was joined the calculation of interests. For the security of parties, for the fortune of persons, the new lords of France required to take possession of places and power; there the field was to be cultivated and the ground to be occupied, that they might gather the fruits of their victory. Then came the empire of ideas. After so many years of great occurrences and great strifes, the royalists had on all political and social questions systematic views to realize, historical traditions to perpetuate, and spiritual wants to satisfy. They were not working to destroy the charter and to restore the old régime, as has been often said of them; they hastened to put their hand to the work, eager to enjoy their victory, believing that the day was come at last to recover in their country both morally and materially, in thought as in deed, the ascendancy which they had lost for so long a time.

Their passions were represented by Bourdonnaye, while Villèle defended their interests, and Bonald their ideas. They were all three highly qualified for their parts, and conducted ably to its goal the party which was in power at the opening of the session in the chamber of 1815. Under their control

this chamber had the merit of practising energetically the constitutional government, which in 1814 had hardly emerged from the torpor of the empire, but in this novel task it could guard neither equity nor propriety, nor moderation; it wished to dominate the king and France at the same time. It was proud and independent, sometimes liberal, often revolutionary in its proceedings towards the Crown, and at the same time violent and anti-revolutionary towards the country. This was too much to attempt; it was necessary to make a choice, and to be either monarchical or popular. The Chamber of 1815 was neither the one nor the other, the governing spirit, yet more necessary in a free government than under a despotism, was completely wanting in it.

Also there was seen promptly forming against it and in its very heart an opposition which became ere long at once popular and monarchical, for it simultaneously defended against the party in power the Crown which was thus rashly offended and the country which was deeply disturbed. And after some great struggles, sustained on both sides with sincere energy, this opposition, strong in royal favor and public sympathy, frequently overpowered the majority, and became the governing party. Serre, Royer-Collard, and Camille Jordan were from the first the eloquent leaders of the new party, pledged to the service of the restoration as against the reaction. Pasquier, Beugnot, Siméon, De Barante, and De Sainte-Aulaire supported them ardently. The struggle began just after the opening of the session. The king's speech had been sad and firm in its judicious moderation, and the almost unanimous election of M. Lainé as president, and the vote of the address had not raised any violent storms in the Chamber of Deputies. But the tendencies which were soon to manifest themselves so emphatically had made their appearance in the plan of the address of the Chamber of Peers. Chateaubriand had demanded that they should again place in the hands of the king the power of dispensing justice. Soon the thirst for revenge burst forth in the discussion of the laws proposed to the chambers by the government, some expressly temporary in their nature, as the law on the suspension of individual liberty and the establishment of courts martial, others permanent and belonging to the section of definite legislation, as those for the suppression of seditious acts and for the amnesty. Everywhere the amendments proposed by the ultra-royalists, as they were soon called, tended greatly to aggravate the

troubles; many exceptions to the amnesty were loudly called for. The moderate royalists eloquently defended the projects of the government. "It is not always the number of penalties which save an empire," said Royer-Collard, "the art of governing men is more difficult, and the glory of it is to be acquired at a higher price. We shall be punished enough, if we are wise and clever, never enough if we are not so." Serre repelled boldly the confiscations disguised under the name of indemnities to the state. "The revolutionaries have done so," said he, "they would do so again if they seized the power. It is precisely because they have acted thus that you should refrain from following their odious example, and that by the distorted sense of an expression which is untrue, by an artifice which would be altogether unworthy of the stage. Gentlemen, our treasure may be little, but it is pure!" The amendments were rejected; only the banishment of regicides remained inscribed in the project of law, without which no one might dare to plead in their favor. "There are divine laws which the human powers cannot prevent, but which they should know not to oppose when revealed by the course of events."*

The exceptions to the amnesty remained numerous enough and important enough. Many of the accused had already been arrested, others had succeeded in escaping; Lavalette was himself constituted a prisoner. Labédoyère had been recognized in a stage coach by an agent of police at the moment when he was bidding good-bye to his wife. Early in August he appeared in Paris before a council of war. His crime was as notorious as the influence which he had exercised. The Ultras let loose their passions against him whom they regarded as a renegade from their cause. The journal *l'Indépendant*, which took up his defence, was suppressed; the accused defended himself, pleading his own cause nobly and simply. "I have been deceived regarding the true interests of France," he said; "some glorious memories, my warm love of the fatherland, some illusions have been able to mislead me, but the greatness even of the sacrifices I have made in breaking off the dearest of ties proves that no personal motive entered into my conduct. I declare that I had no hand in any plot which may have preceded the return of Napoleon. I shall say more; I am convinced that there was

* Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*.

no express conspiracy to bring Napoleon back from Elba." Labédoyère was condemned, and his wife threw herself in vain at the feet of the king. "I know your sentiments and those of your family, madame," he replied, "never was it more painful for me to pronounce a refusal." Benjamin Constant drew up a memorial in his favor. But, on the 19th of August, the young general died courageously, himself commanding the soldiers to fire.

Five weeks later, on the 27th of September, the twin brothers Faucher, both generals of the republic, both carried away by the enthusiasm of the hundred days, without having ever served under the empire, expiated, in their turn, the insurrection which had taken place in their little town of Réole, and which, it was said, they had instigated. The public prosecutor, like the magistrates, displayed towards them the most disgusting violence. A decree of the Court of Orleans condemned Lavalette to death.

A more illustrious culprit attracted all attention at this time. Marshal Ney had been arrested on the 5th of August in a friend's house, where he was hiding. A rare weapon, left inadvertently on a table, had betrayed his whereabouts. "He does more harm to us in letting himself be arrested than he has ever yet done," said King Louis XVIII., rightly foreseeing the evils which he knew not how to avoid. Immediately brought to Paris, the marshal was transferred to a council of war, which declared itself incompetent; the accused, belonging to the Chamber of Peers, was to be tried by it. The case was opened in the Chamber with a speech by the Duc de Richelieu, composed, it was said, by Lainé, and stamped unfortunately, by the strong passions which then prevailed among the Royalists. The indictment bore the same character. It was not till the 4th of December that the marshal appeared before the court.

The ambassadors of the four great powers signatory to the capitulation of Paris, had refused to interpose on behalf of the culprit, who claimed the benefit of this act. Meanwhile, the defenders of the marshal recurred in the first place to the article guaranteeing personal safety. The king, having signed this convention, found himself, they contended, bound by such signature not to investigate past acts. Dupin and Berryer were equally desirous of making the best of the clause which sheltered from prosecution all the inhabitants of the ceded countries: the marshal belonged originally to Sarre.

louis. He himself protested against this advocate's quirk. "I was born French," he cried, "I wish to live and die French; I thank my generous defenders, but I beg them rather to renounce my defence than to present it incomplete; I am accused, contrary to the faith of treaties, and they would not have me invoke them. From them, I appeal, like Moreau, to Europe and to posterity!"

The court interdicted the argument on the subject of the bearing of the capitulation of Paris; the acts of Marshal Ney were notorious, and the hearing of witnesses was only capable of conveying hope to the accused himself and to his friends. The deposition of General de Bourmont drew from the marshal a reply which transferred to him, in turn, the weight of culpability. "It is seven months since the witness prepared his evidence," Ney exclaimed; "he has had time to do it well. He believed that I should be treated like Labédoyère, that we should never find ourselves face to face; but it is otherwise. I come to the point. The fact is that, on the 14th of March, I asked for the signal with Marshal Lecourbe . . . pity it is that Lecourbe is no more, but I summon him against all these witnesses before a higher tribunal, before God, who hears us, and who shall judge us,—you and me, Monsieur le Bourmont! I consulted you. No one said to me, you are risking your honor and your reputation for this fatal cause! . . . Bourmont collected the troops. He had a great command, and could arrest me; I was alone and had not a single saddle-horse on which to escape. When I was reading the proclamation, Bourmont and Lecourbe were with me; the officers, like the soldiers, threw themselves upon us, they embraced us, they stifled us. The superior officers came to dine at my house; I was sad, and nevertheless the table was merry; there is the truth, Monsieur de Bourmont. You said that I should have to take a carabine and charge at the head of my troops, who would follow me! I was still twenty leagues from Napoleon's columns, and I had already raised two regiments. Would you have marched under such conditions? I believe not, you have not strength of character enough."

Forbidden to have recourse to the capitulation of Paris, the defenders of the marshal were completely disarmed; they were driven to descant on the career of the accused, and on the services which he had rendered to France. The argument of the attorney-general, Bellart, was severe and violent. The royal commissioners requested the Court of Peers to pro-

nounce capital sentence against Marshal Ney, convicted of high treason. Lanjuinais alone refrained from answering the various questions set by the court; he declared that he was unable, conscientiously, to decide, the defence not having been complete. One hundred and fifty-nine voices voted the culpability. The Duc de Broglie, still very young, and sitting for the first time in the chamber, opposed it boldly; he maintained that when a revolution has triumphed so completely as to become temporarily the government of the country, there results from it on behalf of the acts which have created the government a kind of prescription which does not allow of their being prosecuted. When they came to the application for the penalty, seventeen voices declared on the second vote for deportation. Five peers abstained from voting. One hundred and thirty-nine voices pronounced for capital punishment. Among these rigorous judges, were counted many marshals and generals, companions-in-arms of Marshal Ney. The fatal sentence was passed on the 7th of December, at two o'clock in the morning.

Some hours later, Marshal Ney, Duc d'Elchingen and Prince de la Moskawa, heard in his prison of the Luxembourg the decree of his condemnation. "Say *Michel Ney*, and ere long but a little dust," said he, interrupting the Recorder of the Court, Cauchy, in the enumeration of his titles. His wife and children had hastened to join him; he spoke to them for a long time, consoling his wife, who several times fainted. He feigned to believe in the possibility of a pardon, in order to put an end to these sad farewells. The lady hurried to the Tuileries; the audience which she solicited was refused, "her demand not having sufficient object;" already her husband had succumbed under platoon fire at the entrance of the Grand Avenue of the Observatoire. "Soldiers, straight to the heart!" he cried. Before commanding the fire, he protested against the judgment which condemned him. "I appeal from it to mankind, to posterity, and to God! Long live France!"

It was in 1815, in the midst of the passions which raised up the great political persecutions, the weakness and the injury of the king and the government to allow themselves to be carried along by the transports of the party, to which they yielded all without resisting. "There were assuredly grave reasons for leaving the law to take its free course: it was of consequence that generations formed in the vicissitudes of the revolution and in the triumphs of the empire might learn by

brilliant examples that the power and the success of the moment did not decide everything, that there are inviolable duties; that one may not tamper with impunity with the forms of government and with the peace of the people, and that at this terrible game the most powerful, the most illustrious, risk their honor and their life.

“But another grand truth must enter into the balance, and weigh heavily in the final decision. The Emperor Napoleon had maintained his position for a lengthened period and with brilliance, accepted and admired by France and by Europe, and supported by the devotion of a host of men, by the army and the people. The ideas of right and duty, the sentiments of respect and fidelity, were confused and in conflict in many minds. There were, seemingly, two legitimate and natural forms of government, and many spirits might, without perversity, have been troubled in their choice. King Louis XVIII. and his counsellors could, in their turn, without weakness, have taken account of this moral disturbance. Marshal Ney, pardoned and banished after his condemnation, by letters royal, in which the reasons were gravely stated—this had been royally rising up like a dam above all, friends and enemies, in order to arrest the flow of blood, and, in this way, the reaction of 1815 had been subdued and closed, as well as the hundred days.”*

King Louis XVIII. did not know how to seize this occasion to place clemency by the side of justice, and to display above a head condemned that grandeur of spirit and heart which had also its influence in establishing power and commanding fidelity. The passion of revenge which had seized the royalist party was not yet appeased. The appeal of Lavalette had been rejected some days after the execution of Marshal Ney. A stranger to all public duties under the first restoration, he had not betrayed any oath in serving the Emperor Napoleon; yet he was condemned to death, and the most odious rage was provoked against him. At the suggestion of Decazes, the Duc de Richelieu counselled the Duchess d'Angoulême to request his pardon from the king, who was quite ready to grant it. Personally, and by instinct, the duchess was disposed to implore this favor, but her friends opposed it. Marshal Marmont vainly multiplied his efforts in order to obtain a pardon, which Madame Lavalette begged on her knees. The culprit

* *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps.*

asked to be allowed to die by the bullets of the soldiers in place of having to mount the scaffold, but his request was rejected. His friends then concurred in a scheme to effect his escape.

On the 20th of December, Madame Lavalette arrived at five o'clock at the gates of the prison of the Conciergerie, in order to dine there with her husband, according to custom; she was accompanied by her daughter, and by an old waiting-maid. At seven o'clock, covered with his wife's dress, leaning on the shoulder of his daughter, his face concealed in his handkerchief as if to hide his tears, the criminal went forth from his prison; he crossed the halls of the Palais de Justice and the posts of the gendarmerie; delayed for a moment at the outer gate by the absence of the porters, he entered a sedan chair, and was conducted to the Rue de Harlay, where one of his friends waited for him with a cabriolet. Harbored for five days at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in the house of Bresson, head of the account-office, he was at last escorted out of France by Sir Robert Wilson, an English officer who generously devoted himself to saving political prisoners.* Lavalette was to turn old in exile, oppressed by the sufferings which ruined his life and his energy. The emotions which his wife had undergone affected her reason. The rage of the ultras on the subject of the escape was so violent that they made it the object of a summons against the ministry before the Chamber of Deputies. The tattle of the drawing rooms was disgusting. "Ah! the little villain!" said one lady, generally good and gentle, in speaking of Mademoiselle Lavalette, an accomplice in her father's escape. The poor child could not remain in the convent where she was being educated, many families having threatened in that case to withdraw their daughters. "It is said that they make it languish," some persons remarked, in speaking of the long interval which elapsed between the arrest of Marshal Ney and his trial; "they make us languish also. Do they think that two heads can suffice to expiate the outrage of the 20th of March?"

The public sentiment in France was not in accord with this misrule of violence, and it was with sincere satisfaction that it received the acquittal of Generals Drouot and Cambronne, and the commutation of sentence granted by the king to Generals Boyer, Debelle, and Travot and to Admiral Linois. Two months before the execution of Marshal Ney, the companion

* Sir Robert underwent in his turn a trial for this cause.

of his most brilliant military exploits, Joachim Murat, recently King of Naples, had also succumbed under platoon fire (13th October, 1815). More fortunate than Ney, in spite of his still graver faults, he owed not his death to French bullets. Flattered by a vain hope of recovering his kingdom, he had projected a disembarkment on the coast of Calabria, he was induced to land at the port of Pizzo; betrayed by the captain of his vessel, he was seized and the men who accompanied him were either killed or made prisoners. Condemned to death by court-martial, he was shot in a yard of the fortress. "I have too often braved death to fear it," said he when some one wished to bind his eyes. These heroes of so many battles were still young. Ney was forty-seven years of age; Murat had not attained his forty-fifth year.

The period of great political trials was not yet at an end. Generals Lefebvre-Desnouettes, Drouet d'Erlon, and Lallemand, were condemned by default; General Chartran was executed; General Mouton-Duvernet, hidden for many months at Montbrison, in the house of M. de Meaux, an ardent royalist, delivered himself up on seeing his protector threatened, and was executed on the 27th of July, 1816. Donnadieu, who commanded at Grenoble, had attributed an illusory importance to a conspiracy directed by Paul Didier, an old constitutional, who had been tossed from party to party, and who seemed to plot from a natural turn for intrigue rather than from any very definite object. He sometimes spoke of Napoleon II., sometimes of the Duc d'Orléans, as the sovereign whom he wished to give to France, and his principal plan appeared to be a sudden military attack on Grenoble. The attempt to carry this plan into execution was soon suppressed by the police of the town, who were on their guard for several days before. Six men were killed among the insurgents. The general wrote to Paris in a transport of excitement, "Long live the king! I have just time to say to your Excellency that his Majesty's troops have covered themselves with glory. At midnight the hills were illumined by the fires of rebellion throughout the province. The town has been attacked on all sides at once. I should not be able to praise too much the brave legion of the Isère, and its worthy colonel. Already more than sixteen miscreants are in our power; a great number more is expected. The court-martial is going to deal promptly and severely. We estimate the number of the wretches who have attacked the town at 4000."

The exaggeration of the details was flagrant, but this was not enough, unfortunately, to enlighten the government, which was excited and suspicious. The general and the prefect, who vied with each other in zeal, had already put Grenoble in a state of siege. They were invested with enlarged powers, and the ministry believed itself obliged to refuse forgiveness, even to those of the accused who were interceded for by the most important inhabitants in the town. Twenty-five of the insurgents were executed; their chief, Paul Didier, perished on the scaffold on the 10th of May. When the truth respecting the gravity of the danger which threatened Grenoble at last found its way to light, the reaction of public opinion was so strong that it accused Decazes of having combined with General Donnadieu in getting up a mock-insurrection. Other conspiracies meanwhile received an undoubted stimulus. At Paris a popular plot cost the lives of its three leaders, Plaignier, Carbonneau, and Tolleron, poor workmen, misled by foolish hopes. The scaffold was likewise set up in the departments of Sarthe and Somme. The agitation prevails at all points. The journals fomented it with passion. In the heart even of the cabinet union was not complete. The Duc de Richelieu, ceaselessly thwarted by the whimsical independence of M. de Vaublanc, demanded and obtained his replacement by Lainé. At the same time, and to satisfy the royalists, Barbé-Marbois, who displeased them, was removed from the Ministry of Justice, and Dambray recovered the seals of office. After a prolonged and fruitless discussion on the electoral law, and the much disputed budget vote, the chamber ended its first session on the 20th of April, 1816. Notwithstanding the changes, it broke up in an excited state, still disquieted by fears of the future and of the opposition party, moderate and monarchical, which it saw in its midst. At its head those men took their place every day more distinctly who were then honored by the name of Doctrinaires. They were bold and honest, devoted to the reconstruction of society anew on wide and solid foundations, without animosity towards the *ancien régime*, without weakness for revolutionary theories, and giving their country the credit of believing it capable of learning to govern itself, and of emerging from chaos while advancing towards knowledge. Royer-Collard was their veritable leader, and at his side fought Serre.

In 1816 it was the honor of Decazes to comprehend, and to be the first to make, the effort necessary to escape from chaos.

The schism between the country and the chamber was every day becoming greater. He felt that dissolution was indispensable, and he undertook to gain over to that idea the Duc de Richelieu, Lainé, and the king himself. He demanded from his friends—among others from Guizot, who had a short time before re-entered the Council of State as master of petitions—the notes with which he often supported his reasonings. The disturbances which had spread among the corps diplomatique were of equal service to his cause. “If the *ultras* come to power, as the Comte d’Artois is loudly declaring,” wrote the ambassadors, “the ministry will not last a month; but, while waiting for its fall, he will have agitated the country, put the monarchy in danger, and rendered impossible of fulfilment the engagements into which France has entered at the instance of the foreign powers.”

The king chose his side. He had hesitated a long time, and his hesitations were natural. How was he to dissolve the first pronouncedly royalist chamber which had assembled for five-and-twenty years—a chamber which he himself had qualified as *introuvable*, and in which he counted so many of his oldest friends? Meanwhile the chamber had been more than once irreverent, and almost as disrespectful towards him as a revolutionary assembly could have been. It often insulted the charter, and sometimes menaced it: now the charter was the work of the king; he held it as his glory, and considered himself bound to defend it. On Wednesday, 14th August, at the rising of the Council, the king stopped his ministers as they were about to leave. “Gentlemen,” he said, “the moment has arrived for coming to a determination with respect to the Chamber of Deputies. Three months ago I had decided upon summoning it, and that was my opinion a month ago. But all I have seen, all that I see every day, proves so clearly the spirit of the party which rules the chamber, the dangers with which it threatens France and myself are so evident, that my opinion has completely changed. From this moment you may regard the chamber as dissolved.”

The king had ordered this to be kept secret, which was carefully done. On the 5th of September, at half-past eleven at night, the Duc de Richelieu informed Monsieur that the ordinance of dissolution was signed, and would be in the *Moniteur* in the morning. The king’s door was closed, and the wrath of Monsieur had to wait till the next day to blow itself off vainly. The preamble announced that the king had determined to

revert simply to the original text of the charter. "We are convinced," said Louis XVIII., "that the wants and the wishes of our subjects will be united to preserve intact the constitutional charter, based on the public law of France and the guarantee of general peace. We have, in consequence, judged it necessary to reduce the Chamber of Deputies to the number fixed by the charter, and only to summon men of the age of forty years." The new Chamber of Deputies was called for the 4th of November.

The ebullition of public joy was lively and general. The anger of the ultras was equalled by the satisfaction of the moderate men. "Those who had for a long time been accustomed to shout 'Long live the king!'" kept silence. Those who had kept silence shouted 'Long live the king!'" says Montlosier in his book *De la Monarchie française*. "France breathes again: the charter triumphs and the king reigns," wrote Lally-Tollendal to Decazes. The instructions given by the latter to the prefects were as moderate as they were wise. He himself summed them up in saying, "Whether we get to the king by a charter, or to the charter by the king, our arrival shall be equally welcome." On the whole, the elections responded to this honest and patriotic appeal. The government passed henceforth into the hands of men of moderate opinions, which people came to know under the name of the Centre. The charter had placed the bases of constitutional government in their great and important aspects, and it (the Centre) occupied itself after this in defining them, and in regulating their application in detail.

The discussion of the electoral law took up almost the entire session of 1816. "I have adopted all the principles of this measure," wrote Lainé to Guizot, a few days before the opening of the debate. "The concentration of the franchise, direct election, equal rights of voters, their meeting in a single assembly in each department—I really believe these to be the best. I have, however, still some perplexities of spirit on some of these questions, and very little time to get out of them. Help me to prepare the draft of the motions." The bill introduced by the ministry, and violently attacked by the right, had a two-fold aim—to put an end to the revolutionary régime, and to put in force constitutional government. The principles on which this bill rested obtained for France thirty years of a regular and liberal government, at once seriously sustained and controlled. Tossed since then on the heaving

surface of universal suffrage, we turn with respectful sorrow towards that quiet harbor which the tempest of 1848 compelled us to leave, without other storms having brought us any nearer to it.

The electoral law was succeeded by the law of enlistment, a wise and far-reaching conception of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, who had replaced the Duc de Feltre as minister of war. The marshal insisted from the first on the principle that all classes of the nation were called upon to assist in forming the army, without getting into the way, as Germany did then, of making military service compulsory for all. This idea had always been strange to the organization of the French army, but it was to be imposed upon us by the unforeseen reverses. In accordance with the equality established in the military nation by Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, those who entered by the lowest rank had the right of promotion to the highest; and this was partly assured to them by the ascending scale of the middle ranks. Those who aspired to enter by a higher grade, were at first bound to show by competition some merit already acquired, then to acquire by hard study the special instruction for their duty. The obligations imposed upon, and the rights recognized by all, were upheld by law.

The supreme test of legislators is the long result of their labors. More than one has succumbed; others have not had time to find out by experience the merits or defects of their conceptions. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr created for France a strong and faithful army, religiously preserving the memory of past glory, and animated by a severely military spirit. Other circumstances have enfeebled this salutary influence, and we have gathered the bitter fruits of the lax system which was introduced under the second empire into both the morals and the interior organization of the army. When, at the opening of the session of 1818, the illustrious warrior came himself to the tribune, to defend at once the new army he wished to create and the old army which he wished to attach to the new one as a glorious reserve, he moved the chamber by his grave and firm language in recalling to its memory the sufferings of the soldiers who had recently been unhappily disbanded. This speech assured the passing of the bill.

The elections of 1816, and the partial renewing of the chamber, had brought into it elements which scarcely existed in that of 1815. The Left was brilliantly represented. Lafayette, Benjamin Constant, and Manuel attacked the press laws which

were introduced by the cabinet in 1818. The ministry had undergone several changes. Pasquier had replaced Dambray as keeper of the seals, and he was in his turn succeeded by Serre. It was he who projected the measure which did away with the exceptional régime under which the press lived for three years, and which henceforth regulated its rights and obligations. Serre has left upon those who heard him, the impression of an eloquence unapproachable even in such a time of eloquence. "He sustained general principles as a magistrate who applies them, not as a philosopher who explains them. His speech was profound and not abstract, colored and not figurative, and his arguments were actions. As strong in impromptu as after cogitation, when he had surmounted a slight hesitation and timidity at first he went to his point firmly and impressively, like a man ardently sincere, who sought nowhere personal success, and who only occupied himself in making his cause to triumph, while communicating to his audience his sentiments with his conviction."*

During the discussion of the press laws, Guizot ascended for the first time—as commissary of the king, and to defend some articles of the measure—that tribune which was to become so familiar to him. His age not yet permitting him to take part in the assembly, he took an active and ardent part in the discussions which were carried on outside the chamber by the polemics of the newspapers. Independent friends of the government, whom they sometimes annoyed even while defending it, the doctrinaires eloquently advocated their ideas in the *Globe*, the *Courier*, the *Archives philosophiques et politiques*, and the *Revue française*. Animated by the noblest hopes for the future, and every day engaged in the arena, they carried into the contest a devotion equal to their pride, and a pride which for the most part surpassed their ambition.

Their influence had increased, and became more direct and efficacious at the time when the press laws were brought before the chambers. The chambers, then renewed for the fifth time, had seen new members join the opposition; the ultras, agitated amongst themselves, plotting in their turn in a small assembly, which took from the place where it held its meeting the name of *Terrasse du bord de l'eau*. Secret notes, drawn up by Vitrolles, were addressed to the foreign powers, warning them of the dangers which menaced the restoration, and of the

* *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps.*

powerlessness of France to keep to her engagements with them if she again fell into the hands of revolutionaries. The culpability of this communication was all the more flagrant, inasmuch as our relation towards the allies had already been improved in several ways: the army of occupation had been reduced, a contract had been accepted for the payment of the war indemnity, and the Duc de Richelieu was preparing to go to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in the hope of obtaining a complete liberation of the territory. Vitrolles was expelled from the Privy Council on the 24th July, 1818. Already in 1816, for his book *La Monarchie selon la Charte*, in which he had personally offended the king, the name of Chateaubriand had been erased from the list of the ministers of State.

Richelieu succeeded at Aix-la-Chapelle, and had the pleasure of returning to Paris as bearer of the convention, signed on the 9th of October in the Congress, which settled the 30th of November as the date of the withdrawal of the foreign troops. The days of grace which had been granted to France for its payments were doubled. Meanwhile the allies had cemented their union by a protocol which was destined to perpetuate it, and the Emperor Alexander—instructed by Pozzo, who had joined him at the Congress—warned Richelieu against the dangers which were menacing the government of the king. Every one was finding fault with the electoral law. The Duc de Richelieu was strongly in favor of modifying it, and he arrived at Paris with that idea on the 28th of November, 1818.

The electoral law was unjustly attacked, and the inconveniences which resulted from its application flowed inevitably from the violent strife of parties, equally ardent and inexperienced. The Duc de Richelieu met in the very heart of his cabinet an opposition which he could not put down, and he decided to break with Decazes, who had become a count and a member of the Chamber of Peers. The latter retired at first before the fury of the right; but Richelieu having vainly endeavored to form a cabinet, Decazes became the directing minister, at the head of an enfeebled and divided majority, confronted by the ultras, more and more irreconcilable, and by the left, more numerous and animated than in the past. The enterprise was beyond his powers, and all the eloquence of Serre, who had become keeper of the seals, did not suffice to carry it out.

He alone represented in the government the friends from whom he was to separate with *éclat*. Decazes pressed Royer-

Collard to enter the cabinet. He hesitated, accepted for a moment, then at last refused. "You do not know what you would do," he said to Decazes. "My way of treating matters is entirely different from yours. You evade the questions, you twist them about, you gain time. As for me, I should attack them in front, produce them in public, and turn them inside out before everybody. I should compromise, instead of aiding you."* Royer-Collard was right. He was more fit to counsel and control power, than to exercise it; he was a great spectator and a great critic, rather than a great political actor. General Dessoles had become minister of foreign affairs, and Baron Louis minister of finance. The electoral law remained still intact.

It was destined soon to undergo new attacks, for the always precarious existence of the ministry was not to last long. "There was in the parliamentary arena a cabinet brilliant with integrity, and in the country a loyally constitutional government. But it possessed more rhetorical than political power, and neither its care for personal safety nor its successes in the tribune were sufficient to rally the great government party which its formation had divided. Discord was kindling between the chambers themselves. The Chamber of Peers accepted the proposal of the Marquis Barthélemy for the reform of the law of elections. The attacks of the right as well as the left were still more efficacious in shaking the power, than the latter's victories were in consolidating it. The constant favor of the king sustained uneasily a friend whose downfall he foresaw with sadness. Two sinister events—the one long prepared by the directing committee of the affairs of the left, the other unforeseen by all—gave the fatal blow to the ministry of Decazes. Grégoire, formerly a constitutional bishop, regicide by his approval of the condemnation of Louis XVI., and senator under the Empire, at once pious and revolutionary through every phase of his existence, was returned to the Chamber of Deputies by the assembly of Grenoble (11th September, 1819), and, on the 13th of February, 1820, the Duc de Berry was assassinated by Louvel, on coming out of the Opera.

The election of Grégoire was not long in being invalidated by the chamber itself; but it appeared none the less a sign of the times, and caused a lively feeling of uneasiness, not only

* *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps.*

in France; among the moderate spirits which were occupied with the progress of reaction towards the left, but in Europe, among the sovereigns and ministers menaced with revolution. Risings had taken place in England, and Parliament had voted laws of repression. The democratic fermentation was daily increasing in Germany. A celebrated dramatist, Auguste Kotzebue, accused of betraying the national cause, had been assassinated on the 28th of March, 1819, by a fanatic called Charles Sand, who cried out, as he struck his victim, "O God, I thank Thee that Thou hast permitted me to do this deed!" Prussia and Austria united to repress the progress of the evil. They did not let the fears be unknown in Paris with which they were inspired by the state of France, always destined to assure or to disturb the world's repose. The king inclined henceforth to the proposed reforms in the electoral law. "Well, brother, you see what they are driving you to!" said the Comte d'Artois, who for a long time had abstained from talking politics in the royal circle. "Yes, brother, and I will provide for it," replied Louis XVIII. A draft of the law of legislature was prepared by Serre, with the consent of the Duc de Berry.

The minds of men were at the same time troubled by other causes of agitation. There was ever since the first days of the restoration the constant effort of the Catholics, eager to establish between Church and State those ties which they deemed necessary to the independence and the dignity of the clergy. An attempt had been made at Rome to modify in this sense the Concordat of 1801, but the negotiations, badly entered upon, were abortive, and the new Concordat, for a moment accepted in 1817, was abandoned in 1819. Almost at the same time, and in spite of the overwhelming influence which he exercised over the great Council of Public Instruction, Royer-Collard resigned the presidency, uneasy, it was said, at some hostile tendencies towards the university which he came upon when in power. "We shall perish; this is a solution," he replied to Decazes, who was seeking to reattach him to the government. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, General Dessoles, and Baron Louis refused to touch the electoral law. The Duc de Richelieu had not consented to charge himself with the formation of a new cabinet. Pasquier, Roy, and La Tour-Maubourg replaced in the council the retiring ministers, and Decazes became its president.

More than ever was the cabinet lacking in force and unity; more than ever was it attacked by all parties, abandoned by a part of the doctrinaires, and sustained by the younger and more

ardent, who inspired measures of pacification and liberalism. Seven of the peers who had been excluded after the hundred days were reinstalled; and Marshal Grouchy and General Gilly were comprised in the amnesty. The Duc de Rovigo, tried for contumacy, was acquitted. The projected electoral law remained in suspense in consequence of the illness of Serre; what was known or guessed as to its nature roused the violent indignation of the left, well satisfied up to that time by the law of the 5th of February, 1817. The cabinet had entered upon *pourparlers* with the chiefs of the right, and appeared disposed to make important concessions to them; when, on the night of the 13th of February, 1820, the rumor ran through Paris that the Duc de Berry, after conducting his wife to her carriage on coming out of the Opera, had been stabbed as he was re-entering the hall. The princess hearing the cry of her wounded husband, threw herself from the carriage at once, and was covered with his blood. Some months before (after two miscarriages) she had given birth to a daughter, and was again looking forward to become a mother, when, to the sound of the joyful music, she received in her arms the lifeless body of the duke. From the first there was but little hope. Already, around the couch of the dying man, sinister rumors and incredible suspicions were circulating. The grief and marked concern of Decazes as chief of the cabinet were arousing an evident distrust. The examination of Louvel, who declared that he had acted of his own accord and without any accomplice, did not allay the excitement. The prince bade farewell to those who surrounded him, beseeching the king to forgive the man who had stabbed him. The Duchesse de Berry, mad with despair, asked permission to return to Sicily. King Louis XVIII. himself closed the eyes of the nephew whom he called his son.

The storm broke forth in the chambers before they had been officially informed of the death of the Duc de Berry. Clausel de Coussergues, a member of the Court of Cassation, and a fanatical royalist, rushed into the tribune, robed in mourning. "Gentlemen," cried he, "there is no law defining the method of making an accusation against ministers, but the debate upon such a question ought naturally to take place in public sitting." I propose to the chamber to vote an indictment against M. Decazes, minister of the interior, as an accomplice in the assassination of the Duc de Berry, and I ask leave to speak in support of my proposition." Silence was imposed on the

orator, by cries that were almost unanimous; but his idea had taken root in many minds. A proposal by Bourdonnaye for an address to the king, veiled the same accusation in more guarded forms of speech. General Foy protested. "Let it be simply a question," said he, "of the tears that we shall all shed over a prince regretted by all Frenchmen, and especially regretted by the friends of liberty, because they know that advantage will be taken of this frightful occurrence to seek to destroy the liberties and the rights which have been recognized and sanctioned by the wisdom of the monarch."

Immediately, and with justice, Louis XVIII. instinctively felt himself menaced by the odious attack upon his minister. "The royalists gave me the finishing stroke," said he; "they know that the policy of M. Decazes is also mine, and they accuse him of having assassinated my nephew. It is not the first calumny that they have hurled at me. I wish to save our country without the ultras, if it is possible. Let us seek for a majority outside the circle of M. Clausel, and M. de la Bourdonnaye and their friends." In the Chamber of Deputies, Ste. Aulaire, father-in-law of Decazes, hearing Clausel de Coussergues repeating, with a slight modification, his denunciation of the previous day, cried out, "I do not oppose M. Clausel's proposition being consigned to the minutes. I content myself with asking that the reply which I make to it may also be included. This reply will not be lengthy: You are a calumniator!"

The current of excited passions was too violent to yield to the beneficent wishes of the monarch, and the patriotic efforts of sober-minded men. Sinister projects were being agitated amongst the men of the right. They had dared to propose to the Duke de Bellune to use force towards the president of the Council if he persisted in retaining power. In the chambers, the two parties in opposition, equally excited, inveighed against the measures abridging personal liberty and the freedom of the press, such measures having been immediately proposed by the minister. It was indispensable to the government that these measures should be adopted. The left centre would only consent to support them on condition of the abandonment of the new electoral law. "It is necessary for the ultras to be once more in power," said Royer-Collard; "they will not keep it three months. What do I say? They will not ascend the tribune three times. There is a sword of Damocles suspended above our heads, and it is necessary to take measures to dispel the danger."

Once more in possession of power, the ultras were to retain it much longer, and to use it with more vigor than Royer-Collard had foreseen. Decazes, however, could not deceive himself as to the dangers of the situation in which he found himself placed, and he begged the king to sanction his retirement. The royalists did not cease repeating that only one victim was necessary to them, and that they were ready to support the Duc de Richelieu. The latter persisted in remaining in his retreat; the king refused to intervene. "I have too many times sought in vain for the co-operation of M. de Richelieu," said he; "my dignity does not permit me to try again." The violence of the journals against the president of the Council continued to increase, and the threats respecting his liberty and his life grew more serious. Vitrolles apprised Monsieur of these things. "In the interest of the king, as well as in that of the monarchy," said he, "a voluntary retreat would be more advantageous than a defeat accomplished by violence." Monsieur repaired to the king, accompanied by the Duchesse d'Angoulême, pleading earnestly for the abandonment of the favorite. "We make this request of you in order to escape a fresh crime." "Ah!" cried the king, "I will brave the daggers; and there is a greater distance than you think between the assassin's steel and the heart of an honest man." "Ah! sire," replied madame, "thanks to God it is not for your majesty that we fear, but for one who is very dear to you." "I defy the crime on my friend's account, as well as on my own," proudly responded Louis XVIII. Decazes, who arrived a few moments later, obtained, however, permission to retire. Richelieu yielded to the entreaties that were made to him in the name of the monarch. Monsieur wished to have his share in the settlement, and went to the house of Richelieu who was ill. "Only one thing in the world do I ask of you," said he; "one man more, that is yourself; one man less, that is M. Decazes. Form your ministry as shall seem good to yourself, and be certain that I shall approve everything and support everything. Your policy shall be mine, and I will be your foremost champion."

Monsieur promised for himself and his party more than he was able, and more than he was destined, to fulfil. The Duc de Richelieu foresaw this when he saw himself compelled once more to accept power. The new *Duc Decazes*, minister of state, member of the Privy Council, set out for London in the capacity of ambassador. The Duc de Richelieu having refused

to take a portfolio, there had been some difficulty in finding a new minister of the interior. Count Simon was at last called upon to undertake this difficult charge. An advocate at the bar of Aix before the revolution, banished on the 18th Fructidor, he had been councillor of state under the empire. Appointed a representative during the hundred days, and since then a member of the Chamber of Deputies, he had gone through all *régimes* with a tranquil complaisance which did not promise to strengthen the government he consented to serve. Mounier, son of the celebrated member of the Constituent Assembly, replaced Guizot in the direction of the departmental and communal administration, which had been entrusted to the latter under Decazes.

The first acts of the minister soon gave opportunity for judging what would be the direction of his policy. Serre, always absent, but resolved upon supporting the Duc de Richelieu with all his influence, and with the venerated brilliancy of his eloquence, retained considerable irritation against his old friends, who had been in alliance with Decazes. "It is M. Royer-Collard and his friends," wrote he to the fallen minister; "it is their intractable pride which has done you most harm, and which has precipitated your fall by placing you in the power of the ultras." He hastened to satisfy immediately his animosities and his fears: Royer-Collard, Camille-Jordan, Barante, and Guizot were struck out of the list of the Council of State. "I was expecting your letter," replied Guizot to the keeper of the seals. "I ought to have foreseen it, and I did foresee it, when I proudly manifested my disapprobation. I congratulate myself on having no change to make in my conduct. To-day, as yesterday, I shall belong only to myself, and that completely." Decazes vainly labored to effect a reconciliation between his friend and the government.

The outburst of royalist violence against him did not cease with his fall. For a long time an enemy to Decazes, Chateaubriand dared to write in the *Conservateur* these words, of mournful celebrity. "Those who still struggle against public hatred have not been able to resist public sorrow; our tears, our sighs, our sobs have terrified an imprudent minister; his feet have slipped from under him in a pool of blood; he has fallen." The importance of the victory of the ultras was estimated by their passionate attacks upon liberty. "The assassination of the Duc de Berry," wrote Charles Nodier, in the

Drapeau Blanc, "is a clause of the ordinance of September 5th. It is asked whether the knife which killed the Duc de Berry was a poniard, a dagger, or what: I have seen it; the instrument is a liberal idea."

During the trial of the assassin (whose crime had furnished the occasion, but was not the origin of the outburst of political passions) the discussion upon the "laws of exception" was exciting in the chambers violent storms, which were re-echoing far beyond, creating in Paris and in the departments an ever-increasing agitation. Honestly but vainly desirous of maintaining a moderate line of conduct, the government inclined more and more towards the right, and found itself every day more effectually and more eagerly attacked by the liberals. "Whilst even the ministers are sometimes led astray," said Benjamin Constant, "the representatives of the nation have walked in the lines of the constitution. Do you wish to depart from them? Will you re-enact the 'laws of exception?' The Convention, the Directory, Bonaparte, governed by laws of exception! Where is the Convention? Where is the Directory? Where is Bonaparte?" General Foy was roused up to exclaim, "Do you think that without the presence of foreigners, and the terror that they inspired, we should have ingloriously submitted to the outrages and insults of a handful of wretches whom we despised, and whom we have seen in the dust for thirty years?" Corday, a member of the left, rose in his place, and loudly cried, "Monsieur, you are an insolent fellow!" A duel took place the next day, followed by a reconciliation; but the public fervor was less easily calmed than private quarrels; the people increasingly gathered in crowds outside the chambers. The voting of the laws of exception was followed by the suppression of several journals. A national subscription was opened at the house of Lafitte in favor of the victims of the new legislation. The electoral law was destined to arouse more violent and more dangerous attacks. It was modified in order to satisfy the right. After the discussion it was found almost assimilated to the project elaborated in 1819 by Serre. He supported it on several occasions with an eloquence which the state of his health rendered sorrowfully effective. Adversaries the most formidable were roused up against the various articles of the project. Twice Royer-Collard spoke with that unanswerable authority which his character as well as his mental superiority merited. Corbière accused him of upholding the sovereignty of the people. The illustrious defender of a wise liberty thus

proudly expounded its eternal basis. "Privilege, absolute power, the sovereignty of the people, are, under diverse, and more or less unfortunate forms, the empire of force upon earth. There are two elements in society—the one material, which is the individual, his power and his will; the other moral, which is right, resulting from the true interests of society. Will you form society out of the material element? Then the majority of individuals—the majority of wills, whatever they may be, is sovereign. If voluntarily, or in spite of itself, this sovereignty blindly or violently places itself in the hands of a single person or of several persons, without changing its character, it is a force more wise and more moderate, but it is still only force. This is the root of absolute power and of privilege. Will you, on the contrary, form society with the moral element, which is right? Justice is the sovereign, because justice is the rule of right. Free constitutions have for their object the dethronement of force and the accomplishment of the reign of justice. It is force if your government represents persons; it is justice if it represents rights and interests."

It was the glory of Royer-Collard, and the secret of his influence over the distinguished men who surrounded him, that he always raised to the highest regions of thought the questions upon which he spoke. This was also the cause of his isolation even in the midst of his brilliant renown. Lafayette more effectively declared war against the government by a threatening manifesto. "I flattered myself," said he, "that the different parties, yielding at last to the general need for freedom and repose, were by mutual sacrifices, and with no mental reservations, about to seek these benefits in the exercise of the rights which the charter has recognized. My hopes have been deceived. The counter-revolution rests with the government, but they wish to fix the blame on the chambers. It has devolved on my friends and myself to declare it to the nation. Thinking also that the engagements of the charter were founded on reciprocity, I have loyally denounced the violators of their sworn faith."

In developing his thought, Lafayette manifested his fear lest the younger generation, threatened with the loss of all the fruits of the revolution, should themselves seize once more upon the sacred fasces of the principles of eternal truth and sovereign justice. The struggle, in fact, was already commencing in the streets, between the young royalists from the barracks of the body-guard (as it was said) and the students, ardently liberal,

grouped round the chambers or escorting popular deputies. On the 3rd of June a pupil of the school of law, the young Lallemand, was killed by a pistol-shot. The agitation lasted for several days, maintained by the funeral obsequies of the unfortunate victim as well as by the trial and execution of Louvel. On August 19th, after the closing of the session and the passing of the electoral law, an important conspiracy was suddenly discovered, hatched by a few Bonapartist officers, and by the young leaders of the democratic party. The day had arrived for carrying out the enterprise. Several arrests were effected; the accused, numerous and important, were sent before the Court of Peers.

The popular and political emotion which was reigning in France, and which was re-echoing afar, was, in its turn, excited and encouraged by the blasts of revolution which had again begun to blow across Europe. In England, King George III. had just died, tenderly regretted by his people, who had constantly loved and respected him through his long madness: the scandalous trial instituted by the new monarch, George IV., against his queen, Caroline of Brunswick, excited the most violent and contrary passions. The revolution having broken out in Spain, King Ferdinand VII. was obliged to accept the constitution voted in 1812, by the Cortes met at Cadiz during the national war against the Emperor Napoleon and King Joseph. The reaction was immediately felt at Naples; the sovereigns found themselves compelled to proclaim the Spanish Constitution, though ignorant of its conditions. Portugal was affected by the same contagion. The Diet of Warsaw rejected the laws proposed by the Emperor Alexander; a regiment mutinied at St. Petersburg. The European sovereigns became so uneasy that a congress was convoked at Troppau, and afterwards at Laybach, for the purpose of taking the measures necessary for maintaining public order. Metternich, one of the most able and skilful amongst diplomatists, succeeded in separating the Emperor Alexander from alliance with France, as well as from the liberal ideas which had brought them together. A protocol of Russia, Prussia, and Austria laid down the principle of armed intervention in the case of States in a state of revolution. It was also decided to apply the principle to the kingdom of Naples. England had urged Austria to interfere alone in the affairs of the two Sicilies, and refused to adhere to the declaration of the absolutist powers. France placed restrictions upon her adhesion. The King of Naples was called to take part in

the congress, but the Neapolitan Parliament would not agree to his appointing his son, the Duke of Calabria, regent, till he had sworn that he would make no change in the constitution. The conciliatory appeals issued from Laybach by the monarch who had thus recovered his liberty, produced no result; the Austrian troops entered the kingdom of Naples. At the same moment a military insurrection broke out in Piedmont, and the king having refused to accept the Spanish Constitution, a model approved by all the revolutionaries, found himself obliged to abdicate. An Austrian army was at once directed against Piedmont, with the support of those troops who had remained loyal. Both in Turin and Naples the Austrian forces were completely successful, the Neapolitans scattering like cowards. After some serious resistance, the Piedmontese insurgents were beaten at Novara. The fears of the congress were removed, though some indignation was still felt. Piedmont, as well as the Two Sicilies, was now placed under Austrian occupation by diplomatic convention; there was some display of absolutist reaction at Naples; at Turin, a severe repression was brought to bear upon the revolutionists, and even the liberals. Lombardy and Modena were agitated by the political trials of some prominent public men; and the legations were also much disturbed. The Pope excommunicated the "carbonari," who had, for the most part, a share in the disorders of the Italian peninsula. Metternich triumphed at Laybach: he at first succeeded in influencing the Emperor Alexander, and secured his assistance in declaring against the revolutionary spirit, which he was too apt to confound with the spirit of liberty. "The allied sovereigns were not ignorant of the fact that they had to resist a devastating torrent," said the circular adopted by Austria, Prussia, and Russia; "to preserve whatever legally exists, was the invariable principle of their policy. The changes useful and necessary to the legislation and administration of States should emanate only from the free will, the well-considered and enlightened impulse, of those whom God had rendered responsible for the power. All that exceeds that limit must necessarily lead to disorder and social overthrow—to evils much more insupportable than those pretended to be remedied."

Neither France nor England adhered to this frank declaration of absolute power, and the coalition of European states was thus virtually dissolved. The ultra-royalist party were none the less delighted because this distant success succeeded

the fears caused by the rising tide of revolution. All seemed to conspire to urge the government towards that right side, which alone offered it enthusiastic support. On the 29th September, 1820, the Duchess of Berry gave birth to a child, whose birth caused transports of joy not only to the extreme royalists, but to the mass of the population. None but a few men of foresight were apprehensive of seeing the imprudent partisans of power derive additional arrogance from that certainty of direct succession. Every day the separation between the ministry and liberals became more complete. Serre entirely abandoned his former friends, who opposed him with increasing vivacity. In his pamphlet entitled, *The Government of France since the Restoration*, Guizot severely attacked him. Next year, 1821, he endeavored to direct his friends in the way of legal opposition, and regular government offered them by the charter. His work *On the Present Government and Opposition in France* was entirely devoted to this purpose.

The partial renewal of the chamber was an indication that the royalists were being visited by a return of favor. A large number of the members of the "lost chamber" were again elected. Richelieu and Pasquier began to feel uneasy as to a success exceeding their hopes and desires. The king thought the same:—"Why, we are now like the poor knight who had not agility enough to leap on horseback," said he; "he prayed to St. George with such fervor that St. George gave him more than there was need for, and he jumped to the other side."

The result of the increase of power on the right was inevitable. Richelieu resolved to gain over the principal leaders. After long hesitation, mixed with some dissension, Villèle and Corbière, moderate leaders of the excited party, accepted the title of ministers without office, which was also granted to Lainé, who had long refused the office of president of public instruction. This duty was entrusted to Corbière. Chateaubriand was appointed minister at Berlin, and had great influence in securing the admission of his friends into the cabinet. "It is true that in the cabinet we are only two against seven," said Villèle, "but we rely upon a compact mass of one hundred and sixty deputies, whereas our seven colleagues have not more than a hundred behind them. With such support it will be our own fault if we have not the preponderance."

It was in fact the preponderance of the ardent and combative right which was every day becoming obviously more perma-

nent. The moderate right, approximating to the centre, both in their views and interests, still rallied round the Duc de Richelieu and Pasquier, though tacitly beaten. Still the peaceful alliance of the two parts of the right could not last, and the declarations of Villèle and Corbière in favor of an efficacious and practical government having been repelled by Richelieu, the two leaders of the right withdrew, one starting for Toulouse, and the other for Rennes. Their friends in the chambers redoubled their attacks upon the ministry, and when Richelieu complained to Monsieur, reminding him of his promises, which had been repeated since his entry into the ministry; "The fact is, my dear duke," replied Monsieur, "if you allow me to say so, you have taken my words too literally: and then the circumstances then were so difficult." The president rose abruptly, and hurrying to Pasquier's house threw himself into an arm-chair, exclaiming, "He has broken his word of honor! He has broken his word as a gentleman!" "What would you have me to do?" said the king to Richelieu. "He conspired against Louis XVI.; he conspired against me; he will conspire against himself." The explosion of a barrel of gunpowder in the king's apartments gave room to suspect another attempt to renew the painful circumstances preceding the fall of the Duc Decazes. The king himself shared this opinion. "These attempts are Protean," he wrote to Decazes, "every day assuming a new form. It is quite probable that at the bottom of the sack there may be found an infamous intrigue, instead of an execrable wretch."

Nevertheless Richelieu succumbed to the attack directed against him. He had refused to sacrifice several of his colleagues, and his colleagues in their turn refused to take share in the new ministry. When the ultras made some advances, Serre replied, as Royer-Collard had recently done: "You have not enough for three months." Montmorency, Villèle, Corbière, Peyronnet, Bellune, and Clermont-Tonnerre, now composed the government. Ravez, president of the Chamber of Deputies, belonged to the right. Chateaubriand was sent to London as ambassador. The power passed entirely, and for several years, into the hands of men who had scarcely the slightest experience of it in the chambers, without having ever really exercised it. Villèle, "moderator" of the right, who was frequently unaware of the ideas, passions, and plans of his friends, nevertheless found himself at the head of the government as a party man, where he was to remain for some

time as a party man, although he strove to make the government spirit have more influence with his associates than the party spirit. He reached this result by the great and natural way: the head of the parliamentary majority became head of the government.

At the moment when his cabinet was being formed his position was one of the greatest difficulty. "It was no longer stormy discussions in the chamber, and riots in the streets: secret societies, plots, insurrections, an enthusiastic resolution to overthrow the established order, were everywhere fermenting and manifesting themselves in the eastern, western, and southern departments; at Belfort, Colmar, Toulon, Saumur, Nantes, Rochelle, even at Paris before the eyes of the ministers, among both military and professional men, both in the royal guard and the regiments of the line. Within less than three years the restoration was attacked and endangered by eight serious plots."*

The general excitement and alarm was excessive. The public liberty was not seriously endangered, and those who defended it were not disarmed. To struggle against the tendency of a government which displeased them, they had numerous adequate legal resources. They were nevertheless sincere in their patriotic prejudices, convinced that all means were not only permitted, but necessary, to protect the great liberal institutions recently secured to the country. The three leaders of the different parties in the opposition in the Chamber of Deputies, Lafayette, Manuel, and Argenson, brought to the conspiracies their characteristic habits of thought and natural disposition. With obstinate fidelity to the principles of liberty which he had adopted when young, Lafayette could, at certain periods of his life, meet the arguments of demagogues with unswerving firmness. A man of noble birth, liberal and popular, with no natural disposition to be revolutionary, he was blindly induced to be urged and to urge others to repeated revolutions. Manuel was the docile son and able defender of the revolution which had been accomplished since 1789, capable of becoming in her service a government partisan, but determined in any case to support her at all risks. Argenson, a melancholy dreamer, passionately devoted to the cure of the evils afflicting the human race, plotted with much hope of success, but always with untiring energy.

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

The Court of the Peers showed great moderation with respect to the accused of the 19th August. It had pronounced the charge inapplicable to most of the principal men who were implicated, and acquitted many of the others. The plots which afterwards were divulged towards the end of 1821, at Saumur and Belfort, seemed to be more skilfully contrived. Carbonarism had made great progress in France, and the leaders were resolved not to abandon their accomplices. An accident led to the discovery of the Saumur conspiracy, the centre of which was the military school. The movement which soon after declared itself in Alsace and delivered up Colmar to a provisional government, proved abortive, like that of Saumur, on account of repeated blunders.

On the 1st of January, 1822, Lafayette reached Belfort, to put himself at the head of the insurrection. He found the plot had been discovered, and several of the leaders arrested. On January 7th, Arnold Scheffer and Courcelles went to Marseilles, where they expected to find preparations made for a rising; the same disappointment attended them, their accomplices were either arrested or in flight. Several weeks afterwards, on the 24th of February, a more serious attempt at last broke out in the west, Saumur being the centre, and General Berton the principal leader. The town was attacked by bands of men from Parthenay and Thouars; but the hesitation of the inhabitants, and the determined attitude of a certain number of the pupils in the military school, put a stop to that unimportant manifestation. There was at the same time great excitement in the 45th regiment of the line, then garrisoned at Rochelle: four young sub-officers were accused of taking a leading part in the insurrection. Almost simultaneously a rising was attempted at Colmar, to deliver those accused of conspiring at Belfort. In all parts of France, under the influence and auspices of the Carbonari, there was an outburst of attempts, which were both serious and silly, followed up step by step by the authorities, and sometimes even encouraged eagerly by interested agents. During two years these men procured from various parts of the kingdom nineteen condemnations to death, twelve of which were carried out. Imprisoned after the Rochelle plot, the four sergeants, Bories, Raoulx, Goubin, and Pommier, were on the point of undergoing their sentence, to escape which attempts had been in vain made in their favor, though they were ignorant of it, and probably thought they were abandoned. The magistrates

urged them to save their lives by giving some information as to the chief instigators of their fatal attempt. They all replied that they had nothing to reveal, and died without a word. Such devotion deserved leaders of more foresight.

Such noisy but powerless attempts at a rising were of service to the new government rather than a cause of weakness. The violence of the parliamentary debates increased, but the protection granted to the conspirators by those who did not conspire was necessarily prejudicial to the latter. Press censorship now brought many to trial: Béranger being twice already condemned for his outspoken songs, Benjamin Constant also was prosecuted.

The elections of a fifth of the chamber strengthened the ministerial majority. The power had really passed from the king's hands to those of Monsieur and his friends. Richelieu died on the 17th May, regretted and respected even by those who had most keenly opposed him. On his return from Aix-la-Chapelle, after the evacuation of the territory, he at first, with quiet simplicity, refused the national recompense offered him, and made over to the Bordeaux hospitals as a gift the income of 50,000 livres which was finally settled upon him. The king had always more esteemed him than loved him; habit had great influence in his personal affection, which the Duke Decazes had seen decrease with his removal. Henceforward other influences bore upon Louis XVIII., which were favorable to the predominance of the ultras.

From this time the tendencies of the government were clearly manifested. On the 1st of June the Abbé Frayssinous was appointed grand master of the university. An eloquent orator, honorable and candid, weak in character and narrow-minded, he was sometimes alarmed at the violent acts to which he found himself driven, without resisting or blaming them. The reorganization of the school of medicine, and school of law, and the suppression of the normal school were succeeded by stringent measures against individuals. In the preceding year Cousin's philosophical lectures were closed. Guizot's lectures in modern history were attended by a multitude of lads, who were diligently occupied in more serious studies; the tendency of the teaching was as moderate as it was liberal, but the professor was well-known to be strongly opposed to the government, and the lectures were suspended. It was in reviews and newspapers that independent minds now found

expression, not having yet attained their natural development in the parliamentary arena.

The government were now triumphant in France, the effervescence of the opposition being less eager without losing its earnestness; and conspiracies ceased. Villèle had to struggle against the interior difficulties of his party and foreign embarrassments. The Italian revolutionists were easily beaten by the Austrian armies. The Spanish revolution remained triumphant, and was said to threaten the life of King Ferdinand VII., as it certainly hampered his liberty of action. Men's minds were anxiously expecting a European intervention in Spain, a congress at Verona having been invoked to deliberate upon it.

When Villèle, in forming his cabinet, proposed to the king to appoint Mathieu de Montmorency as foreign minister, Louis XVIII. made several objections. Eagerly devoted to good works of every kind, president of those powerful associations consecrated to that end which were known by the name of "the Congregation," and with great influence naturally among the earnest Catholics of the right, Montmorency's intellect was not in proportion to his virtue. "He will betray you without intending it, from weakness," said the king: "when away from you, he will act according to his inclinations, not your directions; and instead of being served, you will be thwarted and compromised." The penetration of Louis XVIII. had not deceived him. When Villèle sent Montmorency to the Verona congress, the head of the ministry wished France to remain a stranger to any armed intervention in Spain, and instructed his representatives to undertake no engagements to that effect. Chateaubriand accompanied Montmorency to the congress; sharing secretly the views of the foreign minister rather than those of Villèle, he at first withheld his views and kept himself in the background. Metternich had resolved to draw France into the policy of intervention, contrary to that of England, and thus at one blow destroy the Spanish revolution by French arms, and the alliance between Paris and London, which was annoying to him. Montmorency easily gave way to his influence, and Chateaubriand was seduced by the flattering attentions of the Emperor Alexander. France found herself engaged to a course suitable to the purposes of the three great northern powers, which would necessarily lead to a war with Spain. The king refused to recall at once his ambassador from Madrid. "Louis XIV. destroyed the Pyrenees," said he; "I

shall not allow them to be raised again. He placed my house on the throne of Spain; I shall not allow it to fall. The other sovereigns have not the same duties as I; my ambassador must not quit Madrid till the day when 100,000 Frenchmen march to replace him." In reality, when thus speaking Louis XVIII. had tacitly accepted the part assigned him by Metternich in the European intervention in Spain, but he was lending his ear to the proposals made by the Duke of Wellington on the part of England. The two powers were to treat with the Spanish government in a friendly manner, in order to obtain such constitutional concessions as would preserve a state of peace. Montmorency believed his policy was condemned, and resigned, being replaced by Chateaubriand as minister of foreign affairs.

The war, nevertheless, became imminent. The Spanish government, proudly resolving to maintain the national independence, would make no concession. The French ambassador, Lagarde, was recalled, and on the 23rd January, 1823, at the opening of the chambers, the king himself announced the resolution he had formed. "I have ordered the recall of my minister," said he; "100,000 Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of my family whom I fondly call my son, are ready to march with a prayer to the God of St. Louis, that they may preserve the throne of Spain to the grandson of Henri IV., save that fair kingdom from ruin, and reconcile it to Europe. Let Ferdinand VII. be free to give to his people the institutions which they can have only from him, and which, while securing tranquillity to Spain, will remove the well-founded uneasiness of France; from that moment hostilities will cease, as I now, gentlemen, in your presence solemnly promise."

On the 15th March, 1823, the Duke of Angoulême and his staff left Paris, much liked and respected by the army on account of his moderation and justice. He soon gave a double proof of his strength of mind. On account of the loyalty of several officers being doubted in Paris, the Duc de Bellune, then minister of war, resolved to take the post of major-general at the head of the Spanish army; but the prince firmly resisted, and the Duc de Bellune was recalled. At the same time the Duke of Angoulême, being with good reason dissatisfied with the administration of military supplies, entrusted the management to Ouvrard, already celebrated for his daring speculations, but of great skill and foresight. On the 7th April, the French advanced-guard crossed the Bidassoa, and

the duke entered Irun, already thronged with his allies, the insurgents and royalist juntas. Almost at the same moment the Cortes left Madrid, taking with them to Seville, King Ferdinand VII.

On the morning of the 24th May the prince entered the Spanish capital, without having met any serious resistance. He at once appointed a regency under the presidency of the Duke of Infantado. He had great difficulty in restraining the violent opposition of the royalists to the constitutionalists, and was perpetually hampered himself in his sensible procedure by the instructions sent from Paris. Chateaubriand showed great favor to the Spanish royalists, in the hope of gratifying in France the passionate enthusiasm of the right, who alone supported the armed intervention, generally disapproved of by the country. The three great powers of the north sent accredited representatives to the regency. King Louis XVIII. sent to Madrid as ambassador the Marquis of Talaru. The Cortes withdrew to Cadiz; and, on the king refusing to accompany them, they suspended his powers, and appointed a regency to compel the monarch's obedience. The Duke of Angoulême gave orders to begin the siege of Cadiz.

Spain was delivered to all the horrors of civil war. Don Miguel, second son of the King of Portugal, who was then captive, had excited a counter-revolution at Lisbon; everywhere guerilla bands of opposing factions hindered the movements of the armies, while taking an active share in the war. General Molitor, however, defeated the constitutional General Ballesteros, at Campillo de Arenas. The duke of Angoulême left Madrid to conduct personally the siege of Cadiz; and with the hope of mitigating the violence and vengeance which his presence was not sufficient to restrain, he published at Andujar, on the 8th August, an order which enjoined that political prisoners were to be set at liberty, and no arrests were to be made without instructions from the French commandants. Journalists and newspapers were subjected to the same authority.

This order offended both the good and the evil passions of the Spanish royalists, their national pride, and their thirst for vengeance. Its publication was stopped in Madrid, and it was severely blamed in Paris. Villèle wrote to the Duke of Angoulême that it was a breaking of the engagements entered into with Spain that we should not interfere in her home affairs. Every day aggravated the dissension between the Spanish

regency and the powerful ally that had established it, and protected it with her arms. This was frequently painful to Angoulême's honorably sincerity. His success in carrying the Trocadéro fort before Cadiz led to a commencement of negotiations with the Cortes. "What most worries them," said the prince, "is the question of guarantees; for they know that the king's word is utterly worthless, and that in spite of his promises he might very well hang every one of them."

No guarantee could restrain the vindictive and angry passions of the victorious royalists. The war was still carried on in several parts, but Cadiz succumbed to our attacks by sea and land. On the 30th September, the Cortes declared themselves dissolved, and King Ferdinand VII. now free, embarked next day with all his family, to meet, at port St. Marie, the Duke of Angoulême, and the principal members of the regency of Madrid, who had just arrived at head-quarters. The shouts of the populace already hailed the monarch, and threatened his enemies. Angoulême insisted upon a general pardon; but the King of Spain pointed out with his hand the ragged crowd gathered under the windows of the palace, and replied, "You hear the will of the people." "This country is about to fall back into absolutism," wrote the prince to Villèle. "I have conscientiously done my part, and shall only express my settled conviction that every foolish act that can be done will be done."

The reaction was already setting in with unparalleled violence. All the acts of the constitutional government were annulled. Even before reaching Madrid, Ferdinand VII. banished for life to fifteen leagues from the capital all who had had a share in it. Angoulême refused absolutely to wait for the king at Madrid, and wrote to him with severity, boldly demanding the fulfilment of his engagements with France for the good government of Spain. "I asked your Majesty to give an amnesty, and grant to your people some assurance for the future. You have done neither one nor the other. During the fourteen days since your Majesty recovered your authority, nothing has been heard of on your part but arrests and arbitrary edicts, measures opposed to all regular government and all social order. Anxiety, fear, and discontent, begin to spread everywhere."

The Duke of Angoulême returned to France thus dissatisfied and anxious, in spite of the successes he had gained, and the honor he had acquired. "The war was not popular in France:

in fact, it was unjust, because unnecessary. The Spanish revolution, in spite of its excesses, exposed France and the restoration to no serious risk; and the intervention was an attack upon the principle of the legitimate independence of states. It really produced neither to Spain nor France any good result. It restored Spain to the incurable and incapable despotism of Ferdinand VII., without putting a stop to the revolutions; it substituted the ferocities of the absolutist populace for that of the anarchical populace. Instead of confirming the influence of France beyond the Pyrenees, it threw the King of Spain into the arms of the absolutist powers, and delivered up the Spanish liberals to the protection of England. France though victorious was there politically defeated; in the eyes of all who could clearly judge, the general and permanent effects of that war were no better than its causes." *

At home it was considered a great success by the leaders of the royalists, who had imposed it upon Villèle, and with him upon King Louis XVIII. A certain coolness reigned between the prime minister and Chateaubriand. The latter had taken no share in the parliamentary government, but joined in the stormy debates in the chambers. He proudly showed his delight at the success of his war in Spain, as he termed it, and the favors showered upon him by foreign sovereigns. On the Emperor Alexander sending him the cross of St. Andrew, the king took offence, and wrote to Villèle, "Pozzo and La Ferronnays have just made me give you, through the Emperor Alexander, a slap on the cheek, but I shall be even with him, and give him a Roland for his Oliver. I now make you, my dear Villèle, knight of my orders, and they are worth more than his."

Villèle was then fully occupied with an important campaign. On the 26th February, 1823, in a keen discussion on Spanish affairs, Manuel laid the blame upon foreign intervention of the evils that formerly desolated England and France. When violently interrupted by the royalists, whose anger he constantly provoked, he replied, "Can any one be ignorant that what caused the misfortune of the Stuarts was nothing but the assistance granted them by France—an assistance foreign to the parliament—a clandestine assistance, which compelled them to place themselves in revolt against public opinion? They were precipitated by public opinion. It is certainly a

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

misfortune, but that misfortune would have been avoided had the Stuarts sought their support within the nation. Need I say that the moment when the dangers of the royal family of France became most serious, was when France, revolutionary France, felt it necessary to defend herself by strength and energy of an entirely new character?"

The orator had not finished, but no one heard the rest. The right had risen in a body with violent protestations, demanding the expulsion of the defender of regicide. Manuel remained in the tribune, apparently unmoved by the indignation which he took pleasure in exciting. In the midst of the tumult, Ravez, the president, suspended the sitting without restoring order. Neither a letter of Manuel, explaining his words, nor the moderate and manly speech delivered next day, was sufficient to calm the fury of the right. Though perhaps rather imprudently, it had determined to use its power in taking revenge of this most daring opponent. The discussion lasted several days, conducted with great keenness in the chamber, and commented upon passionately by partisans of both sides without. Manuel was saluted in the streets with loud shouts, and the police felt it necessary to close the gates of the gardens of the Tuileries.

Bourdonnaye made a formal proposal to exclude Manuel from the chamber, which was agreed to by the commission appointed to consider it. Royer-Collard eloquently contested the assembly's right to pronounce that exclusion. "I know something more hateful than the violation of the laws," said he; "and that is, to give that violation fine names in order to legitimize it and summon sophistry to the assistance of force. The revolution has only too abundantly shown this scandal. Supposing force is produced, we are sometimes powerless to prevent it: but let us at least compel it to keep its name and character, so that it may retain its responsibility. When I consider one after another the various necessities which rule human affairs, I dare not lay it down absolutely as a fixed principle that recourse to force can always be avoided. It holds a great place in every history, and receives various names according to its origin. When it comes from the government or the powers, it is called *coup d'état*; when it comes from the people, it is called 'insurrection;' when employed by a state against a state, it gets the name of 'intervention.' The recourse to force in the present case is of the first class, it is a *coup d'état* that is being directed against M. Manuel. . . . As a

matter of fact, M. Manuel has not justified regicide. He is only accused of having wished to do it; and that cannot be proved against him when he affirms the contrary. There is therefore no real reason for the exclusion; and the *coup d'état* does not fulfil the first of its conditions, which is that it be necessary."

In spite of all those efforts, an amendment of Hyde de Neuville, that Manuel should be excluded from the chamber during the remainder of the session, was carried by a large majority. Manuel boldly declared that he would not submit to such exclusion. "I acknowledge the right of no one here to accuse me or judge me," said he. "I look for judges, and I only find accusers. I do not await an act of justice; it is an act of vengeance to which I resign myself. I profess respect for the authorities, but I have much greater respect for the law which established them; and I fail to acknowledge their power as soon as, in spite of that law, they usurp rights which it has not conferred upon them. In such a state of things, I know not if submission is an act of prudence, but I know that whenever resistance is a right it becomes a duty. Having entered this chamber by the will of those who had the right to send me, I am now about to leave it only because compelled by those who have not the right to exclude me; and if that resolution on my part is to bring down on my head more serious dangers, I reflect that the field of liberty has sometimes been fertilized by noble blood!" Manuel's friends announced their intention of sharing his lot.

Next day, on the 3rd of March, a large crowd assembled round the Palais Bourbon. Manuel entered in his deputy's dress, accompanied by the whole of the left. Ravez protested officially against his presence and suspended the sitting, announcing that he was about to give the orders necessary for executing the decision of the chamber. "M. le President," said Manuel, "I declared yesterday that I should only yield to force; to-day I shall keep my word."

The members of the majority had left, and the deputies of the left with part of the left centre remained alone, motionless in their places. The first summons of the chief usher producing no result, a group of national guards appeared, with a detachment of veterans. "It is an insult to the national guard!" exclaimed Lafayette. The officer commanding the battalion advanced towards Manuel, and repeated the orders he had received for his expulsion. Then, after some hesitation, he left to go for fresh orders. Furnished this time with written in-

structions, he summoned Manuel to go out. On his refusal, he ordered the national guards to use force against the recalcitrant deputy. The national guard moved not a step. Showing the same impassibility when a second order was given, the applause of the deputies burst forth, and was repeated by several persons in the gallery. At last a detachment of gendarmes appeared on the threshold, and their colonel advancing a few steps said, "Gentlemen, I have just received official orders to compel M. Manuel to leave the chamber, since he resists the summons already made, and the efforts of the national guard." There were immediate shouts of recrimination: "Give orders to charge, as on the 18th Brumaire!" The colonel advanced towards Manuel, and seized him by the arm, while two gendarmes laid hold on his collar. His friends rushed towards him. "That is sufficient, gentlemen!" said Manuel, after being moved a short distance. He went out of the hall accompanied by all the members of the left, and allowed himself to be conducted to his carriage.

On account of this violation of the privileges of the chamber, and the excitement which resulted from it, Villèle understood the necessity of another appeal to the country. He calculated to derive from that source influence enough at length to rule according to his own ideas, or that of those whose will he followed. Immediately after the Spanish campaign the success of the elections was great for the government, and their power thus confirmed for a long time. Seventeen opponents alone were re-elected. Villèle resolved to present at once two proposals, which the deputies of the right were in favor of. By the one, a general election of all the deputies septennially was substituted for the partial yearly election; that was a guarantee of power, as well as duration to the new chamber. By the second proposal, a great financial measure, the conversion of five per cent. stock into three per cents.—that is to say, paying up the stockholders in full, or reducing their interest, announced a great political measure, an indemnity to the emigrants, and prepared to carry it out. The two laws were voted without difficulty by the Chamber of Deputies; but the second was violently opposed in the Chamber of Peers. Chateaubriand spoke not a word in favor of the project: he was reported to have said, "I have seen a good many break their heads against a wall, but people who themselves build a wall to break their heads against, I never saw yet." Villèle's anger at his colleague was constantly increasing, and when the Cham-

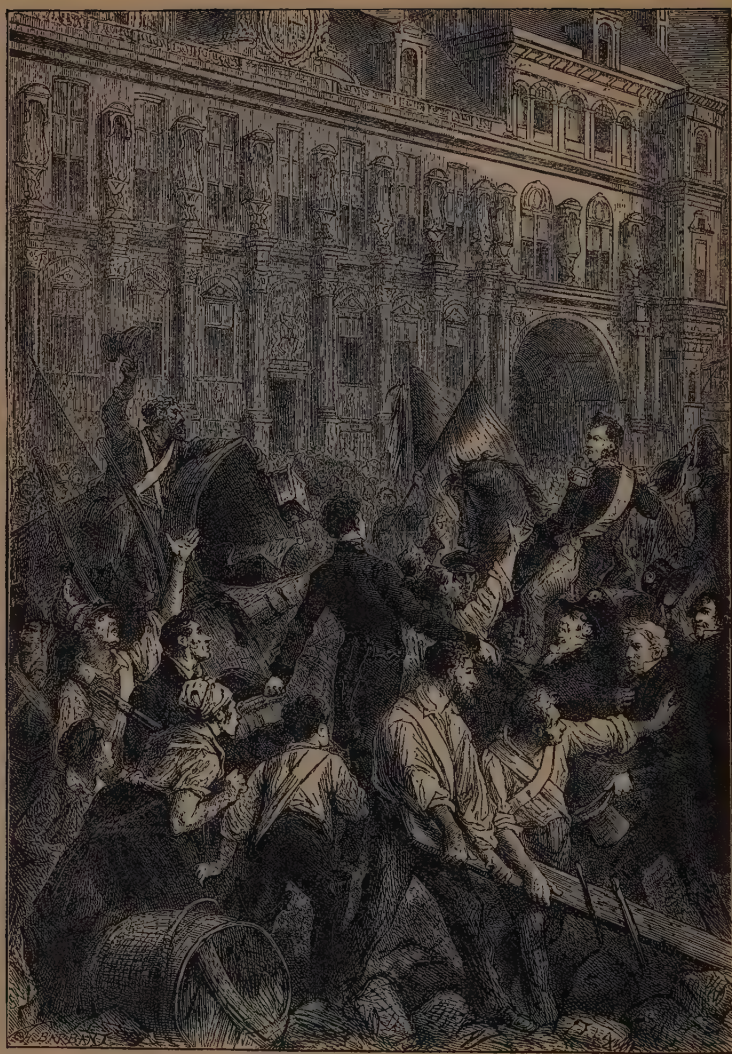
ber of Peers rejected the law, Chateaubriand went up to the president of the council and said, "If you withdraw, we are ready to follow." "Villèle's only reply," says Chateaubriand, in his *Mémoires*, "was to honor us with a look, which we still see. Next day, Whit-Sunday, the 6th June, 1824, I went to the Tuileries, at half-past six, to pay my respects to Monsieur. The first drawing-room of the Marson pavilion was almost empty, only a few persons entering, and all with an air of embarrassment. One of Monsieur's aides-de-camp said that he did not expect to see me there, and asked if I had not received any message. 'No,' said I, 'what message could I receive?' 'I suspect you will soon know,' he replied. Then, as no one came to conduct me to Monsieur's room, I went to hear the music in the chapel; and when fully intent upon the beautiful chants, an usher came to say that I was wanted. It was my secretary, Pilorge, who handed me a letter and official note, and told me I was no longer a minister. The Duc de Rauzan, who had charge of the political department, had opened the letter, but had not the courage to bring it to me. It was from Villèle, as follows, 'M. le Viscomte, in obedience to the king's command, I at once transmit to your Excellency an order which his Majesty has just given: 'Count Villèle, president of our ministerial council, is appointed interim foreign minister, replacing Viscount Chateaubriand.'"

The insult was of the grossest character, and showed the extreme imprudence of Villèle! There are some allies who are necessary, though unpleasant; and Chateaubriand, in spite of his assumption and caprice, was less dangerous as a rival than as an enemy. Now all at once become a distinguished and powerful leader of the opposition, he launched incessant attacks at the ministry, from the tribune, which was eagerly supplied to him by the *Journal des Débats*. At one time, in spite of their friendship for him, the Bertins were on the point of quarrelling with Villèle. They requested that Chateaubriand should be appointed ambassador at Rome. The minister refused, alleging the king's dislike of Chateaubriand. "In that case," replied Bertin de Vaux, "remember that *les Débats* have already overthrown the Decazes and Richelieu ministries, and can soon overthrow the Villèle ministry." "You overthrew the two first by stirring up royalism," replied Villèle; "but to overthrow mine you must first stir up a revolution."

It was from the bosom of royalism itself that the *Journal des Débats* and Chateaubriand were about to excite the keenest op-



CHARLES X.



THE DUC D'ORLEANS AT THE HÔTEL-DE-VILLE.

position to Villèle. He had driven from the chamber most of his enemies; and others, like Camille-Jordan, were dead: Serre, also dead, no longer checked him by his attacks or his assistance. Chateaubriand, however, attacked him in the Chamber of Peers, and Bourdonnaye in the Chamber of Deputies; and round them were grouped the grievances of every sort which are quickly begot by power. Resolute opponents seconded attacks, the tendency of which they sometimes disapproved. Thus Villèle found himself entirely at the mercy of his friends, compelled to husband them, and accept their wishes in order to retain their support. He had just given Monsieur and his pious advisers the satisfaction of seeing Monseigneur de Frayssinous, already grand master of the university, raised to the new functions of minister of public instruction. At the bottom of his heart, and while reckoning upon the toleration of the ultras, who were masters of the power, Villèle principally depended on the king's good will. Louis XVIII. was old and sickly, and died on the 16th of September, 1824, surrounded during his last moments, and after his death, by all the ancient pomp of royalty. Several years previously, on receiving Barbé-Marbois in his room, he said, as he pointed to his bed, "My brother will not die in that bed!" Among those sovereigns who had immediately preceded him, as well as those soon to succeed him on the throne, Louis XVIII. was to be the only one to die peacefully in his palace.

CHAPTER XIX.

KING CHARLES X. AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1830 (1834—1830).

AFTER succeeding Louis XVIII., King Charles celebrated his succession by suppressing the censure of the press, though it was soon afterwards restored. On his return to Paris (27th September), after spending several days at St. Cloud, the new monarch showed a genuine desire for conciliation, and was well received by public opinion, the only favor asked from him being dismissal of the ministry. Charles X. refused. Like his brother and his children, he looked upon Villèle as the most able and useful of all his servants. Nevertheless the president of the council soon learnt that he had changed mas-

ters, "and that there is little to be counted upon in the mind and heart of a king, however sincere, when the surface and interior are at variance. Men are much more governed than is generally believed, or than they themselves believe, by their real thoughts. Louis XVIII. and Charles X. have been much compared for the purpose of distinguishing one from the other; the distinction was much more profound than has been indicated. Louis XVIII. was a moderate of the old *régime*, and a free-thinker of the eighteenth century. Charles X. was a faithful 'emigrant,' and a humble devotee. The wisdom of Louis XVIII. was full of selfishness and skepticism, but earnest and genuine. When Charles X. acted as a wise king, it was by his sense of honor, by uncalculating kindness, by momentary impulse and the desire to please, not from conviction or taste. Through all the cabinets of his reign—Montesquiou, Talleyrand, Richelieu, Decazes, and Villèle—the government of Louis XVIII. was always consistent and similar to itself, without bad intention or false purpose. Charles X. shifted about, from contradiction to contradiction and inconsistency to inconsistency, till the day when, restored to his real faith and real intention, he committed the fault which cost him his throne."*

From the beginning of the new reign, and in spite of the kind words or isolated acts which cleverly calmed the anger of the liberals, Villèle faithfully served the king's personal instincts and the wishes of his advisers. He made no effort to correct the inconstancy and fickleness of the king, but limited himself to making him accomplish, whenever circumstances admitted of it, so many acts of moderate and popular policy that he should not seem exclusively devoted to the party who really held his heart and faith in keeping. The first measures presented by the ministry at the opening of the session clearly proved sovereign will. The law of indemnity to "emigrants," that of communities of women, and that of sacrilege, were really the manifesto of the new kingdom. The intelligent effort invariably made for the advantage or pleasure of the spirit of progress, was always due to Villèle, and to him the honor must be ascribed.

It was Villèle who in 1825 resisted the exclusive application of the reparatory measure brought before the chambers in favor of the victims of the revolutionary confiscations. Those condemned or banished at the successive crises of the revolu-

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

tion were to have their share in that indemnity, which the "emigrant" party tried to appropriate entirely to themselves. Public opinion has in fact retained the recollection of their pretensions, and the measure presented on the 3rd of January, 1825, has by succeeding generations been termed "the emigrants' indemnity." It provoked violent attacks; it caused great anxiety to those who had acquired the national property, and seemed to open a dangerous path. The right supported it with a passionate bitterness, which Villèle and Montignac tried in vain to modify. The law had been proclaimed as one to heal up the remaining wounds of the revolution; it bitterly revived its most painful recollections. The creation of stock to the amount of a milliard, by a law voted on the 15th of March by the deputies, and 23rd of April by the peers, continued to be unpopular in spite of its evident fairness. But this unjust criticism was soon falsified by the good effects which were produced in the provinces, and beneficial influence upon men's minds.

The proposal of a law on sacrilege was opposed both in the peers and deputies on higher grounds, based on earnest and profound liberalism. Royer-Collard and Broglie were more hostile to sacrilege than any man, but they boldly stood up against the application of extreme penalties to a crime which the law had no power to punish. "This bill now before the chamber," said Royer-Collard, "is of a special order, hitherto unknown in our deliberations. Not only does it introduce into our legislation a new crime, but what is much more extraordinary, it creates a new principle of criminality—a class of crimes which are, so to say, supernatural, which do not fall under our senses, which human reason cannot discover or understand, and which are only manifested to religious faith enlightened by revelation. Thus the penal law brings under discussion both religion and civil society—their nature, end, and respective independence. . . . The law has a religious belief, and since it is sovereign it must be obeyed. Truth in the matter of faith belongs to its domain; truth in its turn takes possession of the law, makes its constitutions both political and civil, that is to say, it makes everything. Not only is its kingdom of this world, but this world is its kingdom, the sceptre has passed from its hands. Therefore, just as in politics we are shut up between absolute power and revolutionary sedition, in religion we are confined between theocracy and atheism. Let them beware; the revolution has certainly been

impious even to cruelty, but it is this crime especially that has destroyed it; and it may be predicted for the counter-revolution that reprisals of cruelty, even if only written, will bear witness against her, and shatter her in turn." The law was voted without amendment, including the first article, which pronounced capital punishment against profaners of sacred objects. "It is only referring them to their natural judge!" exclaimed Bonald in an impulse of fanatical violence which was blamed even by his friends: this sentence of his speech was not inserted in the *Moniteur*.

Such procedure only the more embittered the dissension, already so profound, which divided the men who had produced the revolution from those who underwent it. The struggle became as keen in the religious arena as in the political arena. In the foremost ranks of the hottest partisans of a return to the faith and practice of the past, there fought the Abbé Lamennais, soon destined to turn his arms elsewhere. The opposition journals, the *Courrier*, *Constitutionnel*, and the *Globe*, eagerly brought before the public the numerous questions discussed in the Chambers. Everything supplied material for fiery discussion—a curé's sermon, the representation of a new piece at the theatre, the recognition of the independence of Haiti, or the conversion of public stock. King Charles X. was consecrated on the 19th May, 1824, with all the pomp necessary to such a ceremony. The numerous acts of clemency which signalized the consecration assisted to appease the popular excitement for some time.

Before the session was reopened, 21st January, 1825, General Foy had died—still young, passionately regretted, and with numerous proofs of public admiration heaped upon him even till after his death. The Emperor Alexander was also dead, having left still pending the question of the independence of Greece, which had been recently raised by the insurrection of the Christians against the oppression of the Turks. The serious and resolute opposition of the Chamber of Peers to the imprudent procedure of the government was daily manifested with great notoriety. Villèle submitted against his will to the demands of his party for a law in favor of primogeniture and the substitution of property. He himself was by no means deceived as to its success. "Should the government propose to restore the law of primogeniture," he wrote in the preceding year to Prince Polignac, then ambassador in London, "they would not find a majority to obtain it, because the evil is more

deeply-seated; it is in our manners, which still all bear the impress left by the revolution. The bonds of subordination are so relaxed in our families, that the father is often compelled to consider the wishes of all his children." In his eloquent speech in the Chamber of Peers, Broglie did not criticise so severely the state of manners and families, but boldly resisted what he considered an ill-timed and useless return towards an antiquated legislation. "What is now preparing," said he, "is a social and political revolution, a revolution against the revolution which took place in France nearly forty years ago. If I had the right of advising the councillors of the crown, I should say to them, 'Give way while there is still time, to the pressure of public opinion. Perseverance is a virtue, but not when in excess.' There are certainly circumstances under which a statesman ought to resist public complaints however general, raise his solitary voice against public opinion if led astray, and remain alone on the breach to defend the interests of truth; but it is only then that the truth is of such an order that higher minds can alone reach it. Here, on the contrary, where the point at issue is the peace of families, the relationship between fathers and children, the ties between brothers and sisters, the rudest workman or simplest artisan knows as much as the greatest philosopher. Here we deal with some of those truths which God is sometimes pleased to hide from the wise in order to reveal them to the simple and ignorant. It is one of those occasions when the legislator can resign himself blindfolded to go with the stream, exclaiming with confidence, '*Vox populi, vox Dei!*'" The law was reduced to a single clause, which gave permission to extend to a second generation the "substitution of the disposable part of the successions;" and was passed in that form by both chambers.

The bill on the press, presented in the end of the year 1826, was not to obtain even that meagre success. Intended to satisfy the claims of the clergy as well as the ultras, it did not please Lamennais, who, with his usual violence, characterized it as a "monument probably unique of hypocrisy and tyranny," and roused to their highest pitch the wrath and indignation of all the liberals. Peyronnet had announced it as a "law of justice and love;" Chateaubriand termed it a "law of the Vandals." "It is a censorship!" exclaimed Benjamin Constant. "It would amount to the same thing as a proposal in these terms: 'Printing is suppressed in France for the profit of Belgium,'"

declared Casimir Périer, then become one of the leaders of the opposition in the Chamber of Deputies. The French Academy drew up an address to be presented to the king, to protest against the painful position in which literature should be placed by the new legislation. The address was not received, and many of the academicians were deprived of the offices they held. The *Courrier* was prosecuted. In spite of this display of power and resolution on the part of the government, the bill as amended by the Chamber of Deputies received so decided an opposition in the peers that the ministry found themselves compelled to withdraw it (17th April, 1827).

The public excitement constantly increased. It was notably exhibited when the king was reviewing the national guard on the 29th April, abusive terms being shouted in various places, not only against the ministers, but against the princesses. On being informed by some of his *cortège* of circumstances which had escaped his notice, the king resolved to discharge the national guard (30th April). On the 24th June, the day after the closing of the session, he issued an order restoring the censorship of periodicals and newspapers. The ill-advised severity of its application answered to the arbitrary violence of the act of power. Eloquent and outspoken pamphlets supplemented the enforced silence of the newspapers. Chateaubriand, always a consistent advocate of the liberty of the press, was one of the foremost combatants in this arena, and a society was formed for the gratuitous dissemination of his writings. There was at the same time a strong antipathy formed against the clerical "congregations" and the order of Jesuits. A petition of Montlosier to the Chamber of Peers was the occasion of a long and brilliant debate. In spite of the eloquent defence of the Abbé Frayssinous, minister of public instruction, the chamber sent the petition to the president of the council, demanding the application of the laws which interdicted Jesuitical establishments in France.

The home difficulties were not the only ones then weighing upon the cabinet. The death of King John VI. of Portugal led to the abdication of his son Don Pedro, the first Emperor of Brazil, on condition that his daughter Maria should marry her uncle Don Miguel, and both should occupy the throne of Portugal. Pedro at the same time granted a constitutional charter to Portugal. Several provinces revolted, and declared Miguel an absolute monarch. Conquered in Portugal, the insurgents retired to Spain, where they were well received; and on

an invasion into Portugal being attempted, the diplomatic relations between the two kingdoms of the peninsula were broken. The French Government disapproving of the King of Spain's conduct, recalled Moustier, their ambassador. The Portuguese constitutionals having claimed the support of England, the cabinet sent an army. "To those who blame the government for delay," said Canning in Parliament, "the answer is very short: it was only last Friday that I received the official request from Portugal; on Saturday the ministers decided what was to be done; on Sunday, the decision received the king's sanction; on Monday it was communicated to both houses; and at this very moment the troops are on their way to Portugal." The English minister of foreign affairs declared his policy of opposition to French intervention and occupation in Spain. He had already recognized the republics in South America, those old Spanish colonies which revolted against the yoke of the mother country. "Should France occupy Spain," said he, "was it necessary to blockade Cadiz to restore the situation of England? No, I looked to the other side of the Atlantic, and sought for compensation in another hemisphere. I thought of Spain as she was known to our ancestors; and determined that if the French should have Spain, it would not be Spain with the Indies. I called in the new world to redress the balance of the old. I have left to France the unpleasant burden of her invasion, which I am convinced she would gladly be rid of."

Several months afterwards Canning died, succumbing in his turn like Pitt, Fox, Castlereagh, and Romilly under the weight of a government which had long exceeded human strength. But Spain had at last yielded to the pressure exercised upon her by England and France. The government of Charles X., after some violent attacks by the right, recalled the Swiss brigade sent to protect the royal family in Madrid.

After friendly relations between Spain and Portugal were restored, the affairs of Greece became the object of a European arrangement. Supported from the first by England, the Greek insurgents asked without success from the Duke of Orleans the honor of placing his son, the Duke of Nemours, on the new throne of Greece. The Duke of Wellington was instructed by Canning to offer the mediation of England, between Russia and Turkey, and between Turkey and Greece. By a protocol of the 4th April, the cabinets of St. Petersburg and London agreed together to guarantee to Greece a semi-independence. The Emperor Nicholas absolutely refused to admit of any in-

tervention from Europe in his quarrels with Turkey. He said to Wellington, with Oriental exaggeration, "I have just been making reductions in my army, and have now only 600,000 men to place at the disposal of my friends, and 1,200,000 to oppose my enemies." While showing favor towards Greece, France did not adhere to the Anglo-Russian protocol. On the 6th July she undertook with those allies to put a stop to the "bloody struggle which delivered the Grecian provinces and islands of the Archipelago to all the disorders of anarchy, brought every day fresh hindrances to European commerce, and occasional piracies demanding onerous measures of surveillance and repression." The Porte having rejected the friendly proposals offered by the three powers, and General Ibrahim having violated a provisional armistice demanded by the allies, the combined English, Russian, and French fleet, under the orders of Admiral Codrington, the senior commander, forced the entrance of Navarino harbor, and the Turkish fleet defending it was almost completely destroyed. The struggle between the Turks and Greeks was still keenly contested. The ambassadors of the three powers left Constantinople. The proclamations of Turkey formed a reason for Russian armaments. France wished for a peaceful arrangement, but without success. The disorder continued to reign in Portugal, and a serious insurrection broke out in Catalonia, yet the English ministry, now under Wellington's direction, seemed resolved to maintain the policy of non-intervention; France found herself joined to Russia, and separated both from Austria and Prussia. Some preparations were also being made to punish the Dey of Algiers, who had encouraged the Mediterranean pirates.

In the midst of this fermentation and these foreign distractions, the opposition to Villèle was steadily increasing; he was blamed for evils of every sort. "Even in the Palais Bourbon and the Tuileries, its two strongholds, the cabinet was visibly losing ground. In the Chamber of Deputies the ministerial majority became smaller and more depressed, even when victorious. At court, some of the king's most trusted servants, whether from party-spirit or from monarchical anxiety, wished for Villèle's fall, and were already considering who should succeed him. The king also, on learning some fresh indication of the public feeling, said with a tone of annoyance as he returned to his private room, "Always Villèle! Always against Villèle!" *

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

In reality such judgment was grossly unjust. If the right enjoyed power for six years, and had so exercised it as to be able to retain it; if Charles X. not only succeeded peacefully to Louis XVIII., but ruled without trouble, and even with occasional popularity—it was Villèle especially they had to thank for it. He had kept his party and power within the general limits of the charter, and for six years conducted the constitutional government under a prince, and with friends who were supposed not to understand it, and to have accepted it against their wills. He was wrong in yielding to the king or his party when he disapproved of their plans, and thus accepting the responsibility of faults committed under his name, and with his consent, though against his will. Taking the whole burden on himself, he asked the king for a dissolution, 5th November, 1827. The elections were fixed for the 17th and 24th November.

The liberal movement became, not only more animated, but more concentrated and more powerful in its efforts towards a common aid. Men of extremely different general views and special intentions were brought closer together. A public association, with the motto, "Heaven helps those who help themselves," was formed by the opposition to organize in the elections; and by rallying both liberals and royalists who were disgusted with the ministry, its success exceeded all expectation. The more moderate friends of the government had been much afraid of this test. Lainé refused for a long time to believe a dissolution possible. "In any case," he wrote to Decazes, in the beginning of October, "I shall give you my hearty assistance to secure the exercise of the public rights of election and the liberty of the press. Whatever may be the evils of the latter, they are not to be compared to the advantages which result from it, in a nation where no right is fixed, and which, after the horrors of the revolution, the prostration of the empire, and the ebb and flow of the restoration, remains hesitating and uncertain, without being really indifferent. The people of France are treated like a people of puppets, and what is worse, they themselves laugh at it."

"What actually produces the elections," says Guizot in his *Mémoires*, "is the wind that blows and the impulse impressed on men's minds by events. The elections, considered as a whole, are almost always more true than is believed by interested or silly distrust. However anxious and adroit, the government's influence over them is for the most part only

secondary." In 1827 the government left no means untried to influence strongly the electoral results. Seventy-six new peers were added to the Upper Chamber, in the hope of weakening its independence; and opposition writers were vigorously repressed. Even the tribunals, however, were sometimes free from administrative pressure. At Manuel's death his funeral obsequies were the occasion of a great public demonstration. Mignet, then a very young man, one of the most ardent colleagues of Thiers in the management of the *Constitutionnel* and *Globe*, wrote an account of the ceremony in a pamphlet, which was prosecuted. On Mignet's acquittal, "Paris celebrated the verdict as a counterpoise to the press censorship," wrote Salvandy, always anxious to note the progress of liberal opinion. "Frenchmen of the charter," exclaimed the *Journal des Débats*, "prepare wings to fly to the combat! Frenchmen of the restoration, make haste to give us a royalist chamber which will not blast that name by servility. Frenchmen of honor and truth, purge your country from the scandal of a perverse and dishonored administration."

The coalition of liberals with the royalists opposed to the ministry had a brilliant triumph, and seemed certain of a majority. Villèle and his colleagues offered to resign, but King Charles X. was undecided and alarmed. Various schemes were devised for changing the ministry while retaining the president of the council, but the force of circumstances was too great. Villèle withdrew in favor of Martignac, to be actual chief of the cabinet without bearing the title. Count Portalis became keeper of the seals; Count Ferronnays foreign minister, and Count Roy chancellor of the exchequer. Royer-Collard, chosen by seven colleagues, was appointed president of the chamber. Though but little favorable to Villèle, the princess royal had been opposed to his dismissal. "You are deserting M. de Villèle," said she to the king; "it is your first step downwards from the throne."

"Thus began a new attempt at government by the centre; but with much less energy or chance of success than that which from 1816 to 1821, under the simultaneous or alternate direction of Richelieu and Decazes, had protected France and the crown against the domination of the members of the right and those of the left. The centre in 1816, while the country was in pressing danger, had derived much energy even from that force, and had to deal, both on the right and left, only with

resistance which, though resolute, was still in the opinion of the public too inexperienced and badly organized to be capable of governing. In 1828, on the contrary, the right having only left power after a possession of six years, believed themselves both sure of soon recovering it and capable of exercising it, and therefore eagerly and hopefully attacked the unexpected successors who had snatched it from them. Threatened in the chambers by ambitious and powerful rivals, the new-born power only found there allies who were lukewarm, or hindered in their good intentions; and sensible men were much more paralyzed or compromised by the violent or thoughtless, than successful in directing or restraining their troublesome companions. Another point was that, whereas from 1816 to 1821, King Louis XVIII. gave genuine and practical assistance to the government of the centre, in 1828 King Charles X. considered the cabinet which took the place of the leaders of the right as a disagreeable experiment which he had to undergo, but to which he lent himself with anxiety, without confidence in its success, resolving not to test it more than was strictly necessary. "The ministry resulting from the first conflict will be necessarily rather insignificant," wrote the Duc de Broglie after the elections, "but we must support them, and try to prevent any one being alarmed. Should we succeed, after the fall of the present ministry, in getting through the year tranquilly, it will be a triumphant success."

Martignac's ministry was not to last long, and the hope of seeing it establish itself and become permanent was still more ephemeral. In vain did the cabinet try to find fresh support. Notwithstanding his fall, Villèle kept up with Charles X. a constant correspondence, which had no favorable influence on the mutual and confidential relations between the king and his ministers. Chateaubriand rejected the overtures made him, as they had no bearing on the ministry of foreign affairs, which alone he coveted. He still kept up a bitter opposition in the *Journal des Débats*. Vatimesnil, who formerly stood in the ranks of the ultras, now more moderate than he avowed, was appointed minister of public instruction, and made all haste to reopen the professional courses of lectures which Villèle had closed. Guizot and Villemain began again their lectures to crowded classes of enthusiastic pupils, who

eagerly flocked to them as well as to Cousin. Guizot's principal aim at this time was to struggle against the error of superficial minds separating the past from the present, and the history of the nation from its new life. "In my lectures from 1828 to 1830," says he in his *Mémoires*, "I constantly labored to bring back my hearers to an intelligent and impartial appreciation of our ancient social condition, and thus contribute my share in restoring between the various elements of our social system, old and new, monarchical, aristocratic, or democratic, that mutual esteem and harmony which may be suspended by an access of revolutionary fever, but which soon become indispensable both to the liberty and prosperity of the citizens, both to the power and tranquillity of the state."

Notwithstanding the distrust with which Martignac's ministry inspired some of the liberals, it gave good assistance to the wise and prudent efforts of sensible men to secure at last the foundation of the public liberties upon strong bases. A law for the purpose of securing the annual revision of the electoral lists, a proposal for new press-regulations and suppressing the preliminary authorization of newspapers, as well as the censorship, were soon brought before the chambers, and passed by large majorities. Martignac defended his measures with that persuasive and dignified eloquence which gained for him the name of "the Syren," given him by Dupont, the Eure deputy. Benjamin Constant attacked the press law, after demanding and supporting it. "Attacked by contradictory accusations," said the minister of the interior, "we reply by our acts. We present ourselves before you with uncovered foreheads, and look you in the face without fear, because our consciences are at rest, and you are just. The declaration of war which has just been addressed to us will only be signed, we are confident, by a small number of enemies. We have not provoked it, but we do not fear it, because we have as witnesses and judges of the conflict you, gentlemen, and France." At the same time, and as if to reduce at last to nothing the attacks directed against the "clerical" tendencies of the government, there appeared two orders regulating the private management of the small seminaries which had occasioned numerous protests, and declaring that ecclesiastical schools, managed by religious bodies who were not authorized, should henceforth be subject to the rule of the university. This measure, which really excluded Jesuits from teaching, greatly pleased and astonished the liberals, but caused much dis-

pleasure and anxiety amongst the ultras, who were very suspicious of the influence of Ravez upon the king. The journey made by Charles X. in the eastern provinces after the close of the session, and the enthusiasm with which he was received, assisted more successfully in removing the alarm of the court. The king unfortunately derived from that source illusions which soon after contributed in drawing him on towards ruin.

The misfortune of the liberals in 1829 was, that they disturbed with their own hands the touchy and precarious harmony which had been established between them and the moderate royalists. Martignac brought in two bills securing to the electoral principle a share in the administration of the departments and communes, and imposing new rules and limits on the central power with regard to local affairs.

"These concessions might appear either too great or too narrow. In any case they were real, and defenders of the people's liberties could not do better than accept them and hold by them. But among the liberal party which had till then supported the cabinet, two spirits but slightly allied to politics, the spirit of impatience and the spirit of system, the desire for popularity and the rigor of logic, could not be satisfied with conquests so incomplete and easy. The right refrained from voting, and left the ministers to struggle with the demands of their allies. Notwithstanding Martignac's efforts, an amendment which seemed more important than it really was formed a sort of attack upon the bill to systematize the departmental administration. In the king's opinion, and that of the chambers, the ministry had reached the limit of their credit, unable to obtain from the king what would have satisfied the chambers, or from the chambers what would have reassured the king. They themselves by suddenly withdrawing both bills confessed their double powerlessness, and remained still standing, though dying." *

Two months previously, on account of an accident which had compelled Ferronnays to leave the ministry of foreign affairs, the king tried to replace him by Prince Polignac, for whom he had a strong attachment, but not succeeding, the office remained vacant. Chateaubriand, who had been coveting it, was then in Rome: his purpose was to take revenge upon Villèle, by forming a new cabinet himself. He was

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

spared, however, both the trouble and the satisfaction. On the 9th of August, the *Moniteur* announced the formation of Polignac's ministry. Bourdonnaye was appointed home minister.

What was the object in view? No one knew; Polignac and the king as little as the public. But Charles X. had displayed on the Tuileries the flag of the counter-revolution. There was a universal outburst of anger and anxiety. "There it is now again broken, that bond of love and confidence which joined the people to the monarch!" exclaimed the *Journal des Débats*, on the 10th of August. "See again the court with its old hatreds, emigration with its errors, the priesthood with its antipathy to freedom, coming to interpose between France and her king! What constituted the glory of this kingdom was the moderation in the exercise of power; now moderation is impossible. Those now ruling the affairs would like to be moderate, but they cannot. What will they do then? Will they bring to their assistance the force of the bayonet? Bayonets in these days are intelligent; they know and respect the law. Are they about to tear up that charter which made the immortality of Louis XVIII., and the power of his successor? Let them consider well: the charter now is an authority against which all the efforts of despotism should be broken. The people pay a milliard to the law; they would not pay two millions on the orders of a minister. With illegal taxes there should be born a Hampden to crush them. Hampden? Must we again recall to mind that name of alarm and warfare? Unhappy France! - Unhappy king!"

The Bertins were prosecuted for that article, and condemned by the lower court, though the judgment was quashed by the Cour de Cassation. The new ministers were extremely astonished at this manifestation of public opinion. It was more serious and sustained than such popular impulses generally are in France, because the danger seemed still greater to enlightened men than to the mass of the nation. Guizot and Berryer had just taken their seats as deputies, being at last qualified by age to enter the chamber; one representing Calvados, the other Haute-Loire. Both were already known; both destined to join together in political combat, not without mutual respect and liking; both eager for the fray. The struggle was everywhere concealed and threatening, and had not yet burst forth at any point. Societies were publicly formed, both in the provinces and in Paris, to refuse payment

of taxes, should the government attempt to raise them without legal sanction of the chambers. "We shall not make a *coup d'état*," said Polignac to Michaud. "What, your highness! you won't! I am sorry for that," replied the historian of the crusades, who had formerly been insulted by Villèle. "Why?" asked Polignac. "Because all your party wish for *coups d'état*, and if you don't make one, you will have nobody." Polignac had not yet understood. The prejudice against him astonished the king and his new minister. Polignac had recently, in the Chamber of Peers, declared his attachment to the charter. "His declarations are sincere: he believed the charter compatible with the political preponderance of the ancient nobility and the definitive supremacy of the ancient royalty. He flattered himself that he could develop the new institutions by making them subject to the rule of influences which they had been created for the very purpose of abolishing or limiting. It is impossible to estimate the extent of the conscientious illusions which may deceive a weak mind, of some ardor and elevation, but mystically vague and keen. Alarmed at his unpopularity, and afraid to increase it by his actions, Polignac did nothing. The cabinet formed to subdue the revolution and save the monarchy remained motionless and fruitless. They prepared an expedition to Algiers, and summoned the chambers, with constant declarations of their devotion to the charter. They hoped to get rid of the difficulty through a majority and a conquest!"* Henceforth it was as president of the council that he had to keep up the struggle. After some dissension within the cabinet, Bourdonnaye withdrew, Montbel replaced him as home minister, and Guernon Ranville was appointed minister of public instruction.

The king and ministers thought to find a useful diversion from the agitation of home affairs in general European politics, at that time difficult and complicated. After being urged by Russia, and without receiving much support from England, the French government promised pecuniary assistance to the Greek insurgents, and entered upon some negotiation with President Capo d'Istria as to the future organization of the new state. It was intended by the intervention of a corps of the French army, supported by the English fleet, to assist the operations of the Russians, and compel Ibrahim Pacha to return to Egypt. This expedition was delayed through the Duke of Wellington's

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

objections and Metternich's diplomacy, but on the 17th August, 1828, the French troops set sail at Toulon, under the orders of General Maison. On the 6th October the last Egyptian division evacuated the Morea, all the strongholds were delivered up to us, and the Peloponnesus was freed from its enemies. The conference of allied powers, by arrangement with Capo d'Istria, offered the crown of Greece to Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, widower of the Princess Charlotte, heiress to the English throne. After some discussion of the conditions of acceptance, the prince definitively refused the crown. The English ministry, who had supported him, lost their hold on the public confidence. The state of Europe was not reassuring. Don Miguel and the absolutists triumphed in Portugal over the rights of Queen Maria. In Spain, Ferdinand VII., on the occasion of his young queen's confinement, issued a pragmatic sanction, restoring the ancient order of the Spanish monarchy admitting females to the royal succession. The Dey of Algiers refused the satisfaction demanded in France, on account of the consul having been insulted; and on the failure of a blockade to reduce the town, an expedition, commanded by Bourmont, set out for Africa, on the 16th May, 1830. The landing was successfully effected on the 14th June; and soon news of the taking of Algiers (4th July) came to fill all hearts with joy and pride.

This public satisfaction was not diminished by the discontent of England. George IV. had just died; and the Duke of Wellington, who was still retained in power by William IV., demanded from the French government an engagement to retain none of the territories they had just conquered. Polignac refused. "Never," said Lord Aberdeen to Laval, the French ambassador, "never did France, under the Republic or under the empire, give England such serious ground of complaint as she has been giving us for the last year." "Polignac is considered a man of worth and honor," said Wellington; "I look upon him as one of the falsest and ablest men that exist."

Wellington did Polignac too great injustice and too great an honor at the same time. In his foreign as well as in his home policy, he was animated by perfidious intention; and his ability was merely the imprudent daring of a lofty but confused mind. The liberties of the people were not yet violated, but they were felt to be seriously endangered. Anxious not only for the safety of his throne, but for what he considered the inalienable rights of his crown, King Charles X. assumed, to maintain them, an attitude which was most offensive to the nation. He

braved her more than he defended himself against her. The nation in her turn felt angry and haughty. There were hints of *coups d'état* on the people's side, ready to reply to those on the king's. Without directly attacking the reigning power, legal measures were used against it to their utmost limit; too openly to admit of a charge of hypocrisy, and too adroitly to be hindered in their hostile work. Press trials might follow each other, and the hostile acts of the government clearly show their tendency, but they also, like the opposition, kept within legality. The constitutional royalists, who had sincerely accepted and supported the restoration, felt more than any other section of the party the difficulty and danger of the situation. The address, called that of the 221, inspired by Royer-Collard and his political friends, was the last and supreme effort of those men of honor and foresight, then apprehensive of the overthrow of the monarchy which their hands had helped to raise. The speech from the throne contained one threatening sentence:—

“Peers of France, deputies of the departments, I am fully confident of your assistance in producing the good which I wish to do. You will repel with scorn the base insinuations which malevolence is seeking to propagate. Should guilty intrigues stir up against my government obstacles which I cannot, which I wish not to anticipate, I shall find power to surmount them in my determination to maintain the public peace in the well-grounded confidence of the French people, and in the affection they have always shown to their king.”

“Don't urge the king too eagerly,” Royer-Collard sometimes said. “Nobody knows what stupid blunders he may be guilty of.” It was such blundering due to the royal illusions that the Chamber of Deputies tried to prevent in 1830. The address of the peers was embarrassed and hesitating; that of the Chamber of Deputies was both firm and modest, inflexible as to the basis of constitutional principle, sympathetic and respectful in its desire to warn the monarch of the dangers to which he was exposed. “They tell us that France is in peace, that there is no disturbance of order,” said Guizot, mounting the tribune for the first time as a deputy, to speak on behalf of the address. It is true that the material order is not disturbed; all move about freely and peacefully; business is not interfered with by uproar. The social surface is tranquil, so tranquil that the government may well be tempted to believe that the bottom is in perfect security, and thus consider themselves un-

threatened by any danger. Our words, gentlemen, the candor of our words, alone can inform the government at the present moment; they are the only voice that can reach up to them and dissipate their illusions. Let us beware of weakening its force; let us beware of enervating our expressions. Truth has already too much difficulty in reaching within the palaces of kings; let us not send it weak and colorless; let us leave no possibility of its being misunderstood, or of the loyalty of our sentiments being mistaken."

On the 18th March, the address of the chamber was carried to the Tuileries. A large number of the opposition deputies accompanied their president. Royer-Collard showed considerable emotion, even in the tone of his voice; that of the king was dry and abrupt, though his attitude was dignified, without either hesitation or haughtiness. "Sir," said he, "I had the right to expect the assistance of both chambers in effecting the good I intended. My heart is pained to see the deputies of departments declare that, so far as they are concerned, there will be no such assistance. I announced my determination at the opening of the session—that determination is unchangeable. The interests of my people forbid me to relinquish it; my ministers will let you know of my intentions." Next day, the 19th March, the prorogation of the chamber to the 1st September was announced in the *Moniteur*. The triumphant delight of the ultras broke forth everywhere. "These people did not know what a king was," said the *Universel*, Poincarré's journal; "they know it now: a breath has scattered them like chaff." The more clear-sighted among the ecclesiastical party were not so mistaken. "As the ministry have laid it down, the question puts us between the republic and an arbitrary court party," said Lamennais. "Considering everything, I prefer the former, because I prefer fever to death or paralysis causing death."

The republicans, till then few and timid, held the same opinion as Lamennais. At a banquet on 1st April, in honor of the 221, Godefroy Cavaignac refused to drink to the king's health. Odilon Barrot reproved him with intelligent firmness. They drank to the harmony of the three powers, the constitutional king, the chamber of peers, and the chamber of deputies. On the 16th May, the chamber was dissolved by royal order; the electoral colleges being summoned for the end of June and first weeks of July.

Two days afterwards, Courvoisier and Chabrol gave in

their resignation. Peyronnet became home minister and Montbel chancellor of the exchequer. Chantelauze, first president of the court of Grenoble, replaced Courvoisier. When consenting to join the cabinet, the latter said he should leave it the first day the liberties of the people were endangered. Those who knew him considered his withdrawal very ominous. Montbel and Guernon-Ranville retained their posts against their real will. "I consider the favor bestowed upon me by the king the greatest misfortune of my life," said Chantelauze.

Villèle had hitherto kept in retirement, living in the country since the abortive proposal of Labbey to bring an accusation against his cabinet. He returned to Paris in March, when Polignac offered him a seat in the cabinet, but the former president refused, and returned to Toulouse. He advised Montbel to agree to no new change in ministerial arrangements. "The importance which they attach to it proves the determination to get rid of the difficulty by a *coup d'état*," he remarked with penetrating foresight; "and that is a game you are not fit for."

The whole of France was now waiting for the *coup d'état*, and Europe was waiting as well as France. "Your two weakest points are the electoral law and the liberty of the press," said Metternich in Vienna to Rayneval; "but you cannot touch them except through the chambers. A *coup d'état* would ruin the dynasty." At St. Petersburg the Emperor Nicholas spoke in the same manner to the Duc de Mortemart, the French ambassador. "If they leave the charter it is certain ruin; if the king attempts a *coup d'état* he must bear the whole responsibility alone." His ambassador at Paris, Pozzo di Borgo repeated this to the members of the council, and to the king himself with all the authority due to the great influence he had formerly exercised in the affairs of the restoration. He one day found King Charles X. seated at his table, with his eyes fixed upon the charter, open at Article XIV.* The king read and re-read that article, sincerely anxious to discover the meaning and bearing which he wanted to find in it. In such cases one always finds what he is looking for; and the king's remarks, though vague and indirect, left

* "The king is supreme head of the State; commands the forces on sea and land; makes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; appoints all the functionaries in the public administration, and makes the rules and orders necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the State."

no doubt in the ambassador's mind of what his intentions were.

All the thoughts, efforts, hopes, and fears of the nation were absorbed by the elections, which proved to all the world that the constitutionals were right in resolutely opposing the ministry. With very few exceptions, the 221 were re-elected, and the opposition reckoned a majority of more than a hundred votes. Nearly everywhere the elections passed without disturbance; the nation being ready to accept unhesitatingly the supreme test, neither anticipated it nor hurried it by any violence. On the 10th July, at a meeting of the leading men of character who were friends of liberty, it was resolved that, should there be a *coup d'état*, the payment of taxes would be refused. People still asked if it should take place. The peers had received their invitations to be present when the king visited the chamber. The deputies who arrived from all parts were as a body animated by an ardent and sincere desire to maintain peace while obtaining justice and preserving their liberties.

Charles X. showed no hesitation. Before the elections he had in principle decided what course to follow should the government receive a check. Henceforward the only question was with reference to the action to take for vindicating the rights of the throne. Two fatal mistakes had taken firm hold of the monarch's mind: he believed that he was much more endangered by the revolution than he really was; and entirely disbelieved in the possibility of defending himself, and governing by the legal course of the constitutional *régime*. France had no wish for a new revolution. The charter, in the hands of a prudent and patient sovereign, supplied the means of safely exercising the royal authority and protecting the crown. But Charles X. had lost confidence in France and the charter; and when the address of the 221 triumphantly resulted from the elections, he believed he was driven to his last entrenchments, and compelled to save himself in spite of the charter, or perish by the revolution.

"There are only Lafayette and I who have not changed since 1789," said the king one day. True enough he had not changed: he remained candid and fickle, trusting to himself and his surroundings, with little observation or reflection, though active-minded; attached to his ideas and friends of the old *régime* as much as to his faith and his flag. All through the profound changes undergone by France during

the uprooting of the ancient bases of society, she had experienced a transformation which influenced the most noble minds, modifying their views as well as the inborn moral sense. "Devotion to one's country, duty towards one's country, are certainly not new sentiments, which our fathers were ignorant of; yet between their ideas and ours, in this respect, there is a profound difference. Fidelity towards persons, towards superiors or equals, was in former French society the ruling principle and sentiment; personal ties were social ties. In the new social system sprung from the revolution, among various classes now brought together and mixed, duty and devotion towards one's country have assumed an empire superior to that of the ancient devotion and duty towards persons. It was owing to social facts of extreme importance that in 1789 the two parties spontaneously and instinctively called themselves the royalist party and patriotic party respectively. In one, duty and devotion to the king, head and representative of the nation; in the other, duty and devotion towards the nation itself directly, formed the principal bond of union, and ruling sentiment." * King Charles X. was so unfortunate as not to understand this change in the national sentiment. He believed himself deserted and betrayed by his servants, and ranged against himself in battle all the patriotic fears as well as hopes. This was soon afterwards proved in a striking manner by the attitude of a large number of devoted and sincere royalists.

The king determined not to unite the chambers, and not to wait till they had acted before acting himself. He also intended to keep in the most absolute secrecy the measures he was preparing. The idea of a *coup d'état* was everywhere denied emphatically; even the precautions necessary in case of armed resistance were sacrificed. On Sunday the 24th July, when the court was held at St. Cloud, as the king was on his way to hear mass, Vitrolles stopped Guernon-Ranville and said, "I don't ask you your secret, but I must inform you that it is the fate of the monarchy that is at stake. You are probably deceived in the difference of the times. A measure which was easy at the beginning of the ministry, even six months ago, is no longer possible in the effervescing state of public opinion to-day. It would inevitably have the most deplorable and unlooked for effects." The listener thought as

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

Vitrolles did, and had said the same thing in council. He passed on, and found the ministers met in the king's room.

After all had spoken, Charles X. took the pen to sign the orders placed before him. He stopped and held his head in his hands. "The more I think of it," he said presently, "the more I am convinced of being in the right, and that it is impossible to do otherwise." He signed; all the ministers signed also, bowing before the king as if by a tacit engagement which linked their fate to his. "For life and for death, gentlemen," said the king; "count upon me, as I count upon you."

So faithfully was the secret kept, that Marshal Marmont, placed on active service as governor of the first military division, was still ignorant of his nomination, the king having undertaken to tell him himself. The orders in council appeared in the *Moniteur* of Monday, 26th July, preceded by a long report drawn up by Chantelauze. On receiving from the keeper of the seals a copy of the official publication, Sauvo, the editor of the *Moniteur*, looked to the minister with an emotion which he could not restrain, and said, "May God protect the king! God protect France!"

All France was thunderstruck on learning that morning the king's fatal resolution. Convinced that a vast conspiracy threatened both the tranquillity of the country and the rights of the crown, Charles X. believed he had a right to attempt a *coup d'état*, and moreover that it was not contrary to the letter of the charter. The four orders in council thus announced suspended indefinitely the liberty of the press, dissolved the Chamber of the Deputies, modified the electoral law, and summoned the electoral colleges to meet from the 6th to the 18th September, the chambers on the 28th. Such was the arbitrary and imprudent act against which burst forth all at once the protestations of an indignant nation.

The first protestation, as it ought to be, was that of the journalists, ably drawn up by Thiers. It was immediately followed by the seizure of the printing-presses of the leading journals. The agitation, however, had yet led to no active results: the disturbance in men's minds was yet undeclared in action. The king went to hunt at Rambouillet, and on his return to St. Cloud he asked Marshal Marmont, who was still ignorant that he had been appointed to the command of Paris, what was the news. "Great alarm, sire; there is great depression, and an extraordinary fall in stocks." "How much?" asked the dauphin. "Four francs, monseigneur." "They will rise again."

Next day the marshal was at last informed. "It seems there is some doubt as to the tranquillity of Paris," said the king to him; "go and take the command there, calling first at M. de Polignac's. If everything is in order by the evening, you may return to St. Cloud." The choice of the Duc de Ragusa was unpopular, as had also been that of Bourmont as war minister, because both were blamed for their "treason" under the empire.

While the marshal was being installed at head-quarters, and crowds were already gathering in the streets, a certain number of deputies met in the house of Casimir Périer, Rue de Luxembourg, and discussed a proposal to protest in the name of the illegally dissolved chamber. That drawn up by Guizot was adopted next day, but in the meantime the troops had several times charged the crowd, several shots had been fired, and some barricades raised. The night passed quietly; but in the morning every eye was struck by the formidable aspect of a rising of the people. The soldiers had resumed their positions; against them a certain number of the national guards had just joined the crowds. The Polytechnic school broke open the gates, and the tricolor flag floated on the towers of Notre Dame. The columns on march were shot at from some of the houses. In the morning Marshal Marmont had written to the king: "Sire, I had the honor of reporting to your Majesty the dispersal of the crowds which disturbed the tranquillity of Paris. This morning they are again collecting, more numerous and more threatening. It is no longer a riot, but a revolution. There is urgent need for your Majesty to take means of pacification. The honor of the crown may yet be saved. To-morrow probably it would be too late." Paris was placed in a state of siege, the order having been signed on the previous evening. The Duc de Ragusa agreed to command the arrest of several deputies. Amongst those indicated by Polignac, General Gérard and Lafitte were members of the deputation who went to the Tuileries, the ministers having installed themselves there under the protection of the governor of Paris. The deputies brought to the Duc de Ragusa a general protest, and were authorized to ask him to cease firing, and to interpose between Paris and St. Cloud.

"The undersigned," said the protest, "chosen regularly as a deputation, consider themselves to be absolutely compelled in duty and honor to protest against the measures which the advisers of the crown have recently put in force for the over-

throw of the legal system of elections and the ruin of the liberty of the press.

“The said measures, contained in the orders of the 25th, are, in the eyes of the undersigned, directly contrary to the constitutional rights of the Chamber of Peers, the common rights of Frenchmen, the privileges and decisions of the tribunals; and are calculated to throw the state into a confusion compromising both the present peace and our future security.

“The undersigned, therefore, being inviolably faithful to their oath, protest with one accord, not only against the said measures, but against every act which may result from them.

“And, considering that, on the one hand, the Chamber of Deputies not having been constituted could not be legally dissolved: on the other hand, the attempt to form another Chamber of Deputies, in a new and arbitrary manner, is in formal opposition to the constitutional charter, and the acquired rights of the electors, the undersigned declare that they still consider themselves as being legitimately elected to represent the arrondissement or department whose suffrages they obtained; and that they can only be replaced by means of elections made in accordance with the principles and forms appointed by law. And if the undersigned do not effectively exercise the rights or fulfil all the duties which they hold through their legal election, it is because they are prevented by physical force.” Sixty-three signatures were affixed to this vindication of the legal rights of the nation.

While the deputies, who were numerous in the morning, and easily counted towards the evening, were thus discussing in Audry's house, the place was surrounded by workmen, boys and young men, combatants of every sort, who filled the court, and besieged the doors, speaking to the deputies at the drawing-room windows—ready to defend them if, as was rumored, they were presently to be arrested by the police or military, but demanding at the same time their immediate assistance in preparing a revolution. Among the deputies various opinions and expectations were manifested, in some minds still vague, in others steadfast and decided. “Several wished to carry resistance to the last limits of legal order, but not further. Others were resolved upon a change of dynasty, wishing for no further revolution, but considering that necessary, and that the circumstances seemed favorable for it, and flattering themselves that they might stop there or thereabouts. Others again, more revolutionary without being aware of it, were

sanguine as to all sorts of undefined reforms in the institutions and laws, commanded as they imagined by the interest and wish of the people. Others again, had a decided aspiration for a republic, and considered as abortive or deceptive any other result of the struggle maintained by the people in the name of liberty. Those who declared they would not become revolutionary while making a revolution, already found themselves overwhelmed and urged forward—by the enemies of established order, the regular conspirators, the secret societies, and the anarchical dreamers who had thrown themselves into the movement, and were every hour becoming more powerful and more exacting. The tide still rose, reaching the elevated regions, and spreading noisily amid the lower regions of society.”*

Polignac, however, refused to understand the position of affairs in Paris. On being informed that at certain places the soldiers apparently shared the sentiments of the populace, he replied, “Very well! if the troops fraternize with the people, let the troops be fired upon.” The Duc de Ragusa made a report to the king of his interview with the deputies, and the ultimatum which they brought in the name of their colleagues—withdrawal of the orders, and a change of ministry. “In my opinion there is urgent need that your Majesty should without delay take advantage of the overtures made.” “Let your Majesty not be deceived,” added the colonel appointed to carry the marshal’s letter; “it is not the populace, but the entire population who are rising.” Charles X. confined himself to replying to the Duc de Ragusa. “My dear marshal, I have great pleasure in hearing of the good and honorable conduct of the troops under your orders. Convey to them my thanks, and grant them a month and a half’s pay. Bring your troops together and hold your ground; wait for my orders to-morrow.” “We must treat only with large bodies,” was his message on another occasion.

The army had in fact begun to fall back; for the insurrection had gained too much ground to leave Marmount the hope of again occupying Paris. The Hôtel de Ville was in the hands of the rioters; 600 barricades intersected the streets everywhere; the troops surrounding the Tuileries and Louvre were everywhere attacked during their march; provisions began to fail them; and many soldiers wavered on account of the repeated appeals made to them by the people. “But where do

* Guizot’s *Mémoires*, etc.

the insurgents get their powder?" asked the ministers in astonishment. "They get that of the soldiers," replied Bayeux, then acting as procureur-general; "and often the soldiers themselves give them cartridges."

The government of Charles X. no longer existed in Paris. The ministers had resigned the power into the hands of the Duc de Ragusa, and now contemplated, like sad and persistent spectators, the ruins they themselves had made. "What a misfortune to have my sword broken in my hands!" said Polignac; "a little more patience and determination, and I was about to establish the government and charter upon immovable bases."

The same illusions reigned at St. Cloud, strengthened by the respect and alarm of the courtiers. On the 28th, Vitrolles tried to enlighten the king, but he was still confident of victory. "Let the insurgents lay down their arms," said he; "they know my kindness sufficiently to be certain of the most generous pardon." The evening passed in the usual courtly ceremonies. "Not a guard more, not a guard less," we are told by an eye-witness. "The windows of the drawing-rooms being open, several persons went on the balcony, listening to the firing and the tocsin, and then retiring without remark, as if they had merely been to breathe the fresh air after a day of burning heat. In the royal drawing-room the king played whist and the dauphin chess, without speaking of anything else. During the game, which thus seemed to engross their whole attention, several discharges of artillery shook the windows. The most frightful news kept constantly arriving, but without crossing the threshold of the royal drawing-room. The Duc de Duras left the room, and returned full of excitement; but as he approached the whist-table the courtier resumed his attitude and silence."

The Duc de Mortemart, who had come from Paris, could not receive an audience of the king till next day. He declared that the orders must be withdrawn. "They exaggerate the danger," said Charles X.; "I know the truth," and on the duke appearing to doubt it, the king said eagerly, "You were born in the midst of revolution, and, without knowing it, have acquired its prejudices and false ideas. My old experience is above such illusions. I know what the concessions asked of me would lead to; and I have no wish to ride like my brother on a cart." James II. had spoken thus in 1688.

Meanwhile the ministers arrived at St. Cloud, preceded by

Sémonville and Argout, who had been sent by the few peers then present in Paris. The dauphin was appointed commander-in-chief of the army; and Marshal Marmont's political opinions appearing as doubtful as his military movements, an order was sent him to retire immediately upon St. Cloud with his troops. When the royal messenger reached the Duc de Ragusa he had been obliged to abandon his positions and fall back as far as the Arc de Triomphe. Two line regiments had joined the revolution; the Louvre, the Tuileries, and all the quarters of Paris, were in the hands of the insurgents. Joubert, who was the first to enter the Tuileries, ordered the tricolor flag to be planted on the clock-tower.

The principal point now was to secure order in Paris. Lafayette was naturally appointed to the command of the national guard. "The security of Paris depends on the general's determination," said Guizot in a meeting of deputies; "but we have also our duties. It is absolutely necessary that we establish, not a provisional government, but a public authority that, under a municipal form, will undertake to restore and maintain order." A municipal commission was at once formed, composed of Lafayette, Casimir Périer, General Lobau, Schonen, and Audry de Puyraveau. It installed itself at the Hôtel de Ville. General Gérard was appointed to command the active troops.

While the revolution was being organized, the despairing servants of the tottering throne vainly strove to save it. After Mortemart had been rejected, Vitrolles and Sussy, assisted by Sémonville and Argout, attempted to obtain for the country legal satisfaction, and bring about some arrangement between the effete monarchy at St. Cloud and the revolution boiling in Paris. But on asking to see the king they were refused on account of the hour, the etiquette, military orders, sleep; and when at last admitted, found the king calm and yet angry, obstinate yet hesitating. With great difficulty they succeeded in forcing from him the dismissal of the Polignac cabinet, repeal of the orders, and the appointment of Mortemart as first minister. But, that being agreed upon, the king still hesitated, and kept Mortemart waiting for the necessary signatures. He at last gave them to his new minister, thus impelled by his patriotism to accept a task which he hated. Mortemart, ill of a consuming fever, started for Paris without having obtained the necessary passports from the displeased dauphin; and being delayed at every step on his journey, by the royal

troops or the volunteers guarding the barricades, he did not reach the meeting of the deputies, who had been informed by Argout that he did not bring the necessary powers. It was with great difficulty that Mortemart succeeded in transmitting to the parliamentary meeting and the municipal commission the orders of which he was the bearer. It was too late. Nowhere were the concessions accepted; and at the Palais-Bourbon and Hôtel de Ville it was with difficulty that any notice was agreed to be taken of them. Lafayette had the courage to write to Mortemart to acknowledge the receipt; and two men on horseback having shouted on the Boulevard, "All is finished; a peace is concluded with the king; Casimir Périer has arranged everything!" it was with great difficulty that General Gérard and Bérard, who were on the spot, rescued them from being massacred by the angry crowd. There was no longer at St. Cloud any power, not only to act, but even to speak to the country.

Lafayette had just issued a proclamation to the national guard, and the municipal commission addressed the French army. On the 30th July the deputies left off the vague and purposeless meetings they had held, and assembled at the Palais-Bourbon, in the hall of their sittings, and invited their absent colleagues to join them, and raise again the great public power of which they were the scattered members. The peers then present in Paris also assembled in the Luxembourg. The deputies entered into communication with them, and the same day, at the close of the morning sitting, on hearing that the Duc d'Orleans—who had hitherto kept himself aloof, inactive and invisible—was disposed to come to Paris, the assembly in the Palais-Bourbon adopted the following resolution:—

"The deputies now met in Paris feel the urgency of requesting H.R.H. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans to come to the capital, to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and to give expression to the desire of preserving the national colors. They have also felt the necessity of striving without intermission to secure for France, in the ensuing session of the chambers, all the guarantees indispensable for the full and entire execution of the charter."

It was M. Thiers who brought from Neuilly Madame Adelaide's promise, given in the name of her absent brother, that he should agree to receive the delegates from the chamber. The Duchess of Orleans, affectionately anxious, though so high-minded a royalist both in principles and habits, had per-

sued her husband to go to Raincy to avoid the arrest which some said was impending. As soon as Thiers introduced the subjects he exclaimed, "All my happiness is ended!" Lafayette feared lest the deputies were too hasty in concluding an alliance with the Duc d'Orleans and bringing the revolution to a close. He instructed Odilon Barrot to insist beforehand on guarantees of liberty and the revision of the charter. His grandson, Rémusat, on going to see him at the Hôtel de Ville, said to him: "General, if they make a monarchy, the Duc d'Orleans will be king; if they make a republic, you will be president. Do you take the responsibility of the republic?"

"Lafayette seemed to hesitate, though he really did not. Generously disinterested, although fully conscious of his importance, and with almost as much anxiety for the responsibility as desire for popularity, he was much more disposed to treat for the people and in name of the people than ambitious of ruling. That a republic, and a republic under his presidency, should be thought of as a possible chance, was sufficient for his satisfaction, I will not say his ambition. Lafayette had no ambition: he wished to be the popular patron of the Duc d'Orleans, not his rival.

"The Duc d'Orleans was equally unambitious. Self-restrained and prudent, in spite of his mental activity and the mobile vivacity of his impressions, he had long foreseen the chance which might carry him to the throne, but without trying to find it, and rather disposed to be afraid of it than to long for it. After the protracted sorrows of exile and the recent experience of the hundred days, one thought especially occupied his attention—the wish being again necessarily entangled in the faults which the elder branch was liable to commit, and in the consequences which might result from these faults. On the 31st March, 1830, a few days after the arrival of his brother-in-law, the King of Naples, at Paris, he gave him a banquet in the Palais-Royal, at which Charles X. and all the royal family were present. 'Monseigneur,' said Salvandy to the Duc d'Orleans, as he passed near him, 'this banquet is quite Neapolitan; we are dancing over a volcano.' 'That the volcano is there,' answered the duke, 'I believe as well as you. At least the fault is not mine. I cannot reproach myself with not having tried to open the king's eyes. But what is the use? He listened to nothing. Heaven only knows where they will be in six months! But I know

where I shall be. Whatever happens, my family and myself will remain in this palace; whatever danger there may be, I shall not move a step from here. I shall not separate my lot and that of my children from the lot of my country: that is my fixed resolution.'

"That resolution held more place than any other intention in the Duc d'Orleans' conduct during the whole course of the restoration. He had also resolved to be neither conspirator nor victim. He was devoted to the country which he had served since his infancy. If the definitive consolidation of the restoration had depended upon him he would, without hesitation on his own and his family's account, as well as that of France, have preferred the certainty of that future to the prospects which a new revolution might afford him. In the bottom of his heart, and without perhaps fully weighing the fact, he felt from that time that, for the present, and in a future which he could not fathom, he remained the actual and all important 'reserve' of France.

"Chateaubriand, after arriving in Paris, and being carried in triumph to the Luxembourg, said 'As lieutenant-general, yes; but for king, Henry V.' The words of deputies and peers did not yet go beyond that, however free their thoughts might be. The municipal commission having declared that the government of Charles X. was deposed, Casimir Périer refused to sign the proclamation, on the ground that it exceeded their powers. Twelve members of the Chamber of Deputies were chosen as delegates to go and offer the Duc d'Orleans the appointment of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He had just arrived in Paris from Neuilly on foot, and not without difficulty, and when the deputation presented itself at the Palais-Royal the prince asked for several hours to consider. Time was pressing; he accepted, and the following proclamation was at once issued:—

"'Inhabitants of Paris! the Deputies of France now assembled in Paris have expressed the desire that I should come into this capital to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. I have not hesitated to come to share your dangers, to place myself in the midst of your heroic population, and use every effort to preserve you from civil war and anarchy. On my return to the city of Paris I bore with pride those glorious colors which you have resumed, and which I myself have long borne. The chambers are about to assemble; they will consider the best means of securing the reign of the

laws, and the maintenance of the rights of the nation. The charter will henceforth be a reality.' " *

The proclamation did not satisfy all the violently excited passions and hopes of the people, but it corresponded to the earnest desires and deeply felt wants of all enlightened men who were anxious to bring disorder to a close. After the delegates made their report, the Chamber of Deputies adopted the following declaration, addressed to France, which was drawn up, and read from the tribune, by Guizot:—

“ Frenchmen!

“ France is free. Absolutism raised its flag, and the heroic population of Paris put it down. Paris, when attacked, has by arms caused the triumph of the sacred cause which had just triumphed to no purpose in the elections. A power which had usurped our rights and disturbed our repose, was threatening both liberty and order: we resume possession of order and liberty. No more fears for acquired rights; no more barriers between us and the rights which we still want.

“ A government which will at once ensure for us those advantages is what the country to-day demands above everything. Frenchmen! those of your deputies already in Paris have met together, and, until the chambers shall formally interpose, have invited a Frenchman, who has never fought except for France, the Duc d’Orleans, to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. That, in their eyes, is the mode of promptly securing without war the success of the most legitimate defence.

“ The Duc d’Orleans is devoted to the national and constitutional cause, and has always defended its interests, and professed its principles. He will respect our rights, for his own he will hold from us: we shall secure by law all the guarantees necessary to render liberty sure and lasting.”

When this proclamation, which concluded by enumerating the guarantees necessary for liberty, was read, the chamber replied by acclamations, and at once went to the Palais-Royal. The lieutenant-general made ready to go to the Hôtel de Ville, whither he was accompanied by the deputies. Several hostile shouts were heard in the streets, some repeating, “No more Bourbons!” The general crowd, however, cried, “Long live

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

the charter!" "Gentlemen," said the Duc d'Orleans as he mounted the staircase, "it is an old national guard paying a visit to his former general." Viennet read the proclamation of the chamber, which was rather coldly received by the populace. General Lafayette soon came to pay his respects to the prince. "You know," said he, "that I am a republican, and consider the constitution of the United States as the most perfect that has ever existed." "So do I," replied the duke; "but do you think that in the present condition of France, and according to general opinion, it would be advisable for us to adopt it?" "No," answered Lafayette; "what the French people must now have is a popular throne, surrounded by republican institutions—entirely republican." "That is just my opinion," said the duke.

The republicans did not reckon upon such princely declarations, though they also had resolved to interview the lieutenant-general. "To-morrow you will be king, monseigneur," said Boinvilliers; "perhaps it is the last time you will hear the truth: allow me to tell it you." On the prince referring in severe terms to the convention, Godefroy Cavaignac quickly exclaimed, "Monseigneur forgets that my father was a member of the Convention!" "And mine also, sir," returned the Duc d'Orleans in a sorrowful tone; "and while cherishing his memory, I may be allowed the desire to save my country from the procedure to which he was a victim." Lafayette's conversation with the prince led to the engagement which was called the programme of the Hôtel de Ville. It promised a revision of the charter. "I am condemned to propose nothing," said the duke. "I shall not take the crown; I shall receive it from the Chamber of Deputies on the conditions it may suit them to impose. The modifications of the charter, whatever they may be, must therefore be made by that chamber alone." The popular feeling had already strongly protested against the phrase, "*The Charter will henceforward be a reality*," which was contained both in the declaration of the Duc d'Orleans and the proclamation of the chamber. The *Moniteur* of the 31st July contained this absurd correction, "A charter will henceforward be a reality."

While the Duc d'Orleans was being appointed lieutenant-general by the deputies, a preparatory step as it proved to his becoming king, Charles X., still at St. Cloud, saw Marshal Marmont arrive with his troops, discontented, ill-fed, and much reduced by desertion. The marshal advised the king to

retire upon the Loire, to Blois or Tours, and summon there the great functionaries and the diplomatic body. The dauphin flew into a passion, having been opposed to the withdrawal of the orders and discharge of the ministers. "My father is the master," said he, "but I am far from approving of all that he has done." The quarrel with the Duke of Ragusa was so violent, that the marshal was conducted to his apartment as a prisoner, and the old king had great difficulty in restoring an appearance of friendliness. During the night, yielding to the alarms of the Duchess of Berry, who believed the safety of the palace was threatened, the king set out for Versailles, and thence went to Rambouillet—the first sad stage of a new journey into exile. The dauphin attempted to take Sèvres, but some of the corps refused to fire, and others laid down their arms.

The royal princess just then returned from Vichy. She had constantly opposed the idea of a *coup d'état*, from a conscientious regard to a sworn promise. The king threw himself into her arms, exclaiming, "How will you be able to pardon me?" Always heroic in misfortune, the daughter of Marie Antoinette had been persecuted by the mob all the way from Dijon. "I shall never again leave you," was her reply. The king had just sent the Duc d'Orleans his powers as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The latter respectfully refused them. "You cannot receive them from everybody," said Dupin.

A new idea was now being originated among those about the king, who consulted Marmont. "What is your opinion of an abdication?" he asked. It was the only means of safety still left for the tottering throne. "Let your Majesty not allow yourself to be deprived of the crown," said the Duke of Ragusa; "but take it off your head yourself, to place it on the head of your grandson." No objection being now made to this proposal by the dauphin, who was sad and disheartened, the act of abdication was at once drawn up, and addressed to the Duc d'Orleans as lieutenant-general:—

"Rambouillet, 2nd August.

"My cousin, I am too deeply pained by the evils now afflicting and threatening my peoples, not to have sought for some means of preventing them. I have, therefore, taken the resolution to abdicate the throne, in favor of my grandson the Duc de Bordeaux.

"The dauphin, who shares my sentiments, also renounces his rights in favor of his nephew."

"As lieutenant-general of the kingdom you will therefore have to proclaim the accession of Henry V. to the throne. You will, moreover, take every measure in your power to conduct the forms of government during the minority of the new king. At present I confine myself to the announcement of my dispositions, as a means of still avoiding many evils." The small fugitive court at Rambouillet already began to address the little duke as "sire."

The abdication of the king and dauphin came too late, as the recall of the orders and change of ministers had done. A monarchy under the Duc de Bordeaux, with Orleans as regent, would have been not only the legal solution, but the more politic one. On the 2nd August, 1830, it seemed to the most moderate statesman more impracticable even than reconciliation with the king himself. At that time neither the liberal party nor the royalists would have had sufficient discretion, nor the regent sufficient power, to conduct and maintain a government so complicated, divided and agitated. The masses were giving way to revolutionary passion, and the leaders were yielding to the pressure of the masses. The state of men's minds, and the circumstances, allowed no choice but a new monarchy or a republic. Amongst the lower orders and most young men the latter was every moment becoming more popular and threatening. Of their own accord, or under orders, some in confused bands, others commanded by the chiefs of the national guard, 50,000 or 60,000 men were marching to Rambouillet. The old king was soon to understand the startling message conveyed by this demonstration. At the same time, three commissioners—Marshal Maison, Barrot, and Schonen—were appointed to protect the safety of the royal family, and impress upon them the necessity for departure. "I have abdicated," said Charles X., "but it is in favor of my grandson; and we have resolved to defend his rights to the last drop of our blood." The Parisian columns were already surrounding the château. "Sire," said Barrot, with emotion, "I have no right to express an opinion upon the rights spoken of by your Majesty, or the hopes depending on them. But whatever may be the future reserved by God for your grandson, prevent his name from being the signal for the catastrophe now at hand; let him not be stained by the blood now about to be shed." Charles X. paused, full of thought and emotion. He consulted Marshal Marmont. "They have there 60,000 or 80,000," said the Duke of Ragusa:

“with those who are gone, and those who refuse to march, we do not muster 1300 men.” “That is sufficient,” said the king, and he agreed to set out. At four o'clock in the morning, the royal fugitives reached Maintenon, constantly informed of new desertions. The king declared to Marmont, who had accompanied him, that he renounced all idea of maintaining a useless struggle, and that he would make for Cherbourg by the way of Dreux.

Those troops who had remained faithful withdrew. A small body of the guards and picked gendarmes followed the royal carriages through towns with the tricolor flags hoisted everywhere by the contagion of the Parisian revolution. The commissioners did not display their cockade before the fallen monarch. “We are not jailers,” said Odilon Barrot; “our mission is one of humanity and respect.” The wretched journey was much prolonged, rendering the revolutionist leaders in Paris uneasy and impatient. “What answer can be given to an old man who tells you that he is tired?” wrote the commissioners to those who urged them. It was not till the 16th August that the royal family embarked at Cherbourg, on the American vessels the *Great Britain* and *Charles Carroll*, which had been hired for them by Captain Dumont d’Urville. The king had announced his intention of going to England, and the English government consented. At one time the diplomatic body expressed a design of joining the king at Rambouillet, but Pozzo di Borgo and Lord Charles Stuart entered a formal protest. The Russian ambassador soon after warmly espoused the cause of the new dynasty. “The Orleans family wish to reign,” said he; “they are right, they must reign! I am with them, to life or death!” King Charles X. was abandoned by Europe as well as by France, when he went on board at Cherbourg to seek refuge in that England which had so long sheltered his family, and which was one day to shelter in their turn those who were now replacing him on the throne. As he passed through the country the populace had received him without any welcome; at the moment of embarking, there were tears in every eye. The princess royal, dressed in mourning, and holding her children by the hand, cast a last look upon that country which was for a second time sending her to exile.

Meanwhile a new government was constituted at Paris, and the whole of France was, without resistance, passing under new laws. In every ear seemed to resound the grand saying of the psalmist, formerly repeated by Bossuet before Louis

XIV.: *Et nunc, reges, intelligite; erudimini, qui judicatis terram.*

The new-born power in Paris felt much joy and real relief when they at last learnt, on the 17th August, that the royal family had left France without danger and insult. The mass of the population were fully engrossed with other interests. On the 1st August the municipal commission had transferred their powers to the lieutenant-general. Provisional commissioners were appointed to manage the public departments; Dupont to the ministry of justice; General Gérard, of war; Guizot, of the interior; Baron Louis, of finance; Girod, of the police. A privy council, including Broglie, Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Dupin, and Sebastiani, assisted the Duc d'Orleans in his first attempts of government. On the 3rd August the chambers assembled to discuss the revision of the charter, noisily demanded by some enthusiasts, both republican and monarchical. The inheritance of titles of nobility was the object of the most violent attacks. The still excited populace seemed on the point of again imposing their wishes by force. The duke was disposed to let them have their way, but through the persistent efforts of some of his principal friends the question was deferred till next session.

The prince opened the session with much of the usual ceremonial. "Attached both by feeling and conviction to the principles of a free government," said he, "I accept all its consequences. The past is for me a source of pain, I deplore misfortunes which I should have wished to prevent; but in the midst of that magnanimous impulse of the capital, and all the French towns, a well grounded pride fills my heart with emotion, and I look forward with confidence to the future of our country. Yes, gentlemen, she will be happy and free, this France so dear to me; she will show to Europe that, being solely occupied with her home prosperity, she cherishes peace as well as liberty, and wishes only for the happiness and tranquillity of her neighbors."

Three days later (7th August), on the formal request of the two chambers, who had declared the throne vacant, the Duc d'Orleans solemnly accepted the crown; and on the 9th August, at a "royal sitting," he took, in presence of the whole country, the oaths which he was so long and faithfully to keep.

CHAPTER XX.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. KING LOUIS PHILIPPE.
(1830—1840.)

"It is neither wise nor honorable to overlook, when the exciting stimulus is no longer felt, the true causes of events," says Guizot in his *Mémoires*. "The necessity, a necessity which weighed equally on all, royalists as well as liberals, the Duc d'Orleans as well as France, the necessity of choosing between the new monarchy and anarchy, such was in 1830, for men of honor, and independently of the part played by revolutionary passions, the cause which determined the change of dynasty. At the critical moment, this necessity was felt by every man, by the most intimate friends of King Charles X. as well as by the most ardent members of the opposition. Several of the royalists retired from public life. Others, and of the highest character, swore fealty to the new *régime*. One single conviction ruled all earnest men: by monarchy alone could France escape the opening abyss, and only one monarchy was possible." The establishment of the new reign was a deliverance for all. "I, too, am amongst the victorious," said Royer-Collard, sad in the general rejoicing.

France had hastened to throw off a yoke which had neither long nor heavily weighed upon her shoulders. Jealous of the liberties she had gained through so many shocks and crimes, she revolted as soon as she saw them endangered, without employing that steadfast patience which experience has taught nations exercised in self-government. She did not yet feel the difficulties of the enterprise she was attempting by founding a new dynasty in the face of numerous and keenly hostile parties. She seemed to take pleasure in aggravating those difficulties, by changing the charter as well as the dynasty. For that there was certainly no necessity. The charter had just undergone the most severe tests successfully and honorably. King Charles X., to escape from its rule, had been compelled to violate it, yet it survived that violence. Both in the streets and the chambers it was the flag of resistance and vic-

tory. It came into their imagination to pull down and tear that flag.

Resolute hands, however, were not wanting in its defence. As soon as a decidedly revolutionary tendency was manifest, the men who were engaged in the great event then being accomplished acknowledged how much they differed from each other, and separated. It was from the revision of the charter that the policy of resistance takes its date. The party of the government began to be formed, still without unity, inexperienced, and feeling its way, but determined to make an earnest experiment of a constitutional monarchy, and defend it boldly against the revolutionary spirit.

Representatives of the two opposing tendencies were brought together in the new cabinet formed by King Louis Philippe on his accession. Dupont, the deputy for Eure, and Laffitte, led the progressionists, assisted by General Gérard and Bignon; Casimir Périer, General Sebastiani, Baron Louis, Molé, and Dupin were all more or less obstructionists. Broglie and Guizot pursued their path in constant harmony, which continued, with a shade of disagreement, through their long career. "Though different in origin, position, and character, we were united not only by a friendship already of long standing," says Guizot in his *Mémoires*, but by sharing ultimately in the same principles and generous "sentiments, the most powerful of ties, when (as rarely happens) it really exists." Broglie, in his will, gave such witness of this close union as afterwards touched the friend destined to survive him, to the bottom of his heart. "Our long friendship," he wrote, "I consider one of the most precious blessings that God has granted me."

Louis Philippe's personal liking, if not his intimate confidence, was reserved for those of his ministers who inclined to the left. That side above all was then to him a source of danger and difficulty. The work of administrative reorganization absorbed the strength of those appointed to carry it out, who had at the same time to struggle against revolutionary attempts everywhere secretly in action. Lafayette's appointment to command the national guard was confirmed. The radical passion for effacing the past was manifested, both in qualifying the charter as that of 1830, and in changing the seal of state, which was now decorated with tricolor flags, behind the arms of the house of Orleans. In their turn the lilies were soon to disappear from the emblems of France.

The elections for the purpose of replacing the deputies who had resigned, or confirming the titles of those called to public functions, gave striking evidence that the people were in favor of the new royal establishment. The Chamber of Peers, seriously reduced in numbers by a good many resignations, as well as by the unreasonable expulsion of those peers who had been appointed under the reign of Charles X., was moreover threatened in its fundamental principle of hereditary descent. Having obtained the right to choose its own president, Pasquier was appointed to that important post, which had already been entrusted to him by the Duc d'Orleans in his quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Many important bills were at once brought before the chambers. On the 29th August the king held his first grand review of the national guards of Paris and the suburbs, and was received with enthusiastic shouting. The repression of rioting, caused by the unsettled state of the popular mind, and the closing of the political "clubs," reassured all lovers of order, and restored hopes that trade and industry would speedily revive. "France has made a revolution," said Guizot to the chamber, "but she had no intention of placing herself in a permanently revolutionary state. The prominent features of a revolutionary state are, that all things are being incessantly put in question, that the claims are indefinite, that constant appeals are made to force and violence. Those features exist in all the present popular societies, in their action and tendency, and in the impulse they are striving to impress upon France. That is not progress, but disorder: it is aimless excitement, not advancement. Since the government is armed with legal power against the dangers of popular societies, it not only must not abandon it, but it must make use of it. It has already done so, and is resolved to do so as often as is demanded by good order in the country and the steady development of its liberties."

It was against King Charles's ministers that the popular rage and rancor stirred up the most violent and almost uncontrollable hatred. "What would you have done to M. de Polignac if you had caught him?" said Odilon Barrot to an old woman, who persisted in searching the carriage of the commissioners on their return from accompanying the old king to Cherbourg. "Ah! sir," cried she, "I should have strangled him with my own hands!" Those ministers who had been arrested could scarcely understand the reason of their imprisonment or the

fury of the populace. It had to be explained to them that their captivity alone protected them from the mob, who were perpetually threatening them. They were charged on the 27th September, on the motion of Salverte, and on the 17th October they found that they were threatened even in the Château of Vincennes by a mob that had already proceeded to frightful excesses. The crowd blocked the streets of Paris, shouting loudly for the heads of the ministers, and after being driven back from the garden of the Palais-Royal, rushed eagerly along the roads leading to the fortress. General Fabvier, who had the military command of Paris, having felt anxious about the prisoners' safety, ordered General Pajol to make the necessary arrangements. The mob had already arrived before Vincennes. Awoke by their cries about eleven o'clock at night, the imprisoned ministers saw them through their narrow windows, crowding by torchlight in front of the fortress, and demanding entrance. General Daumesnil, who commanded the guard of the prison, ordered the gate to be opened, and presented himself alone to the crowd. "What do you want?" "We want the ministers." "You won't get them; they belong only to the law. I shall blow up the powder-magazine rather than give them up to you." His looks were as full of energy as his words; and the crowd, surprised and cowed, after pausing for a moment began to return to Paris, shouting "Long life to the Wooden Leg!" During the night the rioters forced their way into the Palais-Royal, which was still badly guarded, declaring that they wished to see the king; and some were actually going up the staircase, when some of the national guards arrived and arrested the ringleaders.

The king and his ministers acted together in repressing the violence of the populace, and opposing the hateful excesses of a vengeance which was as useless as it was cruel. To lay down the principle of the application of the penal laws, Tracy had already proposed the abolition of capital punishment. In 1822, in the midst of the plots and political trials which were then causing much agitation, Guizot published a pamphlet *On Capital Punishment for Political Offences*, to show clearly that it was inexpedient and immoral. An address of the Chamber of Deputies supported an amendment to the same effect in place of Tracy's proposal. The king's reply gave grounds to hope that the question would soon be decided; but from the report of riots the discussion was considered dangerous, and therefore adjourned, and the revolutionists grew bolder. The

latent discord in the cabinet broke forth on the occasion of a proclamation issued by Odilon Barrot, prefect of the Seine; and the conservative ministers, Périer, Molé, Louis, and Dupin resigned, as well as Guizot and Broglie. Laffitte and Dupont were, like their former colleagues, resolved to use their power equitably and gently in the great question of the trial of the ministers; and their connection which the party of progress rendered this more easy of accomplishment. Montalivet, still quite young, when summoned by the king to become minister of the interior, shrunk from accepting the heavy burden. "Then you will not assist me in saving the ministers?" asked the king. It was to the honor of the young minister that he successfully and courageously responded on this occasion to the confidence of which he was the object.

The trial of the ministers began on the 15th December, 1830. They had been brought with a good escort to the Little Luxembourg. More than a month previously, just after quitting the cabinet, Guizot had openly declared his opinion, and that of his friends among the deputies. "When going to the tribune," says he in his *Mémoires*, "as I passed in front of Casimir Périer, he said in a low voice, 'All you can do is in vain; you will not save Polignac's head!' I had better hopes of the public feeling, and I expressed my own in a few words: 'I have no interest in the fallen ministers, nor has any communication passed between them and me; but I have the profound conviction that the honor of the nation, the honor of her history, forbids that their blood be shed. After changing the government and renewing the face of the country, it is a wretched thing to proceed with a mean judicial act, side by side with that vast judicial act which had struck, not four men, but a whole government, a whole dynasty. As to blood, France desires nothing unnecessary. All the revolutions shed blood from anger, not from necessity; three months, six months after, the blood so shed turned against them. Let us not to-day enter upon a path in which we did not march even during the struggle.'"

Martignac made it a point of honor to defend Polignac, who had formerly overthrown him. Chantelauze's counsel was Sauzet, still young and little known, but most successful. There was still immense danger and difficulty. For eight days the cabinet with all its power, Lafayette with all his popularity, and King Louis Philippe with his experienced and wise tact, and the Peers' Court with a bold discretion, consumed themselves in efforts, ever nearly failing, to restrain the

revolutionary intrigues and that imprudent rage which sought, in the death of the prisoners, to find satisfaction and success respectively.

On the last day of the trial, a carriage was in attendance in a side door of the Little Luxembourg, into which the four prisoners stepped as soon as the court was dismissed. Montalivet, minister of the interior, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lavocat, rode on horseback, one on each side, General Fabvier, having wished to take charge himself of the escort posted in the Rue de Madame. The horses galloped off, and soon the procession reached the outer boulevards. As it entered into the court of the fortress of Vincennes, a cannon-shot fired from the donjon, reassured many anxious minds in Paris. The prisoners were now safe from the fury of the populace. The baulked hopes of the mob sought vengeance in the streets of Paris. At one time the Louvre was threatened. The national guard grudgingly restrained an indignation which many of them shared. Polignac, Peyronnet, Chantelauze, and Guernon-Ranville, were condemned to imprisonment for life, a sentence of "civil death" being added in the case of the president of the council; and almost before the verdict was pronounced, the ministers were secretly, though not without difficulty, conveyed to the state prison of Ham by the courage and foresight of those to whom they were entrusted, and thus freed from the dangers with which their lives had been so long threatened. The fury of the populace cooled down, and the satisfaction soon become general. The danger was now past, and their self-love satisfied. Lafayette and his friends alone remained dissatisfied and dejected: they had boldly and honorably compromised themselves. The office of commandant-general being suppressed by the new law as to the organization of the national guard, the king had an offer made to Lafayette to retain the honorary title, with the effective command, of the national guard of Paris. Lafayette, laying down political conditions to his acceptance—namely, a chamber of peers chosen from candidates elected by the people, a chamber of deputies elected in accordance with a new electoral law, and a large extension of the right of suffrage—with an expression of regret the king accepted the general's resignation; and Count Lobau replaced him as commandant-general, without any public manifestation of great excitement. "Don't trouble me," said the old soldier to Montalivet. "I know nothing about the national guard." "What! you know nothing about it, when the question, this

very day, perhaps, is one of battle and danger?" "Ah! if that is what is the matter, all right! Come what may, I accept."

The street-fightings were not finished in the streets of Paris, and the most deplorable excesses soon occasioned some rigorous repression. Abroad, owing to the universally agitated state of Europe, the nation generally wished earnestly for peace. The world was tired of the troubles and suffering caused by war: the passionate longing for peace had taken possession of the nation. The revolutionist partisans and dreamers still sometimes stirred up the popular emotion. The explosion which had turned France upside down resounded all around: in Belgium, Switzerland, and Spain, revolutionary disturbances shook Europe from its centre to its extremities. In Germany, Poland, Italy, all the questions and international complications which are stirred up by revolution were raised, as well as other questions, not revolutionary but politically important and difficult. The Ottoman Empire, more and more tottering; Asia, more and more divided up and disputed over between England and Russia; France conquering in Africa; then in the New World, France and England, England and the United States, the United States and France, engaging in keen contests about territory, money, influence and honor. Formerly war, many long wars, had sprung from all these questions; from 1830 to 1848 there were only a few partial and temporary threats of war. Everywhere men hastened to deal with events in a summary manner. The world remained motionless in the midst of the storms, recovering from its rest strength to endure fresh harsh shocks.

It was the good fortune of the monarchy of 1830, from its very beginning, to meet in England and amongst the English people with a sincere and earnest sympathy, which influenced the English government. The Duke of Wellington had assisted with no good grace in Polignac's reckless proceedings, though by personal taste and habit he had favored the fallen and proscribed dynasty. His good sense and impartiality led him to understand the change of opinion in France, and the serious consequences which had followed from it. "That means a change of dynasty," he at once said. The English government was the first to acknowledge the new monarch of France; and the choice made by King Louis Philippe of Talleyrand as his ambassador at London, strengthened this good understanding from the first. Frequently impatiently desirous of recovering

his share of power and influence under the government of the restoration, Talleyrand kept himself ill-naturedly aloof from it. He accepted the difficult duty of placing the French government in confidential communication, and, when, necessary, in common action, with the principal European governments. It was a work of reparation analogous in some respects to that which in 1814 he accomplished at Vienna. "He was well suited to succeed in it, for he brought to it the very qualifications necessary—a combination of liberal intelligence and aristocratic habits, impassiveness and daring, cool patience and prompt tact, and the art of acting and waiting with a certain lofty manner."*

One important question brought together in London all the representatives of Europe, now jealous and anxious. In the midst of the revolutionary risings caused by the revolution just accomplished in France, that of Belgium against the hated yoke of Holland was the first and most serious (25th August, 1830). A provisional government was organized on the 26th September, and on the 3rd October the new state declared its independence, which was soon confirmed by the national congress. A conference was already open in London, for the purpose of determining the situation of Belgium in Europe. It was a difficult and protracted undertaking, complicated by the claims and thoughtless defiance of the Belgians, by the unmanageable obstinacy of the King of Holland, by the irritation and distrust of the northern powers. King Louis Philippe personally contributed to these delicate negotiations a disinterested prudence which raised and simplified the question. "The Low Countries have always been the stone of stumbling in Europe," said he; "none of the great powers can, without anxiety and jealousy, see them in the hands of another. Let them be by general consent an independent and neutral state, and that state will become keystone in the arch of the European order." In 1814, England wished to place the independence of the Netherlands as a barrier between France the conqueror, and threatened Europe. In 1830, King Louis Philippe wished in his turn to found peacefully a barrier of neutrality and pacification. He refused to allow his son, the Duc de Nemours, to be placed on the throne of the new state. In 1832, in agreement with England, he supported by arms the resolution of Europe, against the obstinate and triumphant

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

Dutch. Subsequently, he continued in constant harmony with the able and wise prince whom Belgium had the good fortune to receive as her first king. The family alliance which was concluded between the two monarchs by the marriage of King Leopold with the Princess Louise d'Orleans served to bind closer together the natural ties arising from their similarity in sound judgment and foresight.

Italy was agitated without results, through the intrigues of her refugees, who had been cast on the French frontiers by the successive shocks of her internal revolutions. Spain was still more so, with that ardor and persistence which characterized all her political movements. The Spanish refugees, who were very numerous in France, and had long been actively encouraged by the French liberals, offered King Louis Philippe to unite the Duc de Nemours to the young queen, Donna Maria, of Portugal, and combine the whole peninsula under one sceptre, by overthrowing the throne of Ferdinand VII. and disregarding the claims of Don Miguel. The king refused to second the proposed insurrection. The procedure of Ferdinand VII. with regard to him was bad, inconsistent, and disloyal; but the French government confined themselves to granting the Spanish refugees full liberty of action on the frontiers. When they came back to France after their reverses, beaten and dispersed, they were brought together and supported, on condition of remaining at some distance from the frontiers in places assigned to them. Ferdinand VII. now assumed a conciliatory attitude. "France is, and desires to remain, at peace with all her neighbors, notably with Spain," such were the government's instructions to its agents.

France wished also to remain at peace with Russia, and was grieved to see (29th November, 1830) a Polish insurrection break out under the most noble leaders, which was to end only in redoubling the woes of Poland. The first attempt of Joseph Chlepecki, as well as of General Skrynecki, only aimed at obtaining from the Emperor Nicholas just and honorable concessions in favor of Poland, such as the Emperor Alexander intended to reconstitute her. The passions of the people, imprudent from the ardor of their patriotism, paralyzed those efforts, squandered the influence, and then the lives, of their bravest and most intelligent leaders, and delivered up Warsaw and Poland to the horrors of unrestrained popular factions, to let them then fall again under the heavy Russian yoke. The Poles had reckoned too much upon the promises of French

revolutionists, and their influence with the French government. There had been no engagement entered into: nor did France fail towards them in a single duty, as was proclaimed by Sebastiani with inconsiderate bluntness. "Order reigns at Warsaw," he announced to the chamber, at the very time when the Polish insurrection was expiring in a sea of blood. France alone had tried to interpose with Russia in favor of Poland, before the last days of the struggle; and she for a long time generously received the wretched fugitives.

The foreign policy of France, though everywhere really peaceful, was not one of inaction or indifference. "It is necessary," said the king, "to weigh the interests, and measure the distances, far from us. Nothing obliges us to engage France. We can act or not act, according to French prudence or interest. Round about us, at our gates, we are engaged beforehand; we cannot permit the affairs of our neighbors to be directed by others than themselves, and without us."

It was on this principle that we soon after took arms against the citadel of Antwerp; and this principle also suggested in July, 1832, the expedition commanded by Admiral Roussin against the exactions of Don Miguel in Portugal upon the Frenchmen domiciled in his states. There had been delay in redressing our grievances, and England had obtained satisfaction analogous to that which we were demanding. The Tagus was forced, the Portuguese fleet captured, and the compensation insisted upon was paid at a convention signed on board of the French admiral's ship. In England the indignation was intense. "A blush rises to my brow," said Wellington in the House of Lords, "when I think of the treatment which our former allies are undergoing with impunity." The tories had been replaced in power by the whigs; Palmerston and Grey did not ask France to give an account of the chastisement which she had inflicted upon Portugal. At about the same time the French government were acting in Italy with the same vigor which they displayed in Portugal. Austria had promptly repressed the insurrections which agitated the states possessed by the princes of his house. She in the same way assisted the papal troops against the revolutionary risings in the legations. As soon as the Austrian forces retired the agitation recommenced, and the European powers felt it their duty to address a common appeal to the Pope, to induce him to undertake in earnest some system of political and administrative reform. Promises had proved of little value, and in-

dignation reappeared in the pontifical states. Cardinal Bernetti boldly announced to the foreign powers an intention to renounce the proposed changes, and have recourse to energetic repression. The Austrians returned from all parts to the papal states. The French government resolved not to leave them in sole possession, after having, without success, expressed this desire at Rome. The occupation of Ancona being resolved upon, "the small French squadron, commanded by the captain of the ship *Gallois*, arrived opposite it on the 22nd February, 1832, having set sail from Toulon on the 7th, and carrying the 66th regiment of the line, under the orders of Colonel Coombes. At two o'clock in the morning the frigate *Victoire* entered the harbor in full sail, and the troops were landed in silence. The gates of the town were burst open, and without a drop of blood being shed the town and citadel were occupied the same morning. Our soldiers mounted sentry everywhere together with those of the Pope, and the French and Roman flags floated side by side. "If we succeed," wrote Barante, the ambassador at Turin, to Guizot, "we shall displease Austria, without her wishing to quarrel with us, a very desirable result. We shall have shown to the Italian governments that we do not agree to their making themselves vassals to avoid granting their subjects anything. We shall have actually shown our strength, to the great joy of all the French-liberal party, who will be encouraged and strengthened by the presence of our flag in Italy. The carbonari themselves will begin to set more value on our ministry than on Lafayette."*

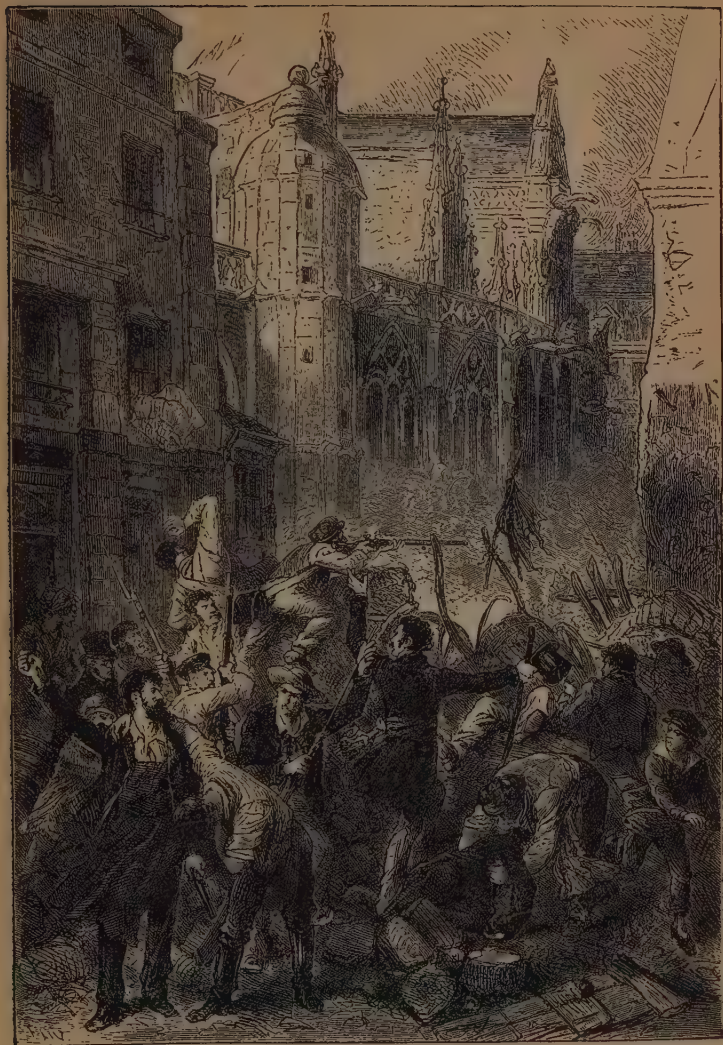
All Europe was beginning to know the powerful hand which had just taken hold, for too short a time, of the helm of our vessel, beaten about by the waves. When the occupation of Ancona was known in Paris, the representatives of the great powers hastened to call upon Casimir Périer, who had been home minister since 13th March, 1831, and found him in bad health, but excited and proud. On hearing the Prussian minister, Baron Werther, ask if international law still existed in Europe, he rose from his couch, and going up to him, exclaimed, "The international law in Europe, sir, I am now defending. Do you think it easy to maintain treaties and peace? The honor of France must also be maintained; and it enjoined what I have just done. I have a right to the confidence of Europe; and I reckoned upon it."

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

Casimir Périer was not naturally disposed to reckon upon other men's kindness, but his daring resolution was never hindered by his prudent distrust. The occupation of Ancona did not disturb our friendly relations with the court of Rome. Through our ambassador, St. Aulaire, they accepted it as a temporary act, the conditions of which were fixed by a convention (16th April, 1833). Peace was maintained in Europe, as well as the honor of France. The determined and important experiment was perfectly successful.

Abroad, however, as well as at home, the efforts of the French government were constantly weakened and hindered by the revolutionary fermentation. It had fatally caused the fall of Laffitte's cabinet, though they really and in majority belonged to the left, but proved powerless and inefficacious against the disorderly fury of the demagogues and rioters, who were perpetually stirring up new agitations in the streets of Paris. This weakness was soon to declare itself in a painful and striking manner.

There was much alarm beforehand in the anticipation of a popular manifestation on the 14th February, the anniversary of the murder of the Duc de Berry, which was to be commemorated by religious services. The Archbishop of Paris, and the curé of St. Roch refused to allow the celebration in their churches by solemn mass, as was demanded by the legitimists. It was at St. Germain l'Auxerrois that the ceremony took place. The government did nothing to prevent it, and took no precautions against revolutionary excesses. Several days previously, on the 21st January, the death of Louis XVI. was brought to recollection without any insult to disturb its majesty; but on the 14th February, the populace proceeded to the most frightful excesses. The church of St. Germain, with the presbytery and archbishop's palace, were sacked with a savage fury. "Like everybody else," says Guizot in his *Mémoires*, "I saw floating in the river and dragged in the streets sacred objects, priests' robes, the archbishop's furniture, paintings, and books; I saw the cross thrown down; I have visited the archbishop's palace, or rather the site of his palace, and the vicarage, and church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, that ancient parish church of our kings, since they were destroyed. Those sudden ruins, that naked desolation of the holy places, formed a hideous sight; less hideous, however, than the brutal delight of the destroyers, and the mocking indifference of the spectators who crowded round."



INSURRECTION IN THE CLOISTER ST. MERRY



THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

The same spectacle, under various aspects, was reproduced in many other towns, sometimes provoked by similar manifestations of attachment to the fallen monarchy. Not only did Laffitte allow anarchy to display itself freely, without any earnest attempt to repress or punish it, but he took advantage of these disorders to ask King Louis Philippe to efface from the coins and escutcheons the traditional arms of France; and unfortunately was too easily successful.

So much lack of energy and foresight could not suffice for the government of the country, or the confidence of honorable men, in the midst of times so disturbed. Without much personal liking, but from a necessity which he clearly perceived, the king asked Casimir P rier to form a cabinet, at the same time summoning Marshal Soult to sit in it. "I must have that grand sword," said Louis Philippe. Casimir P rier, however, claimed the right of being president, to which the marshal did not dare offer opposition.

It is a rare occurrence for a man in a single year of government to impress his seal upon a whole policy, and establish his glory forever. Those leaders of men who remain powerful in the memory of their contemporaries and successors have generally long borne the burden of power, and learned to exercise it with a steady hand. Casimir P rier deserved and obtained success of a more striking kind. Devoted in his youth to financial affairs, he was elected in 1817 to the Chamber of Deputies, and constantly sat there, acquiring every year greater influence, without taking any part at any time in official duties. Borne to the front from the first days of the revolution of 1830, he refused to be made a minister, saying, it was too soon. In 1831, he was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies, when he found it necessary to accept power. "Do you not see that everything is crumbling about us?" he had for some time been saying to his friends; "and that the government is about to become impossible?" It was upon him that the duty devolved of showing the nation that it must be governed, and the revolutionists that a government had at last seized the authority.

"He had been created by God for a wild and excited period. Some expression of his mental earnestness was constantly reflected in his countenance, gait, look, and tone of voice. His physical vigor equalled his moral. "How can you expect a man of my build to yield?" he frequently asked. Eager and restless, he always seemed to be defying his opponents, and

implicitly trusting his friends. From the latter he exacted a never-failing devotion. "I laugh at my friends when I am right," he exclaimed one day; "it is when I am wrong that I require their support." In private conversation he listened coldly, disputed little, and almost always showed that his mind was already made up. In the chamber, he seldom showed eloquence, and sometimes want of tact, but he was always successful and powerful. Both in private and in the tribune, he sometimes allowed himself to be carried away by violent fits of anger. He terrified his partisans somewhat as well as his friends, but possessed the confidence of the one in spite of their doubt, and compelled that of the others in the midst of their annoyance. This was due to the power of the man, much superior to that of the orator.*

When he entered into power, on the 13th March, 1831, Casimir Périer formed a just estimate of the difficulties of the task which he undertook in undertaking to rescue the country from anarchy; but he was not at first conscious of all its tremendous import. "After all," said he, when the revolutionary press was let loose upon him, and every day giving a distorted view of his conduct and intentions, "after all, what does it matter to me? I have the *Moniteur* as a record of my acts, the tribune of the chambers to explain them, and the future to judge them.

For the moment Casimir Périer had scarcely strength enough for the task. With dignity as well as enthusiasm and ability, he made use of all the resources at command. He exacted and obtained from his agents perpetually renewed efforts; but the evil was more deeply-seated than he had believed, and constant proofs of it were manifested. There were frequent fresh riots in the streets of Paris, sometimes with violence, at other times in secret, but always stirring up the passions of the populace by various means, and under various pretexts, in the name of the Polish insurrection or some trials of obscure conspirators. Open or secret associations everywhere exercised their fatal influence. On the occasion of the commercial and industrial crisis which weighed upon the whole of France, serious insurrections in Lyons and Grenoble in 1831 revealed the wretched slavery submitted to by peaceful and sensible workmen, who were induced to actions and crimes at which they themselves were afterwards

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

shocked. The juries too often were under the same influence, and magistrates were therefore put to the pain of seeing their pressions powerless or insufficient. The audacity of prisoners at the bar was redoubled; "we have still some bullets in our cartridges," exclaimed several amongst them.

Périer persisted in struggling, however great might have been his real dejection and doubt. Brave to audacity in the foreign relations of France and Europe, he showed himself not the less obstinate in resisting insurrection, disconcerting the offenders sometimes by a word or look. Stopped one day in his carriage with General Sebastiani, in the Place Vendôme, he stepped out without hesitation, walked up to the rioters, and addressing the row in front, who were shouting "Long live Poland!" on account of the news received that very morning of the fall of Warsaw, he asked what they wanted. "We wish for the rights of man and our liberties!" "Well, I give you them! What will you do with them?" And, shrugging his shoulders, he quietly passed through the crowd, who made way for him as well as the soldiers, then leaving the sentry-post of the treasury. At the same time, in spite of the serious troubles then beginning to show themselves in several provinces, he obstinately refused to propose any exceptional laws or rigorous measures. "The law should be sufficient for everything," said he. "Order in Paris and Vendée by the maintenance of law, peace in Europe by respecting sworn promises, that is enough to serve as an answer to much reproach, to calm much anxiety, and rally many convictions." He repelled, both for himself and the country, every sign of weakness, proudly claiming the confidence and support of his friends. "I do not accept your indulgence," he exclaimed from the tribune; "I only claim justice and my country's esteem."

There was at that time no threatening danger, whatever may have been said, in the visit made to Paris by Queen Hortense with her son Prince Bonaparte, destined to become the Emperor Napoleon III. The king and queen showed the exiled princess a kindness and respect, which never interrupted their relations with the Bonapartes, and the memory of which must have produced certain results. Queen Hortense's visit was unknown to the public. In spite of the shouts, "Long live the Emperor!" sometimes heard in the mobs, the recollections of Napoleon was then dormant, and Bonapartism in complete abeyance. There was, however, a proposal made to the

Chamber of Deputies, asking that the ashes of Napoleon should be brought back to France. "It is true," said Charles Lameth, "that Napoleon suppressed anarchy, but there is no need for his coffin coming to increase it in these days." The cabinet had ordered the emperor's statue to be re-erected on the column in the Place Vendôme, and made no objection to referring the petition to the ministers. It was destined to produce some result nine years later.

Throughout the incessantly recurring noise of insurrection, heard even at the gates of the Palais Bourbon, the legislative work was bravely and consistently pursued. Seventy-eight bills, successively presented by the cabinet on the 13th March, 1831, disposed of a mass of pending questions, and political or administrative reforms. By some of them several painful duties were imposed upon the head of the government. He found himself compelled by the pressure of public opinion to propose the abolition of hereditary peerage, which he considered useful, and create thirty-six new peers in order to oblige the chamber to weaken itself with its own hands. His most determined supporters, Royer-Collard and Guizot, supported on this occasion by Thiers, were opposed to the bill, and boldly attacked it. "You are very fortunate to be able to say what you think," Périer sometimes said to them.

The struggle meanwhile was prolonged, and while being prolonged gradually undermined the strength of the resistance. Périer, however, though bravely supported by his friends, felt weary and isolated. "No one does his duty completely," said he; "no one comes to the assistance of the government in moments of difficulty. I cannot myself do everything. Though a good horse, I cannot without assistance get out of the rut; yet, if need were, I shall kill myself at the task. But let everybody do his honest endeavors, and pull along with me. That is our sole chance of saving France. I hope soon to obtain the disarming of the great powers. This warlike fermentation will then subside; and as for me, I shall retire, my task being terminated. The burden is already too heavy, and when the danger is gone it will be intolerable." From his confidence in Guizot, he chose the latter to continue his work, and expound his parliamentary doctrines. "All those discussions do not suit me," said he; "I am a man of active struggle."

His struggling was now drawing to a close, and precursory signs of eternal rest soon after caused even him some anxiety.

Cholera broke forth in Paris during March, 1832, being predicted some months previously from scientific observation, although no remedy had yet been discovered to cope with its terrible ravages. The alarm of the populace soon produced disorder and absurd charges. The horrible scenes which had taken place during the epidemics of the middle ages seemed at one time destined to be renewed in Paris; several men were massacred on the charge of poisoning. Casimir Périer unfortunately had an attack of it when already weak from ill-health. "I shall only leave this place feet foremost," he said to Montalivet, who called to see him. As danger increased, men's courage revived. The noble side of human nature was shown in deeds of kindness, multiplied everywhere, for the assistance of the sick and unfortunate. The courageous devotion of trustees, doctors, and priests, was equalled by that of the women. The Duke of Orleans, then quite young and already popular, visited the Hôtel-Dieu hospital with Casimir Périer, and Barbé-Marbois, then eighty-seven years old, and president of the general council of the hospitals, offered to accompany them. Several patients died during the visit, but neither the prince nor the minister thought of hurrying it over. Three days later, Périer was ill in bed, and soon after he was, despaired of. The prince was reserved for a more tragical end, fatal to his country and his family. Death had reaped an illustrious harvest, Cuvier being of the number, his death (on the 13th May, 1832) being accelerated by the prevailing epidemic. The friends of Périer felt his case hopeless, though he still struggled with all his physical and mental vigor. During his delirious attacks, from which he frequently suffered, he was still eagerly engrossed with the dangers of the country, which he knew would soon be deprived of him. Once he rose on his bed, and throwing away everything from him, exclaimed in a ringing voice, "Alas! alas! the president of the council is mad!" "I am very ill," he said, on coming to his senses, "my wings are clipped; but the country is in even worse health than I am!" When at last, on the 16th May, he succumbed, there was a great demonstration of national grief and gratitude before his deathbed and tomb. The gap made was already felt in the foremost rank of those rare servants of the country on whom Providence has bestowed as a gift "those sublime instincts which form as it were the divine part of the art of governing." "To his last day," said Royer-Collard, in the speech spoken at his funeral,

“he fought with an intrepidity which never belied itself; when his strength was overcome, his soul was not.”

The most striking testimony paid to Périer's memory was the sudden increase of anarchy and conspiracy that at once signalized the disappearance of his firm and strong will. His cabinet were left mutilated when face to face with a situation becoming daily more serious, as Périer had himself foreseen. Talleyrand, whom for a moment they had thought of to appoint premier, had no wish to accept a burden which did not suit him. The difficult questions of foreign policy were nearly resolved, but the mutual animosity of parties broke out simultaneously. While a new and terrible insurrection was being prepared in Paris, the Duchesse de Berry had secretly arrived in Vendée, to place herself at the head of a legitimist insurrection which had for several months been arranged and prepared in several places.

The zeal of the royalist gentry and their impatience of exile had overpowered the wise advice of the friends of the royal family, then living at Lullworth in England. Chateaubriand, Fitz-James, and Berryer strove eagerly to dissuade the princess from her journey, and their friends from the proposed rising; but all their efforts were in vain. In April, 1832, the Duchess de Berry on her return from Italy, where, unknown to any, she had formed a new alliance, arrived secretly at Marseilles in the *Carlo-Alberto*, freighted by herself. The hopes they had formed of an insurrection in that town proving abortive, the princess, on whom Charles X. had conferred the title of regent, boldly crossed France in company with a few devoted friends, and reached the chateau of Dampierre in Saintonge. There she received secretly the insurrectionist leaders, the aged remnants of the former Vendéans, or brave inheritors of their perseverance in a path that seemed interminable. Charette, Autichamp, Rochejacquelein, and Marshal Bourmont eagerly showed their devotion. The rising was fixed for the 24th May, and the duchess travelled over the country districts in disguise, brave and untiring, full of excited delight in her hopeful activity. The royalist leaders, however, were depressed, for the warlike ardor was extinguished. The peasants did not respond to their appeals, and the hesitation of many of the country gentry on whom they had counted delayed their operations till the beginning of June. The insurrection broke out only partially and weakly, without that contagious brilliancy which attracts and strikes the lower orders. The repression was

prompt and energetic; and the authorities endeavored to apprehend the Duchess de Berry, who had unfortunately persisted in her enterprise. She was obliged to take refuge in Nantes, while several trifling engagements cost her the lives of her most devoted partisans. Several gentlemen still held the Château Pénissière when the princess reached Nantes. Traced up to her last retreat, and betrayed by a man of the lower order to whom she had been entrusted, she was taken, along with her friend Miss Kersabiec, in a place of concealment made in the wall of a fireplace. Arrested on the 6th November, 1832, she was conducted to the Château Blaye, where she was kept for eight months, to the regret of all parties. On the 8th June, 1833, the duchess left her prison, without trial or condemnation, and at once went to Palermo. Her illustrious friends who had in vain opposed her project, Chateaubriand, Hyde, Fitz-James, and Berryer, had been imprudently accused by the government, but the tribunals pronounced that there was no ground for the charge; and the sentence of the Vendéans taken armed was commuted by the crown, while many of the others were acquitted. The total destruction of the hopes of the royalists led to the subsidence of their passion, and soon the only traces that remained of the insurrection were several administrative difficulties.

The stirring up of the demagogic indignation was due to two causes more serious and deep-seated. In 1830 the revolutionists again flattered themselves with the hope of definitively seizing the power; but it escaped them through that divine pity for France which has often disarmed the enemies of her well-being at the very moment of their apparent triumph. The constant insurrections in Paris during the whole of the year 1831 kept up amongst the lower orders an excitability and desire for action. Like the legitimist leaders, the republican leaders did not think the moment propitious for a great effort, but they could not restrain the undisciplined wishes of their soldiers. Some seditious manifestations had already occurred, such as the breaking of the official seals on the doors of the hall formerly occupied by the "Friends of the People." Only an opportunity was wanting for the explosion already projected and prepared; and the death of General Lamarque, well known in the army for his enlightened liberalism and rare military talent, supplied a pretext. An immense concourse of people was assembled on the 5th June, 1832, to escort the car which was to convey his body to the country, and after some speeches

were made, the tricolor flag was quickly replaced by the red flag, with loud shouts of "Long live the republic! Down with Louis Philippe! Down with the Bourbons!" General Exelmans was insulted. Troops began to appear, but at the same time there appeared an organized insurrection. The gunsmiths' shops were pillaged; several military posts were taken possession of, and barricades were erected in various places. There was some keen fighting, but towards evening the important positions were again in the hands of those on the side of order. The national guards performed their duty with a courage which surprised their military chiefs, due partly to the personal interests which were everywhere in danger. The insurrectionists were posted in the neighborhood of the Church St. Merry. At the first report of the outbreak, the king had left Neuilly, and was accompanied to Paris by the queen. At five o'clock in the afternoon, and six next morning, the king visited the bivouacs, and then the very spots where the fighting had been hottest. He was welcomed with shouts. "I have a good cuirass," said he to those who advised him to be prudent; "I have my five sons." A handful of men still resisted, repelling the successive attacks of the troops, and secretly supplied with powder and provisions by friends whose courage did not equal their own. The fighting lasted for two whole days, and cost the lives of some of the bravest republicans, so enthusiastic and led away by generous motives as to lose their common sense. "Almost at the same time, on the 6th June, 1832, 100 republicans in Paris at the Cloister St. Merry, and some fifty legitimists in Vendée at the Château Pénissière, surrounded by enemies, fire, and ruins, fought in utter desperation, and died shouting "Long live the Republic!" and "Long live Henry V.!" respectively, thus giving up their lives as a human sacrifice, in the hope of perhaps thus one day serving a future which they were not to see." *

So many formidable shocks proved too much for the strength of the cabinet over which Casimir Périer had recently presided. It was violently attacked both publicly and in the chambers by the leaders of the opposition, and they published against it a report, or "Manifesto to our constituents," trying to induce the king to accept their conclusions. He replied by the partial renewal of his ministry. Marshal Soult became president of the council, Thiers home minister, and Broglie agreed to become

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

foreign minister on condition that Guizot should be appointed minister of public instruction. Constituted on the 11th of October, 1832, the new cabinet at once convoked the chambers for the 19th November, being resolved to act on their own account, and endeavor to establish political liberty in the country—in other words, trustworthy guarantees both of the security of individual rights and interests, and a proper attention to public affairs. Coming immediately after the terrible trials which had just agitated the new monarchy, it was a difficult and daring enterprise to govern with success and regularity, while at the same time leaving in every direction striking traces of their action. It was to the honor of the cabinet of the 11th October that they attempted this work, and in a large measure accomplished it, notwithstanding the obstacles which seemed certain to paralyze their early efforts.

Each of the new ministers found himself at first burdened with a delicate and heavy task. After a long alternation of hurry and delay, the London conference finished its labors on the 1st October, 1832; and the separation of Belgium and Holland, accomplished in fact, was definitely acknowledged by Europe. King William, however, still held the citadel of Antwerp. The English fleet assembled at Spithead and ours at Cherbourg; and by a convention concluded on the 22nd October, between England and France, it was demanded that the belligerents should evacuate each other's territories before the 12th November. Should the king of Holland refuse, the French army were to invade Belgium on the 15th. The evacuation not having taking place, on the 17th, at one o'clock, the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours passed through Brussels at the head of the troops, Marshal Gérard being commander-in-chief. On the 29th the trench was opened against the fortress, and it was not till the 5th December that the place surrendered. The garrison remained prisoners of war, because the king of Holland refused to abandon the forts of Lillo and Liefkenskoek at the mouth of the Scheldt. The princes had greatly distinguished themselves, Orleans insisting on superintending the work of the trenches, and scaling the parapet of the St. Laurent lunette in the midst of a storm of shot. "My sons have done their duty," said the queen, with modest pride. "I am glad they have proved that they may be relied upon." The kingdom of Belgium was now founded.

Thiers was at that time engaged in the pacification of the western provinces. He also undertook the completion of all

the great public monuments commenced by the empire and languidly continued by the restoration. The chamber unhesitatingly voted him large supplies. It was the pacific honor of King Louis Philippe to accomplish grand works of which he had not had the initiative, and to reduce to practical action principles of order and public utility which had been noisily professed by his predecessors. The public instruction was a striking instance. The legislative assembly and national convention proposed to give France a grand system of public instruction. Three men of distinguished and very different mental qualities, Talleyrand, Condorcet, and Daunou, were successively appointed to present to their respective sovereigns reports on this important question. There was much discussion without result. On emerging from the French Revolution, after some unsuccessful attempts, the only higher schools were the "Polytechnique" and the "Normale;" and the "Institut" was the highest stage for literary or scientific ambition. By organizing the lycées, and then founding the university under the fertile management of Fontanes, the Emperor Napoleon provided for the great and important wants of secondary education; but the modest and vast career of primary teaching, the necessities of popular instruction, were still persistently neglected. The revolution decreed that instruction was to be public, gratuitous, and obligatory. According to the principles of Napoleon, the education of youth belonged exclusively and entirely to the state.

No one passed from words to deeds. The expense of primary instruction was left absolutely in charge of families and communes, which was enough alone to strike all the statutes with sterility. In fact, since the various religious bodies ceased to exercise their pious duty of instructing the people, schools and teachers had disappeared throughout the greater part of France, without being successfully replaced. Guizot undertook to fill up this gap, and at last satisfy this want. He conceived the idea of extending his reforms farther, and laid before the chambers the proposal of a law at once liberal and protective, conserving to the university her dignified right to the foremost rank in secondary instruction, without denying to her natural rivals, the Catholic Church and free thought, the perilous honor of free contest. He also endeavored to resolve the question of intermediate instruction by higher primary schools; but the opposition encountered, and rapid changes of power, rendered abortive those fair hopes, which have been repeatedly

aimed at since by generous endeavor. Several months previously, Montalembert, Lacordaire, and Lamennais, united by a sympathy of ideas and beliefs which was destined soon to disappear, had boldly defended that liberty of instruction under whose color they were afterwards long to fight on various principles. To the close of his life, Guizot never ceased to regret the fate of the great enterprise which he had been the first to attempt, though unsuccessfully, and to which he was afterwards to consecrate all his remaining strength.

A special satisfaction to Guizot as minister of public instruction was being able at least to found in France a complete and prospective system of primary education, which, though often modified in its details, has remained the basis and starting-point of all the advancements which in the last forty-five years have been made in popular instruction. It is the seal of inferiority impressed on human works, that they are necessarily slow in their effects, and only produce light in the midst of chaos after long efforts. The results of the law of 28th June, 1833, were thenceforward patent to all. The impetus which it gave to popular instruction has never slackened. In the midst of much sorrow, it will be to the honor of the present time that it has supported it with fresh ardor.

The powerful development of higher education under eminent teachers selected with the greatest care, the foundation of new chairs in the great public schools, the appointment of a class of moral and political science in the institute, the encouragement everywhere granted to literary and scientific bodies, the grants procured with great difficulty from the chambers for the moderate endowment of study and research, and finally the great attention bestowed upon the improvement of historical studies in France,—such were the special labors of Guizot during the three and a half years that he held office as minister of public instruction. The toils and combats of parliamentary life left to the ministers but little leisure for the noble enterprises with which they anxiously aspired to have their names associated. Hostile passions were not yet entirely appeased, and frequently the storm was heard on the horizon. It burst out afresh after two years, which had caused hopes of some repose.

Sincerely and resolutely liberal, the cabinet of the 11th October did not renounce the policy of courageous resistance which it believed compatible with the full exercise of every public liberty. Compelled by the violent language of the newspapers

to institute some press trials, it was most of all anxious about the fatal influence exercised by perpetually urging the people to form associations, as if the profuse publication of incendiary articles were not enough. The *Catéchisme republicain*, *Catéchisme des Droits de l'homme* and *Le Pilon* gained much additional influence by being cried in the streets—a new abuse against which the courts afforded no remedy. In order to notify clearly the right thus claimed, Rodde, the manager of a popular journal *Bon Sens* stood in the Place de la Bourse, dressed in a blouse and cap, and began distributing a packet of sheets, declaring his intention of repelling violence by violence should the police attempt to interfere with his liberty. “Let them take care,” said he, “I am on the ground of legality, and I have the right there to appeal to the courage of Frenchmen; I have the right there to appeal to insurrection. In that case, if ever, it will be the most sacred of duties.” Two bills for restricting the rights of public criers and those of voluntary associations were laid before the chambers by the cabinet. The first became law without difficulty, and the second had undergone some keen attack when some practical difficulties came to overthrow many optimist illusions. On the 5th April, 1834, there was a violent outbreak in Lyons, soon accompanied by bloodshed.

This insurrection, organized by Mazzini, the chief of the Italian carbonari, had long been in preparation. It was to be combined with an invasion of refugees upon the territory of Savoy, and a strike of the Lyonese workmen. The refugees, however, failed in their attempts, and the workmen resumed their work, in spite of all that their leaders could urge. A second time, but merely by accident, they were induced to revolt. The Parisian leaders of the party, including Godefroy Cavaignac and Garnier-Pagès, had come to Lyons to rouse the revolutionary passion. On the occasion of the trial of several leaders of the Rights of Man Society, on the 5th April, there were several violent scenes in court. “No bayonets!” shouted the workmen when they saw the soldiers arrive. The president adjourned the court to the 9th, and on that day all was in readiness. At daybreak any doubt was no longer possible: Lyons was undergoing, not a tumultuous and disorderly agitation, but a movement which was both violent and systematic. Resolutions had evidently been made, orders given, time fixed. The court was to open at eleven o'clock, and before its doors the Place St. Jean remained, the whole morning, empty and

deserted. The insurgents wished to appear in a body and act all at once. The secret agents of the Rights of Man Society were waiting collected in their respective quarters. At half-past eleven, when the court had opened, the first band arrived, and then the others. Barricades were quickly thrown up at the four corners of the place, others being at the same time erected in all parts of the town. An ultra-republican proclamation, conveying the grossest abuse of King Louis Philippe and his ministers, was distributed in great numbers. The attack began in all parts, and was everywhere repulsed courageously. For five hours, a civil war, premeditated and organized against the existing government, caused blood to flow in the streets of Lyons. It was kept up by the insurgents with skilful audacity and fanatical keenness and determination; by the authorities with steady firmness; by the troops with a fidelity to their colors and a vigor which towards the end almost passed into fury. A similar outbreak was prepared in the same way at St. Etienne, Vienne, Grenoble, Châlons, Auxerre, Arbois, Marseilles, and Lunéville. In the streets of Lyons, during the fighting, bulletins, dated like the proclamations the year XLII. of the republic, were incessantly publishing news, which was almost all false, amongst the insurgents to keep up their courage. "At Vienne," said one of those bulletins (22 Germinal, 11th April), "the national guard is master of the town; they have stopped the artillery coming against us. The insurrection is breaking out everywhere. Patience and courage! The garrison must of course become weak and demoralized. Even should it hold its positions, we have only to keep it in check till our brothers arrive from the departments." The garrison did not become demoralized; the brothers from the departments did not come; and on the 13th April, in the evening, all over the town, the beaten insurgents gave up fighting. When authority was everywhere restored, men were astonished to find, among the dead, the prisoners, and the wounded in the hospitals, scarcely one tenth of the workmen belonging to the silk-mills, and six strangers for one Lyonnais!

In Paris as well as Lyons the republican party had announced, and made preparations for, their victory. A Breton gentleman, Kersausie, an eager partisan of the carbonari, took the leadership of the "Society of Action," by whom the movement was to be commenced. He was arrested, as well as all the leaders of the Rights of Man Society, Godefroy Cavaignac alone escaping. The news of the definitive check suffered by

the insurgents at Lyons excited the rage and shame of the masses enrolled under Parisian revolution. On the 13th April, at five o'clock afternoon, the outbreak took place in Paris. Barricades started from the ground with inconceivable rapidity, several officers were wounded, others killed. As in 1832, the insurgent operations seemed to be concentrated in the St. Merry quarter. General Bugeaud commanded the troops, and Thiers accompanied him when he went by night to take observations. "They passed along close to the houses, at the head of a small column, without any light but that from some candles in several windows falling upon their arms and uniforms. A shot fired from a cellar struck the captain of the troop dead, and another wounded mortally a young auditor of the Council of State who had come with a message to Thiers. As they advanced forward, new victims fell, and they looked in vain to discover the murderers. The soldiers' hearts boiled with anger, and as soon as daylight appeared a general attack was directed against the insurgents. There was a perpetual firing kept up from the houses and barricades. In the Rue Transnonain some soldiers were carrying their wounded captain on a litter, when several musket-shots from a house they were passing were fired at them, and killed their captain in their hands. Wild with rage, they burst open the doors of the house, rushed headlong over all the floors, into all the rooms, and a cruel and indiscriminate massacre blindly avenged savage assassinations."* This deplorable scene procured among the people for General Bugeaud, the sinister surname of butcher of the Rue Transnonain. It put a sad end to the struggle, the insurgents either hiding themselves or effecting their escape. A great many were arrested, shortly to appear before the Court of Peers. Admiral de Rigny, and Guizot announced to the chambers that the insurrection was subdued in Paris as well as in Lyons. After having provided for the evident necessities of legislation by passing a law respecting the possession of arms and ammunition, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved on the 24th May, 1834.

The elections went almost everywhere in favor of the government, and testified strongly to the fears and repugnance which the revolutionary attempts inspired in the minds of honest people. Meanwhile the cabinet had suffered some loss of strength, and further embarrassment was impending.

* *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps.*

Following on an adverse vote of the chamber on the subject of the indemnities long due to the United States, the Duc de Broglie gave in his resignation. Guizot did not follow his example, and at this there was some astonishment in the chamber among those near Thiers. Thiers turning to those about him, said smartly, "Guizot has not retired with De Broglie, in order to make him return." The result was soon to justify Thiers' perspicacity. The question of the government of Algeria at that time gave rise to some dissensions within the cabinet. Marshal Soult, a very capable commander, was much less suited to treat with politicians, and often caused embarrassment to his colleagues. Not without difficulty he was replaced by Marshal Gérard, who in his turn retired some months later, accompanied by most of the other ministers. They were all determined to put the government of the country into the hands of the third party, which was increasing in the chambers under the influence of Dupin. A ministry which lasted for three days was the only success of this experiment. Again power was accepted by Thiers, Guizot, Duchâtel, Humann, and Rigny. Marshal Mortier became president of the council. Old, weary, and restless, Talleyrand quitted the embassy in London. The veterans of the great struggles of the past were disappearing from the arena, either retiring from active life, or being removed by death. Lafayette died peaceably at La Grange, surrounded by his children, and recalling piously in his enfeebled memory the recollection of the admirable wife whom he had recently lost. He wished to be interred by her side in the cemetery of Picpus, consecrated to the memory of the victims of the Terror, and no political demonstration disturbed the solemnity of the funeral rites. After the ardent struggles but recently extinguished, the populace, once so easily excited, had become indifferent; moreover, the leaders of the insurrection had entered on a course in which the patriotism of Lafayette prevented him from following them.

Before the Court of Peers burst forth the audacity of the numerous conspirators put on trial for complicity in the rising which took place in the month of April. The conflict was removed from the streets to the palace of the Luxembourg; it was boldly proclaimed, and systematically pursued by the launching of invectives, declamation, and theories, instead of the discharge of arms. Lying letters and insulting proclamations circulated everywhere among the people, seeking at the same time to sow erroneous impressions and artificially to ex-

cite the public passions. The courage and calm resolution of the Court of Peers was not relaxed, in spite of the provocations constantly being launched by the accused and their friends. "You wish 164 heads; take them!" cried one of those at the bar. "You have brought me here by force, you have ruined me, you have butchered me; here is my breast, strike me, kill me!" But only one condemnation to death was pronounced. Transportation was the most serious penalty inflicted. Guizot was soon obliged, however, in the presence of the chamber to support the necessity of the repression with a firmness for which he was accused of cruelty. "They forget constantly in this debate," said he, "what is the aim of all punishment, of all penal legislation. It is not only to punish and to repress the guilty, but to prevent the repetition of similar crimes. Preventive and general intimidation, such is the principle, the dominant aim, of the penal laws. It is necessary to choose in this world between the intimidation of the just and of the unjust, between the security of rogues and of orderly citizens; the former or the latter must stand in fear; there must be a sentiment, profound and lasting, of a superior power, always capable of overtaking and punishing. In the bosom of the family, in the relations of man with his God, there is something of dread, and this is so naturally and necessarily. He who fears nothing, ere long respects nothing."

M. de Broglie supported the same cause with a courage and an elevation of thought and language that strengthened him in the position which he had newly accepted in the cabinet. After tedious struggles within, and repeated effort on the part of the king to re-form a ministry, Marshal Mortier retired, and the Duc de Broglie replaced him as president of the council. The laws of September, 1835, intended to furnish the government with the weapons suited for an efficacious repression of the ceaseless attacks arising out of the revolution, bore by no means the character of exceptional measures. They maintained the essential guarantees of justice, while providing for the present and accidental wants of society. They were defended by the leaders of the conservative party with profound conviction; violently attacked both in the chambers and in the country by the opposition, they were nevertheless voted by a great majority, and were favorably received by the impartial and honest onlookers, who felt themselves effectively protected without oppression.

The tendencies and the events which broke out at the

moment when the cabinet presented the laws of September justified by anticipation their anxiety for the peace of society. For some days vague rumors, which seemed mysteriously to herald the fact as a secret that had escaped from numerous confidants, threatened the king and the royal family with some unknown danger. Already seven projects of assassination had been discovered, when a grand review of the national guard was convoked for the 28th July, 1835. At the moment when the royal procession arrived on the Boulevard du Temple, the king, who was bending over the shoulder of his horse to receive a petition, suddenly heard a noise as of platoon firing. He recovered himself instantly. "Joinville, this is for me," said he to the son who was nearest him: "let us go on." Meanwhile a crowd of dead and dying already surrounded him, including Marshal Mortier, General Lachasse de Vérigny, Captain de Vilate, many officers of the national guard, and several soldiers and women. The Duc d'Orleans had received a contusion, and a spent ball had penetrated the cravat of the Duc de Brogle. Cries of horror at the crime committed, and enthusiastic acclamations for the king, resounded on all sides. At the Chancellery, where were assembled the queen, the princesses, and those of his ministers who had not accompanied the king, there prevailed the greatest consternation and a terrible uneasiness. They did not yet know the number and quality of the victims, nor the circumstances of the attempt.

One man attempted to make his escape by means of a rope suspended from a window on the third floor of the house No. 50, on the Boulevard du Temple. Wounded himself by the explosion which he had effected, he was easily arrested. The "infernal machine" was presently seized; it consisted of twenty-five gun barrels supported on a scaffolding of oak, and the discharge of these was rendered simultaneous by the employment of a single train of powder. Several of the guns had burst, while others had not gone off, and it is to this circumstance that the safety of the king may be attributed. It was soon ascertained that the author of the crime was a Corsican named Fieschi. Already guilty and condemned, dissatisfied with his social position, he had been urged on the path of villainy by three Parisian workmen, who were ardent demagogues and affiliated to the Society of the Rights of Man. The latter were also arrested, and were tried and condemned some months subsequently by the Court of Peers. Hardly had

they suffered the reward of their crime (26th of February, 1836) when another attempt to assassinate the king was made by a young southern, Louis Alibaud, who was formerly a soldier, and had taken part in the revolution of July. On six other occasions, either against Louis Philippe or his sons, were similar attempts renewed without ever once having shaken the calm courage of the king. On the other hand, he had great difficulty in ratifying some of the sentences pronounced against the criminals.

Meanwhile order was re-established; the dread and terror which the attempts had caused had assisted rather than shaken the prudent, resolute policy practised by the king and his ministers. A military expedition in Algeria under the Duc d'Orleans and Marshal Clauzel met with distinguished success; the French army occupied Mascara, to the great honor of its commanders. The discussion on the financial laws then absorbed the chambers; Humann, able and bold, suddenly rose, and proposed, without preliminary discussion in the Council, the measure which De Villèle had tried without success in 1824, and which was based on the reimbursement or reduction of the rentes. Humann, who had formerly supported the ministry of the restoration, attached great importance to his enterprise. "What would you have?" said Rôyer-Collard. "Guizot has his law on primary education, Thiers has his on the completion of the public monuments, and now Humann wants a share of fame." The cabinet refused to allow itself to be entangled thus; the king was personally opposed to the measure; and Humann was replaced in the financial department by D'Argout. The fallen minister and his proposition meanwhile reckoned on numerous partisans in the chamber, who challenged the government to explain its ulterior intentions respecting the conversation of rentes. They accused the Duc de Broglie of not being sufficiently explicit on the subject; he repeated the reasons for his reserve, returning to the very terms of reproach which they had addressed to him. "Is this clear?" he asked as he ended his speech. The chamber was offended; the Duc de Broglie was not popular, partly because of his defects, partly because of his very gifts of mind and character. Certain propositions were formerly presented for the prompt conversion of rentes; the cabinet demanded an adjournment, but was defeated, and resigned immediately.

Thiers shared the opinion of his colleagues on the question

that had arisen; but he was not at all equally at one with them in his convictions and political views, and although often fighting by their side for the same objects, he never entertained much liking for the doctrinaires. When, therefore, Humann, Molé, and Gérard refused to form a cabinet, and when Dupin and Passy also declined the honor in the name of the third party, the king charged Thiers with the difficult function. The new ministry was definitely constituted on the 22nd of February, 1836, under his presidency. The harmonious union and action of men properly trained in the work of free and monarchical government had vanished; henceforth the wishes of leaders were diverse, if not antagonistic; the powers and efforts that were put forth after the revolution of 1830, for the purpose of establishing and sustaining the throne, were ruined absolutely and forever.

The country found itself at this time in a delicate situation with respect to the great powers of the north, who had remained suspicious and defiant even after they had ended by accepting the government sprung from the revolution of July, and the conclusion of the English alliance, which had displeased and embarrassed them in their relations with France. The combination of narrow views and egotistical passions had prevented the King of Prussia as well as the Emperor Nicholas and Metternich from rendering to the sound foreign policy of the country the justice which it merited. The revolutionary movements which had disturbed Germany were attributed to the contagion of French ideas, and to the protection which France granted to political refugees. A conference of the sovereigns at Münchengratz in 1833, and near Töplitz in 1835, had been followed by protests addressed to France; while the cold, determined attitude of the French discouraged such attempts at intimidation, without improving the existing relations. The complication of affairs in the east, and the aspirations of the Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, towards independence, were a continual source of disquietude to Russia, ambitious, with all her patience and ostentation—to England, decidedly Turkish in her proclivities—and to Prussia, disinterested but anxious. The attitude of France was shifting and contradictory, fettered as she was by revolutionary memories, by the traditions of the Egyptian expedition, by the desire to maintain the Ottoman Empire, while serving the ambition of the pasha. At different times Russia had already intervened for the protection of the Porte, which she was desir-

ous of holding at her mercy. The convention of Kutaieh, concluded under her auspices on the 5th May, 1833, had temporarily appeased the difference between Turkey and the Pasha of Egypt, without calming Turkish uneasiness. On the 10th of July, the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi gave the sultan the assurance of Russian protection, on the sole condition that the Dardanelles should be closed to all foreign vessels of war. The Black Sea should thus be a Russian lake, while Russia preserved the full liberty of her maritime operations in the Mediterranean. Great was the displeasure of England and France. In spite of his personal dissatisfaction, Metternich applied himself to arrange matters. The relations meantime remained difficult and strained between the Porte and Mehemet, and between France and the Emperor Nicholas, who was naturally prejudiced against Louis Philippe and his government. England herself was somewhat affected by the good-will which France had evinced towards the Pasha of Egypt. But the agreement of the policy of the two countries on another point contributed strongly to maintain a good understanding between the French and English governments.

King Ferdinand VII. died in September, 1835, and left the succession to the throne contested, in spite of the definitive act sanctioned by the Cortes, which had guaranteed the crown to his eldest daughter, the Infanta Isabella. Long distracted between his family affections and his absolutist tendencies, the monarch had sown the seeds of the Carlist insurrection, which burst forth immediately on his death. A numerous and resolute party supported the claim of Don Carlos to the throne in the name of the Salic law, established in Spain by the Pragmatic Sanction of Philippe V., which Ferdinand VII. himself had for the moment recognized. Those wise and moderate Spaniards who aspired to give their country a free constitution naturally supported the title of the young queen. Zea Bermudez, who was placed at the head of the ministry of the Queen Regent Christina, was known and esteemed in London as well as Paris. The English and French cabinets did not hesitate, but recognized the rights of Isabella II., in conformity with the old Spanish law accepted by the nation. Civil war already prevailed in Spain; it began in Portugal, where the usurper Dom Miguel declared in the name of the same principle the exclusion of the young Queen Donna Maria from the throne. Don Carlos had sought support from Dom Miguel, but the latter was defeated, and the new governments of the two

sovereignties appealed to the great liberal and constitutional powers for assistance. On the 13th of April, 1834, a triple alliance was concluded in London, between England, Spain and Portugal. A month later the French government protested against the exclusively English policy of Lord Palmerston; but while it chose to adhere to an existing treaty, it declined, in agreement with England, all armed intervention. The civil war continued to rage, but Don Carlos embarked for England, while Dom Miguel, taking a lasting farewell of Portugal, retired to Italy. Henceforth it was against the revolutionary Spaniards, her allies at one moment, that the Regent Maria Christina had to struggle.

Some months before the government changed hands in France, without seriously modifying the existing policy, the power in Spain passed to Mendizabel, the leader of the radicals, who were resolved to restore the constitution of 1812. He immediately manifested a marked preference for the support of England, and that country testified towards him a feeling of great friendship. Hardly had Thiers become president of the council, than Lord Palmerston announced his intention of intervening in the affairs of the Peninsula, and proposed to us to act in concert. "France could occupy," he said, "the port of Passage, the valley of Bastan, and Fontarabia. For the rest, she shall trace at her will the line within which she shall be willing to limit her occupation."

King Louis Philippe had constantly been opposed to all thought of intervention in Spain. "Let us aid the Spaniards from a distance," said he, "but never let us enter the same boat with them. If once we are there, it will be necessary to take the helm, and God knows where we shall find ourselves." Thiers sustained the contrary principle with a settled conviction; he had, however, flatly refused intervention at the beginning of his ministry, but the situation had become aggravated in Spain. In the Basque provinces, the Carlist bands and the royal troops, fighting with a fury that was of little effect, abandoned themselves to revolting cruelties, which were everywhere tolerated, and sometimes commanded by their leaders. At the same time the intrigues of the secret societies, and the passions stirred up by the demagogues, burst forth in the provinces of the South—Barcelona, Valencia, Malaga, Seville, Cordova, and Cadiz—making the cry, "Long live the constitution of 1812!" re-echo on every side, and causing innumerable scenes of bloodshed. A military in-

surrection in Madrid was resolutely repressed by General Quesada, the captain-general of Castille. The government passed from the hands of Mendizabel to those of Isturitz, who was more moderate, and less attached to the English alliance. He claimed afresh the effectual aid of France. The services indirectly accorded to Spain were multiplied, but the king remained absolutely opposed to intervention. The French ambassador at Madrid was ill, and De Bois le Comte was commissioned to carry thither the reply of the French government. "The Spaniards," he wrote to Thiers, on the 12th August, 1836, "have been so accustomed to see us intervene in their affairs, and to see us decide their questions of succession, from the time of Henry of Transtamare downwards, to Philip V., Ferdinand VII., and his father and the Queen Isabella, that the idea that we shall end by intervening now is profoundly believed, and it is hardly possible to root the belief out of the country. They think that they must leave us to speak, and that we shall always conclude by coming to direct intervention, being unable to support in Spain either revolutionary anarchy or the restoration of Don Carlos." A successful military insurrection at St. Ildefonso had forced Queen Christina's hand by an invasion of the palace of La Granja. She accepted the constitution of 1812. General Quesada was murdered by the insurgents, and a new cabinet having been formed, the Cortes were dissolved and a general election was decreed. The king wished to testify with emphasis his neutrality in the affairs of the Peninsula; he demanded the retirement of the corps of the French troops on the frontier. Thiers opposed this, and the majority of his colleagues coincided with him. "Nothing can bring the king to intervention," said he, "and nothing can make me renounce it." The cabinet of the 22nd of February resigned, and Comte Molé was charged with the duty of reconstituting the ministry.

The prudent, sensible, and moderate policy prevailed in foreign relations; as far as concerned the interior, it remained both firm and clear, although without much *éclat* or success. An unfortunate expedition against the town of Constantine, in pursuance of the schemes of conquest which at this time appeared too vast, had caused the retirement of Marshal Clauzel as governor-general of Algeria. The sentiment of misfortune weighed painfully on all minds in spite of the heroism of which the troops and their leaders had given proof in the retreat. Commander Changarnier at the head of his battalion

disputed with the Arabs each step as they followed up the pursuit with fury. He descried the cavalry of Achmet Bey, disposed so as to make a general charge. As soon as he saw them approaching the commander formed his battalion in square. "Soldiers!" he cried, "look, these people, they are 6000, and you are 300; you see that the game is equal." The courage of the soldiers did not falter at this youthful explosion of an heroic soul, which continued to be worthy of himself even in extreme old age. The glory of General Changarnier began on that day.

A new source of disquietude, prophetic in its vague unrest, began to alarm the king and his counsellors. On the 30th of October, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte arrived at Strasbourg, where he maintained certain secret relations. With no other support than that of Colonel Vaudrey and a major, gained beforehand to his cause, he paraded the streets of the town, and presented himself at the barracks of the 4th regiment of artillery, where he was received with cries of "Long live the emperor!" He then tried to gain the soldiers of the second barracks, but the officers were not favorable to him, and remained faithful to their duty. The general in command, and the prefect, whose hotel had been surrounded by the insurgent soldiers, made their escape. They caused the arrest of the prince and his followers; Persigny, his most intimate confidant, alone contrived to get away. The attempts at insurrection immediately ceased, and order was restored. The king denied himself the thought of using severity towards a young man, who was haunted by the visions of grandeur associated with his name, and by the conviction that he was destined to retrieve that name. The embarkation of the prince for the United States was resolved upon before the prayers of Queen Hortense were heard, imploring on his behalf the royal clemency. He departed, loaded with tokens of the thoughtful kindness of the monarch, and not without engaging himself never again to set foot on French soil. His adherents were taken before the court at Colmar, and were all acquitted by the jury. More than one of these have reappeared in the history of later years. Providence has impenetrable secrets; the fiasco of Strasbourg prepared the way to the second empire, by making ring once more in the ears of France the name of Napoleon, the power of which on her soul has withstood so many mistakes and so much of suffering.

Insignificant in itself, the attempt of Prince Louis Napoleon

indicated in the minds of the people and in the army a fickleness and a tendency to waver that was disquieting. A slight insurrection had also taken place in a regiment at Vendôme, this time to the cry of "Long live the Republic!" The ministers proposed three legal projects, designed to complete the penal code, in order to prevent the recurrence of similar disorders. At the same time, and by an unfortunate combination of circumstances, two measures, announced long before—the one fixing the payment of the dowry of the Queen of the Belgians, the other confirming the endowment to the Duc de Nemours—required to be presented in the course of the same session. The Chamber of Deputies had never given proof of liberality in its relations with King Louis Philippe. They exaggerated in public the personal fortune of the king; they attributed to him an avidity assuredly very foreign to his spirit and his conduct, although the memory of his past distresses had occasionally left him disturbed as to the future fortune of his children. The projects of endowments were unpopular, while the plans of penal repression were cleverly attacked by the opposition, the first article presented being rejected. The government felt itself checked; the public was convinced of the impotence of the cabinet; and the king inclined towards a policy of concession and conciliation. After several days of internal crisis, Guizot and his friends retired, and Molé reconstituted the ministry, immediately allowing the unpopular measures to drop. A general amnesty was announced. Already, some months previously, the grace of the king had set free from prison the four ministers of Charles X. A certain appeasement of passions made itself felt, a little superficial perhaps, and soon destined to suffer fresh shocks, but it procured for the ministry of Molé some years of calm and of governmental freedom. The marriage of the Duc d'Orleans on the 30th May, 1837, with the grave and intellectual Princess Hélène of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who was subsequently to bear her great sorrows nobly, seemed a pledge of stability, and was favorably received in public opinion. Some months later, on the 17th of October, the Princess Marie d'Orleans was married to Duke Alexander of Wurtemberg. In her adopted country she continued her artistic labors, in which she had shown rare talent, modelling, after her statue of Joan of Arc, the figures of the two angels which were one day to shelter with their wings the tomb where she lay beside her brother, the Duc d'Orleans. The happy issue of the second expedition

to Constantine, and the distinction which the Duc de Nemours gained in the siege, contributed to invest the Molé ministry at its outset with a certain amount of popularity. Several important laws, which had long been in course of preparation, including those respecting the general and municipal councils, and the closing of the gambling-houses, were readily voted by the chambers. The left and the third party supported the amnesty and the policy of conciliation. In the conservative party many of the leaders were dejected and uneasy, but still they supported the policy of the ministry.

Abroad, a short and brilliant expedition, under Admiral Baudin and Prince de Joinville, secured the fort of St. Jean d'Ulloa and the town of Vera Cruz, forcing the Mexican government to sign a treaty of peace, on the 9th of March, 1839, making allowance to France for the injury inflicted on her national interests. The complicated affairs of the small South American republics at the mouth of the Plate, and the injuries done to us by the republic of Haïti, afforded opportunities for skilful and resolute management. At the request of France, Switzerland interdicted its territory to Prince Louis Napoleon, who had returned to Europe on the occasion of his mother's death. The last difficulties of Belgium disappeared before the kindly interposition of the great powers, and the King of Holland agreed to accept the conditions of separation fixed upon in twenty-four articles drawn up by the conference. The citadel and town of Ancona was evacuated on the oft-repeated demand of the Pope, at the moment when the Austrians themselves quitted the Papal territory. The cabinet renounced in Italy the policy of daring interference, liberal, and at the same time conservative, which had been inaugurated by Casimir Périer.

The very persons who had recently opposed Casimir Périer saw with regret the abandonment of his foreign policy. The declarations which Molé made in the chambers against absolute governments offended those governments, without reassuring the liberal party in France. Every day the schism between the ministry and the left manifested itself more clearly, the latter having been sued for its help by the cabinet from the beginning; every day also the ministry unfortunately drew away from that portion of the conservative party which wished to found in order a *régime* of liberty, and to establish amid the powers of the state the preponderance of the Chamber of Deputies. Guizot combined with Thiers and Odilon Barrot against

the cabinet, which neither satisfied the ultra-liberal aspirations of the first, nor the test of the others for stable authority side by side with fearless liberty. The coalition was necessarily to be temporary, like the union which had allowed Molé himself to supersede the co-operation of Guizot and Duchâtel in order to get his measure accepted by the Chamber of Deputies. The present union had the grave disadvantage of presenting to the country the problem of an alliance which was difficult to understand, and which was opposed to its common sense. It accomplished the dislocation of the great government party, recently founded for the purpose of re-establishing order after the revolution of 1830; it drove to the side of Molé that party formed more recently in a less liberal direction, astonished and displeased to see its natural leaders temporarily joined to strange allies.

The dissolution of the chamber, called for in 1838 by Molé, modified the composition of the assembly, without acting profoundly on the state of parties. The ministry zealously struggled against a certain number of the particular friends of the doctrinaires. The address of 1839, drawn up by a committee favorable to the opposition, was skilfully discussed and amended by the cabinet, which carried it with a majority too weak to ensure success. A ministerial crisis, and some efforts on the part of Marshal Soult to constitute a new cabinet, terminated in confirming Molé in power, and in another dissolution of the chamber. This time, and in spite of the little favor which the coalition met with in general among sensible honest men, who were friends of order, and spectators rather than actors in the political struggle, the weakness of Molé's situation appeared undeniable. The majority was still too small to render government possible, and the ministry retiring, the coalition was immediately placed at the head of the affairs of the country. The radical vice of its principle soon made itself felt. Guizot and Odilon Barrot were not able to govern together, as Guizot and Thiers had done, and were still able to do. The opposition evinced some natural enough distrust of Guizot and his friends; it expected the less influential posts to be assigned to them, and these they declined on account of their personal dignity and the honor of their cause in the common victory. The crisis was prolonged, and business suffered in consequence. The king resolved to form a provisional ministry which wielded authority for six weeks in the midst of growing excitement. Supported by the conservatives, Passy was elected president of

the chamber over Odilon Barrot, who had the support of the left. In this disorder of parties and minds the important members of the centre and left centre, who by agreement had separated from their unpopular or incompatible leaders, prepared with great exertion the constitution of a new conciliatory cabinet, when on the 12th of May an insurrection broke out in the most populous quarters of Paris, crowds attacking simultaneously the Hôtel de Ville, the Palais de Justice, and the Prefecture of Police. Vigorous measures of repression put a stop to this frantic attempt, which was inspired by the feebleness and irresolution of the authorities. On the same day the ministry was definitely formed, under the presidency of Marshal Soult; the centre properly so called was represented by Duchâtel, Villemain, and Cunin-Gridaine, while Passy, Dufaure and Teste shared with them the political sway. Thiers was nominated by his friends for the presidency of the chamber, the cabinet having supported Sauzet, who only obtained a majority of seven votes. Meanwhile the political party of liberal order, so often and so seriously shaken, rallied with a dawning of confidence around the cabinet, which was composed of confused and contradictory elements, but which began by securing a victory under its colors.

The internal business of administration and organization, and the movement of commercial and industrial development which began to make itself felt, absorbed public thought more, and occupied the government more than the evident and advancing decadence of the Ottoman Empire, and the covetousness and ambition which that decadence excited in Russia and Egypt. The Porte had determined to make one more vigorous effort, which it believed itself capable of accomplishing under the protection of Russia. On the 21st of April, 1839, the Turkish army passed the Euphrates, for the purpose of attacking that of the pasha, which was commanded by his son Ibrahim. Some days later the European powers convoked a conference at Vienna, and on the request of the two aides-de-camp sent to Egypt and to Constantinople by Marshal Soult, the sultan and the pasha ordered the suspension of hostilities, when it was learned that the two armies had met, and that the Turkish forces had been completely destroyed, on the 21st of June, 1839. The Sultan Mahmoud died on the 30th of June, and a few days later Pasha Achmet-Feruzzi, commander of the Turkish fleet, conducted the whole fleet to Alexandria, in order to deliver it up to Mehemet Ali. The young Sultan Abdul-Medjid evinced

an inclination to make larger concessions to the Pasha of Egypt. Such was not, however, the tendency of the great powers, who were desirous of maintaining their influence in eastern affairs. In the fear of finding herself condemned in Europe to a position of troublesome isolation, Russia felt constrained to adhere to the resolutions of the projected conference of Vienna. On the 27th of July the representatives of the five courts assembled at Vienna addressed the following note to the Porte: "The undersigned have received from their respective governments this morning certain instructions, in virtue of which they have the honor to inform the Sublime Porte that harmony on the eastern question is confirmed among the five great powers, and to engage the suspension of all definitive settlement without their concurrence, in consideration of the interest which they take in his affairs."

It was a great deal to say, and a great deal to promise; the cabinets of London and Paris were agreed to maintain the Ottoman Empire, but they were not of one mind regarding the extent of the concessions which were necessary to secure to the Porte the partial submission of its troublesome vassal. Lord Palmerston said to De Bourqueney, "It will be necessary to open at Constantinople and Alexandria a negotiation on the double basis of the constitution of the hereditary of Egypt in the family of Mehemet Ali and of the evacuation of Syria by the Egyptian troops." The French government, on the other hand, claimed with emphasis the hereditary possession of Syria for Mehemet Ali. The cause of the pasha was popular in France, where the people had conceived a very exaggerated idea of his forces. Moreover, no one expected to see Russia adopt unconditionally the policy of Lord Palmerston, and the hope still remained that England could be brought to our way of thinking. General Sébastiani, who proceeded to resume his post in London, did not long allow these illusions to exist. He was convinced that the resolution was unalterable in the minds of the ministers of Great Britain; besides, it was suspected that she was at heart favorable to Turkey. The friends of Guizot in the cabinet urged the king to despatch him to London on this difficult mission; he had recently handled the question in the chamber; "Lord Chatham once said, 'I would not discuss with any one who tells me that the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire is not a question of life or death for England.' As for myself, gentlemen, I am less timid; I do not think that for such powers as England and France there

may be thus in the distance, and with certainty, any questions of life or death. But Lord Chatham was passionately convinced of the importance of maintaining the Ottoman Empire; and England still thinks so strongly with him that she devotes herself to this cause even with a touch of superstition, in my opinion. She has often shown herself somewhat hostile to the new states which have formed themselves, or which are inclined to form themselves, from the natural dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Greece, for example, has not always found her friendly; Egypt still less. I will not enter into an examination of the motives which may have influenced on similar occasions the policy of England. I believe that she is sometimes deceived, that she has sometimes sacrificed the great to the minor policy, the general interest of Great Britain to some secondary interests. The first interest that concerns Great Britain is that Russia shall not dominate in the east."

It was this idea which Guizot was charged to represent in London, when he accepted, in the month of February, 1840, the mission of ambassador. King Louis Philippe had not been favorable to this choice, on which the ministers had insisted unanimously. The new ambassador had hardly arrived at his post, when the cabinet from which he held his powers found itself compelled to retire, in consequence of a new and painful check, suffered for the second time, on the project of endowment in favor of the Duc de Nemours. Thiers was called by the king to the presidency of the new ministry, which from the beginning published its resolution to demand neither electoral reform nor dissolution. Under these conditions of a government which in advance protected itself against its characteristic tendencies towards the left, Guizot believed it to be his duty to remain at his post. "I here occupy the decisive position on the question of war," wrote he to his friends. "It is only here that the policy that would force on war, or would lend itself to that purpose, or to whatever would bring about war, may find a basis. As long as this position is ours we are in a position to forewarn and arrest. It is here that we must and can defend the policy of peace."

Peace was from that time seriously manaced by the growing ill-humor of England and by the illusions of France. Guizot applied himself to calm the one and dissipate the other. He diverted his government from certain intentions which he suspected. "It is possible," he wrote to Thiers on the 17th of March, "that we may return to the policy of waiting, amid

endless difficulties, as the outcome of which we foresee in the east the maintenance of the *statu quo*; but it may be also that events will be precipitated, and that we may soon find ourselves obliged to take a side. If that comes to pass, the alternative in which we shall be placed will be this: either to put ourselves on a footing with England, acting with her in the question of Constantinople, and obtaining from her in the Syrian question some concessions for Mehemet Ali, or to retire from the affair, and leave it to be concluded between the four powers, we in the meantime standing aloof and waiting the course of events. If we do not make an attempt to bring about between France and England an arrangement with which the pasha may be satisfied on the question of Syria, it will be necessary to await the other issue, and to hold ourselves prepared." Some days later he wrote to General Baudrand, aide-de-camp to the king: "I wish much I had the same security that the king has granted to you. I hope that they will do nothing without us, and I work for it; but this is only a hope, and the work is difficult. The English policy is occupied sometimes lightly and very rashly in foreign questions. In this affair, besides, all the Powers except France flatter the inclinations of England, and show themselves ready to do whatever she wishes. We alone, her particular allies, say, no! The others never dream of anything but pleasing; we want to be reasonable at the risk of displeasing. The situation is neither very comfortable nor perfectly certain. We can achieve success by good management and with time. I believe that we would be wrong to confide in ourselves in the matter; it is always necessary to fear a hasty and sudden stroke."

Meantime, and while the situation remained in this serious and delicate state, good services were redoubled between France and England: the French government helped to arbitrate between England and the King of Naples on a commercial question which had failed to become a political one; soon the negotiation of a commercial treaty, and the question of extending the right of search for the abolition of the slave-trade, were to be the objects of diplomatic correspondence. England responded with readiness to the desire manifested by the French ministry to obtain the restitution of the ashes of the Emperor Napoleon. Lord Palmerston wrote on this subject to Lord Granville, his ambassador at Paris: "My Lord, the government of her Majesty having taken into consideration the request of the French government to obtain authorization

to transport from St. Helena to France the remains of Napoleon Bonaparte, I request your Excellency to assure M. Thiers that the government of her Majesty will accede with pleasure to this request. The government of her Majesty hope that the promptness of this response will be considered in France as a proof of their desire to efface all traces of those national animosities which, during the life of the emperor, armed against each other the French and English nations. The government of her Majesty is confident that if such sentiments still exist anywhere, they will be buried in the tomb in which the remains of Napoleon are to be laid."

The Minister of the Interior, Rémusat, repeated these words to the Chamber of Deputies when he announced the negotiation and its results. "Henceforth France, and France alone, will possess all that remains of Napoleon. His tomb, like his fame, shall belong to none but his own country. The monarchy of 1830 is the only and legitimate inheritor of all the memories of which France is proud. It was for it—for that monarchy which for the first time has rallied all the forces and conciliated all the aims of the French Revolution, to raise, and to honor without fear, the statue and the tomb of a popular hero. For there is one thing, one only, which dreads not comparison with glory, and that is liberty."

Liberty was still to be more than once menaced by the great name of Napoleon I. and by the influence which it exercised in France. In 1840 the nation, king and people alike, were eager with a generous improvidence to raise a monument anew to him. The most illustrious among those of whom France was proud had already put their hand to the work; Lamartine, and Victor Hugo, as well as Beranger, continued to nourish the new generations from the story of the Napoleonic legend. Other and more able hands were to work in turn at the same task.

The enthusiasm which manifested itself in France on the occasion of the transference of Napoleon's remains did not carry away all minds, and the chamber refused to vote more than a million francs for the cost of the expedition and sepulture. It was then occupied with great domestic projects, the first serious enterprises in railways, a law on the labor of children in factories, and many important questions of commercial administration. The anxiety and interest was not inclined to lessen respecting eastern affairs, which were still as obscure on the spot as in London.

A Turkish plenipotentiary had arrived in London. For the original proposals of Lord Palmerston, assuring to Mehemet Ali the hereditary possession of Egypt, and a title during life to the pashalic of Acre, the representatives of Austria and Prussia—Neumann and Von Bulow—seemed disposed to substitute the relinquishment for life of all Syria, and the hereditary cession of Egypt. At Paris there was hesitation over these overtures. The grand vizier, hostile to the Pasha of Egypt, was dead; Mehemet Ali sent an emissary to Constantinople, charged with direct proposals to the sultan. The cabinet of the Tuileries desired to wait the result of this negotiation, to which it attached some value. On the other hand, Lord Palmerston was resolved to break it off; and he succeeded. An insurrection of the Druses, cleverly fomented by England, broke out against Mehemet Ali. "They will rise to the last man provided they are furnished with arms and ammunition," wrote Wood, the dragoman, to Lord Ponsonby, the ambassador at Constantinople. "There has never, perhaps, been a movement more favorable to the separation of Syria from Egypt, and to the accomplishment of the political views of Lord Palmerston regarding Mehemet Ali."

Guizot remained uneasy respecting the future, but the danger was nearer than he believed. Two drafts of treaties had been officially communicated to him—the one common to the five Powers, and containing the maximum concessions which they could make to France; the other, to be concluded between the four Powers in case of France refusing the first arrangement: they showed her concurrence should be dispensed with. The French ambassador reckoned on a final delay, before the lapse of which he could make a definitive resolution; but Lord Palmerston had decided otherwise. On the 15th of July, without calling afresh for the participation of France, the quadruple treaty was signed in London, to be executed immediately. Orders were already given to have presented to the Pasha of Egypt the resolution taken to impose on him the conditions which he had already peremptorily repelled. Only on the 17th of July, Lord Palmerston communicated to Guizot a memorandum, carefully prepared, full of apologies and flattering expressions towards France, claiming her good services at Alexandria with Mehemet Ali. "The sultan," said he, "will propose in the first place to the pasha to concede to him, always under the title of vassalage, the possession of Egypt hereditarily, and the portion already offered of the pashalic of St. Jean



EROMAT.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD.



ADOLPHE.

THIERS.



E. ROCHAT

Milibiani. Sc.

LOUIS PHILIPPE.

d'Acre, including the fortress, but only during life. He will grant him a period of ten days in order to accept this proposal. Should the pasha refuse, the sultan will make a new proposition, which will not comprehend more than Egypt, always granted hereditarily. If, after a fresh delay of ten days, the pasha still refuses, then the sultan will address himself to the four powers, who undertake towards him, and among themselves, to force his vassal into obedience."

It was probable war at short notice, supported by Europe, against a prince whom we had imprudently covered with our protection; we should find ourselves isolated from Europe, and condemned to a situation at once humiliating and dangerous. The wrath and indignation in Paris were great; the feelings were legitimate, and found expression in Guizot's note to Lord Palmerston in answer to the memorandum. "France," the cabinet said, "has not received in these latter circumstances any positive proposal on which she might give an opinion; it is not necessary therefore to impute to a refusal that she has not been able to make the determination which England communicates to her in the name doubtless of the four powers."

Lord Palmerston having protested against this phrase, Guizot commented upon it with a grave and impressive dignity. "This phrase surprises you, my Lord; the fact which it expresses has much more astonished the government of the king, and myself as well. When you communicated to me last Friday the memorandum to which I responded, intimating that, unknown to us, without our having either been definitely told or asked anything, a definitive resolution had been taken by the four powers, a convention signed, perhaps execution actually begun, I was profoundly astonished—I must say, hurt. When you come to the end of a negotiation in which we have constantly taken part you owe it to the government of the king to invoke it, and to say to it: 'Since we have not been able hitherto to put ourselves in harmony so as to act together as five powers, we are unable to put off any longer, and we have resolved to act on that basis and by that means. Will you join us? This is all that we desire. If decidedly you do not wish it, we shall be obliged to act as four powers, on the basis and by the means which we have indicated.' That was the natural course. On the contrary, without informing us, while preserving secrecy towards us, you have resolved to act without us. This is not, my Lord, the proper

proceeding for an old and intimate ally, and the government of the king has every right to take offence at it. The alliance of France and England has given ten years of peace to Europe; the whig ministry, allow me to say, was born under its colors, and it has drawn from it during ten years some of its energy. Canning, if I am not deceived, was your friend and the leader of your political party. In a great and celebrated speech he portrayed England as one day taking into her keeping the cave of storms, and possessing herself of the key. France also has this key, and hers is perhaps the larger. She has never wished to help herself by its use. Do not render this policy more difficult and less sure for us. Do not give serious reasons for, and a redoubled impulse to, the national passions in France. This is not what you owe to us, what Europe owes to us, for the moderation and prudence which we have shown during ten years!"

This was indeed, and in spite of the eager protestations of Lord Palmerston, the first result of the treaty of the 15th of July, the effect being to excite outbursts of passion, and of that warlike feeling which is always easy to awaken in our minds. The revolutionaries profited immediately by it in order to advance towards their aim, careless of the fresh embarrassments which confronted the country in a moment of national crisis. Everywhere agitation was stimulated on the subject of electoral reform, by means of petitions and banquets. Important industrial strikes took place at various points. At home as well as abroad the attitude of the government continued resolute and composed. Armaments were being prepared in the meantime; all the soldiers of the classes of 1836 and 1839 still disengaged were called out, and the fortified places were put into a state of defence. Threatened by serious dangers, France held herself ready for any event, and made this known to Europe. Her representatives maintained their reserve, and were distant and gravely dissatisfied. The powers were disquieted thereby, but without ceasing to pursue the resolutions which had offended France. Count Walewski was charged by Thiers to bear to Mehemet Ali counsels of moderation and prudence; he urged his futile efforts even at Constantinople. Lord Palmerston had skilfully succeeded in explaining his conduct before Parliament and to the public, which was at first very divided regarding the real nature of the Eastern question, as well as the diplomatic proceedings of the government. Henceforth the English feeling was carried

away by party dissensions, which tended to strengthen the ministry.

Meanwhile events were precipitated in the east, and the powers seemed to seize the opportunity of discarding in advance all means of pacific solution. The first interval of ten days had not expired, and already, by order of the government, Commodore Sir Charles Napier began hostilities, by capturing the Egyptian merchant-ships in the harbor of Beyrout, and by exciting the uprising of the Syrian insurgents. Twenty years afterwards he himself pronounced upon the part which he had then played in Syria. "I was ashamed for my country and for myself," he said in Parliament, on the 17th of August, 1860. "The government had sent me there to perform a mission; I acquitted myself of it, but against my will. Under Mehemet Ali, Syria was quiet and peaceable. If Lord Ponsonby had not sent agents to stir up the population, it would have been impossible for us with the weak forces at our disposal to put to flight an army of three or four thousand men." A few days later this army, under the orders of Ibrahim Pasha, drifted miserably into the hands of a force composed of English, Austrians, Turks, and Albanians, disembarked at Beyrout by the Anglo-Austrian fleet. Beyrout succumbed on the 11th of September, and Sidon on the 21st, giving up vast supplies of provisions to the victors almost without resistance. On the 14th of September the sultan, supported by the allied powers, pronounced the deposition of Mehemet Ali.

In France the astonishment and dismay were great; all hope of maintaining peace was now at an end. The possession of Egypt alone had been guaranteed to the pasha; on the advice of the wisest councillors the ministry resolved to make a *casus belli* of an attack upon this point, and to continue warlike preparations, concentrating in the waters of the Isle d'Hyères the fleet which was then anchored in the neighborhood of Salamine. "If you want to take Egypt from the pasha," declared Guizot to Lord Palmerston, "the cannon will decide between us." The attitude was resolute without being provocative; it was unfortunately too often contradicted by rash words, and by that outburst of revolutionary passions which had been so long unchained amongst us. In England as well as in Germany the public feeling responded in patriotic demonstrations, which were also ardent and inconsiderate. "We are returning to 1831," wrote Guizot on the

13th of October, to the Duc de Broglie, "to the revolutionary spirit, making use of the national power, and urging on war without legitimate motives, and without reasonable chances of success, in the sole hope, and with the sole purpose, of creating revolutions. The question of Syria is not a legitimate case for war. This I hold as undeniable. France, which has not gone to war to liberate Poland from Russia and Italy from Austria, cannot reasonably go to war in order that Syria may be held by the pasha and not by the sultan. No other question has hitherto been raised in principle by the convention of 15th July. In fact, by its execution no great French interest is attacked. Enterprise in the east may bring about something different from what is aimed at: questions may be born there, events may arise to which France could not remain indifferent. It is a question of arming, of holding herself ready; it is not a reason for herself raising in the east events and questions still more grave, and which are not born naturally."

At home the natural results of the warlike agitation found expression in revolutionary agitation; a strange attempt happened which serves to show its effects on excited spirits ruled by a fixed idea. On the 6th of August, at two in the morning, a small English packet-boat, the *City of Edinburgh* landed on the French coast, at Vimereux, near Boulogne, Prince Louis Napoleon, accompanied by some accomplices, who had either come like him from England or joined him on the shore. For many months, in spite of the sentiments of gratitude which he had formerly testified towards the king, the prince had labored to gain over officers in various regiments occupying the northern departments. He had purchased the *Commerce*, and its principal editor, Maugin, a passionate Jacobin in the Chamber of Deputies, too corrupt to refuse the means of making money. They had tried to spread the conviction that the Bonapartist pretenders had experienced kindness at the hands of several great powers. On embarking in the Thames, Louis Napoleon announced to his companions the object of his enterprise. "We proceed to France," he said. "There we shall find powerful and devoted friends. The only obstacle to victory is at Boulogne; once that point is carried, our success is sure. Numerous auxiliaries await us; and if I am seconded as they have promised me, as sure as the sun shines on us, in a few days we shall be in Paris, and history will say that it was with a handful of brave men such as you that I accomplished this great and glorious enterprise."

Three accomplices only awaited the prince on the coast; one of these, Aladenise, a young lieutenant of the 42nd regiment of the line, reckoned to carry along with him all his comrades. They marched on Boulogne, to which the packet-boat had just returned. The barracks were naturally the first object of attention. The lieutenant preceded the conspirators, announcing to the assembled soldiers the downfall of King Louis Philippe, as it had been decreed by Prince Louis in a proclamation which he had brought from England; they were then chosen to march on Paris in order to re-establish the empire. Surprised, and excited by a speech by Louis Napoleon, the soldiers cried "Long live the emperor!" But some officers had already hastened to the spot; the captain, Colonel Puygellier, with sword in hand, struggled against the conspirators by whom he was surrounded. "Prince Louis or not!" exclaimed the captain, "I only see in you a conspirator. Clear the barracks!" The soldiers advanced in order to protect him in the struggle, which was prolonged. The brave officer had just exclaimed, "Help, grenadiers!" when unfortunately a bullet from a pistol which the prince held struck a soldier in the neck very near where the captain was standing. Disconcerted by this accident, the insurgents retired in disorder, addressing themselves on their route to the people, and directing their course to the magazines of arms in the upper town. The gate of the arsenal resisted their efforts; the national guard began to assemble; the small force took in all haste the direction of the shore, casting themselves pell-mell into the long-boat of the packet. Pursued, summoned to stop, the victims of some stray shots, they saw their hopes betrayed by the waves as well as by man; the boat capsized, and those on board had some difficulty in saving their lives. Perhaps they believed themselves threatened by the rigors of a government which they had twice gratuitously offended. Honest people reproached King Louis Philippe with the generous attitude which he had maintained towards him whom they then called an adventurer, but whom, by the strangest coincidence, they were one day to call upon to reign over France. Condemned by the Court of Peers to perpetual confinement, and imprisoned within the walls of Ham, from which he was to escape at the end of six years, Prince Louis acknowledged subsequently the justice of his sentence. Finding himself, during a tour as President of the Republic, under the walls of the fortress which had held him a prisoner (22nd July, 1849), he

expressed surprise that he had not been impeached for twice violating the laws of his country. "To-day, when elected by all France, I have become the legitimate head of this great nation, I shall not glorify myself for a captivity which had for its cause an attack upon a regularly constituted government. When one has seen how the most just revolutions draw evils in their train, one understands fully the audacity of having wished to take on one's self the terrible responsibility of a change. I do not therefore compassionate myself for having expiated here by an imprisonment of six years my temerity against the laws and against my country."

The attempt of Prince Louis Napoleon excited more curiosity and raillery than apprehension. A fresh outrage against the king, committed by a miserable fellow named Darmès, on the 15th of October, 1840, caused more uneasiness, and seemed to indicate a growing state of revolutionary agitation. The government suffered insensibly from the contagion of restlessness. Anxious as it was, it became more and more warlike. Thiers proposed a fine plan for the fortification of Paris; he claimed the augmentation of the effective army; and the chambers were convoked to respond to these wants. The cabinet presented to the king a plan for the speech from the crown; its language was firm and dignified, but it was conceived in the prospect of war, and for the purpose of demanding from the country the means of putting it in a state of preparation. The king declined to place himself in such jeopardy. He believed that peace was possible and desirable. From the heart even of the cabinet he received advice to seek elsewhere for other ministers, "Discharge us, sire," said Cousin, "we drive you to war." For the second time in a month the cabinet offered its resignation, which was accepted by the king. Guizot was still in London, ready to take part in the session of the chambers; the king and Thiers wrote to him at the same time, pressing him to return to Paris. A few days later, on the 29th of October, 1840, he formed, under the presidency of Soult, and as minister of foreign affairs, the last cabinet which was for many years to govern France under the constitutional monarchy by the noble and peaceable alliance of liberty and authority.

It was a heavy burden which the new councillors had accepted from the crown in a situation of which they knew all the dangers. "Why has the cabinet of 29th October taken the place of that of the 1st of March?" said Thiers in the dis-

cussion of the address. "Because the cabinet of the 1st of March thought that in a certain case it was necessary to make war. Why has the cabinet of the 29th of October come? It has come with certain peace." Guizot at once replied, "The honorable gentleman has only uttered a moiety of the truth; under the ministry of 1st March war was certain." The preparations for war had not ceased, and the attitude of France remained resolute in its isolation. The question of the fortifications of Paris was brought before the chambers in agreement with Thiers; and in spite of the doubts of the preservers of peace at any price, and in spite of the secret discontent of the abettors of disorder, the law was voted, and the great work commenced. The Duke of Wellington said on this subject to Guizot: "Your fortifications of Paris have closed that era of wars of invasion and of rapid marching on capitals which Napoleon opened. They have almost done for you what the ocean does for us. If the sovereigns of Europe believe me, they will all do as much. I know not whether wars will be thus rendered shorter or less murderous, but they will infallibly be less revolutionary. You have rendered by this example a great service to the security of nations and the order of Europe." Even at the present time, after a double and grievous experience—of enemies besieging the capital of France with success, and of a triumphant insurrection retaining it for more than two months against the efforts of the regular government—the words of the Duke of Wellington remain true, and have been justified by events. The resistance of France during the war of 1870 and 1871 concentrated almost entirely in Paris; only the fortifications of Paris rendered that resistance possible.

Meanwhile the change of the French ministry weighed on the diplomatic deliberations. It was known in Europe that the new ministry was favorable to peace, without relaxing anything of the quiet dignity of its attitude. The German powers began then to manifest the desire of putting an end to a situation which with good reason disquieted peaceable spirits. Despite the deposition pronounced by the sultan against Mehemet Ali, it was the general opinion that the heredity of Egypt had been guaranteed to the pasha on certain conditions which he could still execute. On the spontaneous advice of Sir Charles Napier, Mehemet Ali sent back to Constantinople, the Turkish fleet which still remained in his harbors, and ordered the evacuation of Syria by his troops.

Henceforth, the treaty of the 15th of July was executed, and it was left to the four powers to overcome the tardiness and malice of the Porte. They employed themselves actively in this, not without meeting obstacles on the part of Mehemet Ali as well as on that of Lord Ponsonby. At the same time, and in order to signalize the return of France into the European concert, a special convention, accepted by all the powers, ruled the question of the closing of the Straits in the Black Sea. The two treaties were signed on the 13th of July, 1841. Eventually, and in spite of the errors, the faults, and the disquieting griefs which had for France marked the great eastern question, the European peace had been maintained. In the midst of peace the armaments of precaution raised by France in 1840 had been maintained also; the fortifications of Paris arose; and Europe, feeling the void which the absence of France made in her councils, showed herself eager to make her return to her place. France did not return till Europe asked her, after having caused the Porte to make the concessions claimed by the pasha, while declaring that the treaty of 15th July, 1840, was finally extinguished. Mehemet Ali, driven from Syria, threatened even in Egypt, was established hereditarily and under equitable conditions, not on account of his own forces, but in consideration of France, and in the firm desire of maintaining peace in Europe. By the convention of 13th July, 1841, the Porte found herself withdrawn from the exclusive protection of Russia, and placed in the sphere of the general interests, and of the common deliberations of Europe, while this sensible and wary policy removed from her the grave dangers which had so long menaced her.

The re-establishment of good relations with England soon manifested itself with heartiness. The ministry of Lord Palmerston had been replaced by that of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, both of whom were animated towards France with kindly intentions. The difficult negotiations relative to the repression of the slave-trade had been renewed with the new cabinet; public opinion in France claimed the abolition of the reciprocal right of search among the vessels suspected of trading. Prolonged and lively discussions took place in the chambers. Immediately after these discussions, and while the question was still pending, Queen Victoria came to pay to King Louis Philippe, at the Château d'Eu, a visit of friendship and good neighborliness, which the king returned to her some weeks later at Windsor (2nd September, and 7th October,

1844). At the beginning of this exchange of royal courtesies, the Duc de Broglie, entrusted with carrying out in London the negotiation with reference to the right of search, inaugurated, by mutual arrangement with the English commissioners, a new system of watching and repressing the slave-traffic. And, on the successful result of a transaction which had been conducted on both sides with dignified sincerity, Broglie was able to say to Lord Aberdeen: "I hope, my Lord, that on this occasion, as on many others, it will be your good fortune to say to your opponents what the Lacedemonian did to the Athenian, 'What thou sayest, that I do.' It is to you that the definitive overthrow of the trade in negroes is due."

This good understanding between France and England, so long disturbed, so necessary to the peace of Europe, had to resist all the difficulties and daily jealousies of diplomacy. The two governments acted together upon the Porte in favor of the Christians of Lebanon; and Lord Aberdeen's instructions to Sir Edward Lyons at Athens prescribed the same moderation as Guizot invariably recommended to Piscatory, who was then our minister in Greece, powerful and influential in the midst of the difficulties of a government which was new, and therefore much exposed to the suspicions of the English minister. In Spain nothing could destroy that ancient rivalry between the two nations which was produced by remote recollections, as well as recent struggles. A dread of the ambitious designs and preponderance of France in Spain greatly and permanently influenced, and still influences, the mind of England. The revolutions which continued to agitate Spain, the fall of Queen Christina as regent, and elevation of General Espartero to power, conferred for a short time upon the English agents a predominating influence, which was moderated in its effects by the good sense and justice of the cabinet in London. The same moderation, mixed with some display of ill-temper, signalized Lord Aberdeen's attitude on the occasion of the great commercial treaties concluded in 1843 and 1845 between France and Belgium. In the distant seas no difficulty was raised by the establishment of our stations in the Gulf of Guinea, and on the islands Mayotte and Nossi-Bé on the east coast of Africa. France was still hindered in her progress by the prejudice and distrust of England, though certain of her earnest good-will and her unswerving loyalty. Happy times, when the politicians of both countries did not

speaking all they thought, but never spoke anything but the truth!

The same harmony did not everywhere reign in our diplomatic relations. The Emperor Nicholas persisted in his systematic reserve towards King Louis Philippe. On the 1st of January, 1842, Count Pahlen, the Russian ambassador, when about to become senior member of the diplomatic body, whose duty was to pay their respects to the king, was recalled by the emperor, and set out for St. Petersburg. The French ambassador in Russia, M. Barante, was already in Paris, but the French legation were indisposed on St. Nicholas' day, and did not appear at the emperor's reception. Neither of the two ambassadors returned to his post.

It was from abroad that in 1840, when the new cabinet was summoned, the most serious dangers and urgent difficulties came upon us, but a resolute and wise policy kept us clear of their effects or weakened their power. With reference to home affairs, France seemed stronger, and every day more prosperous. Immediately after Guizot and his friends came to power, it was their duty to render to the emperor that homage of funeral rites which was then universally considered the last of his triumphs. On the 2nd December, 1840, Prince Joinville landed at Cherbourg, bringing back from St. Helena Napoleon's remains; and the chaplain of the hospital gave expression to the general sentiment, when, with the deepest emotion, he said to the prince, "Will your royal highness allow a ploughman's son, who has become a navy chaplain, to offer his respectful homage to the son of his king? You will perhaps pardon me for joining my feeble voice to the great voice of France, and anticipating the judgment which posterity will form of your expedition to St. Helena, when engraving your name beside that of the king, your august father, on the tomb of the great man?"

The same confiding and sympathetic generosity which had sent so far the son of the king to bring back the Emperor Napoleon's remains signalized the whole of the ceremonial of the 15th December, when King Louis Philippe, accompanied by all his family and court, received the funeral procession at the Invalides. The popular emotion and curiosity remained quite peaceful, in spite of some attempts to produce disorder. A great memory and spectacle had attracted the multitude, and nothing more. "The friends of the *régime* of liberty and peace were justified in believing that the imperial *régime* was

entirely contained in the emperor's tomb. No fault of theirs led to the events which revealed it. It is not because King Louis Philippe and his councillors again raised Napoleon's statue, and brought back his coffin from St. Helena, that the name of Napoleon had such power amid the social disturbances of 1848. The monarchy of 1830 would not have gained a day by showing itself jealous and suspicious, eager to crush all recollections of the empire. And in such subordinate attempts it would have lost the glory of the liberty which it respected, and the generosity which it displayed towards its enemies—a glory which remains to it after its disasters, and which is also a power that death cannot injure.”*

In their noble efforts to secure that difficult glory for their country, the leaders of the liberal-conservative party frequently met with painful deceptions and serious difficulties. The passionate manifestations of revolutionary excitement were succeeded by revolutionary theories, which secretly undermined amongst the masses those remains of moral and religious principles which had survived the protracted shocks in our recent history, or were slowly reappearing with peace and order. The St. Simonians had recently undertaken to renew society by their principles; a famous trial exposed and combated their tendencies, and the society was dissolved; and the many distinguished men who had yielded to the attractions of Père Enfantin's theories, resumed, like him, the duties of practical life. Victor Considérant and Fourier in their turn had their dreams of overthrowing or regenerating the social state. Auguste Comte reduced to a philosophy the lower instincts of human nature, and in the name of positivism explained away our consoling hopes of eternity. The results of those theories acted vaguely upon many minds who believed themselves free from their influence. The revolt against divine and higher order necessarily begat a revolt against human and material order, as was daily proved by the abuses of the liberty of the press. The government felt this, and were fully conscious of the present and future danger; they allowed the institution full liberty of action, while endeavoring to prevent or repress abuses. Several press trials resulted, on the part of the juries, in dangerous acquittals. A new and utterly abominable attempt was made upon the life of the Duc d'Aumale, colonel of the 17th regiment of light infantry, as he

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc., vol. 1.

entered Paris at the head of his troops, with his brothers the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours, who had gone to meet him. The horse of the officer beside the prince received the ball intended for the latter, and fell dead instantly. The people were deeply moved. Quénisset, the assassin, was not an isolated fanatic; there was a clearly proved conspiracy. The Peers' Court shared in the excitement, and the debates were brilliantly conducted by Hébert, who was formerly for several years a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and had just been raised to the post of procureur-general at the royal court, to which new position he was called till the king should entrust him with the difficult functions of keeper of the seals.

Whilst the legal authorities of the country labored to defend its peace, so constantly menaced, the chambers discussed and adopted the more important measures of administrative and social progress. A law referring to the work of children in manufactories, the works necessary for the development of national defence, the navy, and roads and bridges, the network of the principal lines of railway, were all voted in the session 1841-42. After a discussion marked by much keen discussion, the Chamber of Deputies rejected Ganneron's proposal to exclude official men from the Assembly, as well as that of Ducos on electoral reform. The mind of the government, in accordance with the real want of the country, was in favor of the consolidation of the gains of liberty, so dearly bought, and not in favor of new and dangerous enterprises. "Be careful," said Guizot, "not to take up all the questions they may be pleased to raise, or any business they may ask you to enter upon. Do not so easily undertake whatever burdens the first comer may fancy to lay on your shoulders, when the burden which we must bear is already so heavy. Decide the necessary questions, perform well the duties which fall to be performed in due course, rejecting those which are wantonly and unnecessarily thrown in your way."

The general elections of 1842 had just given the sanction of the country to that firm and prudent policy, when a great misfortune, sent directly by the hand of God, suddenly struck the royal family and France. All could not say, as did Queen Marie-Amélie, when prostrate in her pious grief, "My God! it is not too much, but it is a great deal!" All felt like the mother, that it was a great deal, and that the new foundations of the national repose were shaken, when, on the 13th July,

1842, the Duc d'Orleans was thrown from his carriage, only to survive a few minutes. Young, handsome, and of the most attractive and amiable disposition, and well qualified to address and please the people, the Duc d'Orleans by degrees had learned the lessons of wise government. He had become the firm stay of the throne, and a source of consoling hope, at the moment when an untimely death removed him from his family and country. "I have no information to give you," wrote Guizot to all the French representatives at the principal foreign courts; "the details of our misfortune are known everywhere. I was for three hours in that wretched room, opposite that prince as he was dying on a mattress, his father, mother, brothers, and sisters on their knees around him, holding their breaths to hear him breathe, keeping back everybody that a little fresh air might reach him. I saw him die. I saw the king and queen kiss their dead son. As we left the house, with the prince's body on a litter, and the king and queen on foot behind him, a long-continued shout of "Long live the king!" burst from the crowd, composed of people of the lower orders who had assembled round the house. I have just seen the king. Yesterday, during that agony, he showed admirable courage, presence of mind, and self-possession. To-day he is tired, and gives way more than yesterday to sorrow, but with a physical and moral strength that surpasses everything. We have hastened the assembly of the chambers by a week, and they will now meet on the 26th, the obsequies taking place only a few days after. Everything is, and will be, perfectly quiet. Good order is indispensable, and everybody feels it. I hope also that it will be continued, and produce its proper result."

"In France the king never dies," said the Duc de Broglie to the House of Peers, on the 27th August, 1842. "An excellent point in monarchical government is, that the supreme authority never undergoes any interruption; that the supremacy is never disputed; that between two reigns there cannot even be a thought of detecting the least interval of delay or hesitation. It is by that means especially that this government rules the minds of men, and restrains their ambitions. The monarchy is the empire of right, order, and law. Everything must be regulated in the monarchy; everything which can be reasonably foreseen must be so; nothing ought to be left by choice or forgetfulness to the uncertainty of events. Under such a government, in fact, the monarchy is the support of the State;

when that support begins to fail everything falls to pieces; everything is shaken as soon as it appears to totter. This we have recently had experience of. At the moment when the hand of God weighed upon us—when that infinite Wisdom whose ways are not as our ways, struck the nation in the person of the first-born of the royal house, and reaped our dearest hope in full flower, all hearts felt frozen with secret terror. Public anxiety manifested itself through the accents of grief; there was uneasiness on every brow, as well as tears in every eye. All mentally considered how many years still separate the heir of the throne from the age when he can with a firm hand seize the sceptre of his grandfather and the sword of his father. All asked themselves what should in the meantime happen if the days of the king were not numbered according to his people's prayers and the State's wants. All sought for an answer in the charter, and regretted its silence."

It was to supply this omission in the charter, and calm the well-founded anxiety of the country, that the chambers were summoned to legislate regarding the regency. "The law as proposed is very simple," wrote Guizot to the diplomatic agents. "It is an application to the regency of the essential principles of our constitutional monarchy—heredity, the Salic law, the unity and inviolability of the royal power. The guard and tutelage of the king in his minority are entrusted to his mother and grandmother. The proposal does not aim at the anticipating or providing for all imaginable hypotheses or possible chances. It decides the questions, and provides for the necessities, imposed upon us by present circumstances."

The discussion in the chambers was more ambitious and theoretical than were the deliberations in the ministerial council. All the characteristics of the different systems of regency were laid down, with their respective advantages and inconveniences. The opposition defended the principle of an elective regency—in practical application, a female regency; but Thiers on this point abandoned his friends, and eloquently spoke on behalf of the ministerial proposal. The extreme left, through Ledru-Rollin as their mouthpiece, demanded an appeal to the people, who, they said, were the only really constituent power. Guizot and Thiers were of one mind in rejecting this theory. "The constitutional government is the sovereignty of society organized," said the former. "Beyond that, there is only the social mass, moving about at hap-hazard, struggling with the chances of revolution. Revolutions are not organ-

ized; they have not assigned to them a place and legal procedure in the course of the affairs of nations. No human power governs such events; they belong to a greater master. God alone disposes of them; and when they break out God makes use of the most various instruments to reconstitute shaken society. In the course of my life I have seen three constituent powers; in the year VIII., Napoleon; in 1814, Louis XVIII.; in 1830, the Chamber of Deputies. This is the real and actual state of matters. All that you talk about—those votes, voting-papers, open registers, appeals to the people—all that is fiction, imagination, and pretence.”

“I do not believe in the constituent power,” said Thiers. “It did exist, I know, at different epochs in our history; but allow me to tell you that if it was the real sovereign, if it was above the constituted powers, it would, nevertheless, have had a wretched part to play by itself. In fact, it was in the French assemblies in the wake of the factions; and under the consulate, and under the empire, at the service of a great man. It then assumed the form of a conservative senate, who, on a signal given by a man who made everything bend under the ascendancy of his genius, made all the constitutions which he asked of them. Under the restoration it took another form. It concealed itself under Article XIV. of the Charter: it was the power of conceding the charter, and modifying it. Those were the different parts played by the constituent power for the last fifty years. Do not say it is the glory of our history, for the victories of Zurich, Marengo, and Austerlitz have nothing in common with those wretched constitutional comedies. I therefore have no respect for the constituent power.”

Thus defended by most lofty and powerful arguments, the law was passed by a great majority in both chambers. The Duke of Nemours, who was respected and esteemed by all, was appointed to exercise, in case of necessity, the powers of that temporary monarchy which is called the regency; and the bereaved Duchess of Orleans bravely undertook the charge and education of her two sons, Louis Philippe, Count of Paris, born 24th August, 1838, and Robert, Duke of Chartres, born 1st November, 1840. She afterwards nobly prepared them for a future more sad and troubled than could then be anticipated.

The government also resumed their course, really weakened, though in the long vistas of the future apparently strengthened by the harmony of thought and feeling which was mani-

fested immediately after the catastrophe. Affairs of great complexity and importance were now in preparation, which were exaggerated by the agitations of parliamentary rule, and produced very serious results on the minds of the people. Afar off, in the regions of the Pacific Ocean, the storms were gradually gathering which were soon to burst upon London and Paris, in the chambers and the diplomatic communications of both nations. All was the natural result of events which appeared unimportant.

French sailors had long felt the want of finding in the southern seas a landmark and secure refuge under the national flag. In 1844 this want seemed to be met by an establishment on the Marquesas Islands, made by the advice of Admiral Petit-Thouars, who had just returned from those countries, and was now appointed to take possession in the name of France. The ambition of the brave sailor was not limited by these precise instructions; he thought he might extend our protectorate as far as the Society Islands, and more particularly Tahiti. The native queen, Pomare, afraid and anxious, unresistingly accepted a rule which was speciously disguised, and the French flag floated over Tahiti, as well as the Marquesas.

No political power had till then taken possession of the Society Islands, and our occupation was regular. The religious power, however, of some English missionaries had been there in exercise alone, with a devotion which was at first attended with danger, but afterwards uninterrupted and powerful. At the thought of a possible invasion of apostles from another Christian communion, the convictions and jealousy of the English missionaries quickly took alarm. Mutual susceptibilities led to troublesome procedure. The influence of the English missionaries was naturally great; and Admiral Petit-Thouars believed that the interests and dignity of France were injured by the action of Pritchard, the English missionary-consul, as well as by the conduct which he had suggested to Queen Pomare. In 1843, on returning to those countries after a long absence, the admiral declared the sovereign of the island had forfeited her rights, on account of the infraction of a treaty voluntarily concluded with France. He then boldly took possession of the Society Islands, without, at first, any resistance.

When in February, 1844, this distant news reached Paris, the government considered the admiral's action violent and

irregular, and at once disavowed it by restoring our simple protectorate, in spite of the excitement and indignation of the opposition, who charged the ministers with a cowardly complaisance towards England. Meanwhile the anger of the Tahitians and uneasiness of the English missionaries had borne their fruits. A sedition broke out in the Society Islands, which was firmly and prudently repressed by Admiral Bruat, recently appointed governor of our possessions in Oceania. His subordinates, however, were not so moderate; and, on the occasion of an attack on a French sailor, Commandant d'Aubigny ordered Mr. Pritchard to be arrested and imprisoned, and declared Papeiti, the capital, to be in a state of siege. Admiral Bruat set at liberty the former consular agent, just appointed by Lord Aberdeen to the Friendly Isles, and placed him on board a small English vessel, which took him away. The missionaries gladly assisted our governor in his efforts to appease the rising of the natives, though the struggle at Tahiti still lasted for some time. It broke out also in London on a question put to Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, when the irritation of the ministry was clearly shown from his reply. The resulting negotiations were long and intricate. England thought her national honor was wounded; and anger was stirred up by religious prejudices. The good sense and friendly intentions of the ministers on both sides, who had been specially appointed to treat the affair, succeeded in avoiding complications it might have involved. England agreed to acknowledge the French protectorate of Tahiti, without protesting against the expulsion of Mr. Pritchard, only asking on his behalf a moderate indemnity for the losses he had undergone.

In his speech from the throne, at the opening of the session 1845, King Louis Philippe responded to the sentiments expressed by the Queen of England at the prorogation of Parliament: "My government," said he, "took part with that of the Queen of Great Britain in discussions which might have occasioned a doubt lest the relations between the two States were altered. A mutual feeling of good will and equity has maintained between France and England that happy harmony which is a guarantee for the peace of the world."

In Paris there was an extremely keen discussion upon the paragraph of the address which approved of the conduct of the ministry. Both in France and England public opinion was excited. The concessions strictly indispensable to the

peace of the world seemed enormous, and humiliating to the pride of our country. It was the first time for four years that the parliamentary opposition felt itself borne by a current adverse to the ministerial policy, and they lost no time in taking advantage of it. The government boldly accepted the challenge. "I thank the commission for the frankness of their adhesion," said Guizot. "We are convinced that our four years' policy has been sound, honorable, advantageous to the country, suited to its interests, and morally great. But such a policy is difficult, very difficult: it has many prejudices, passions and obstacles to surmount on these benches, beyond these benches, in public, everywhere—great and small obstacles. To succeed, it requires the well-defined and steady assistance of the great powers of the State. If that assistance, I do not say entirely fails us, but is not so steadfast that that policy can be continued with success, we should not remain in charge of it. We should not allow what we consider a good policy to be disfigured, enervated, and degraded in our hands, or that it should become common-place by weakness. All that we ask for is, that the decision be perfectly clear and intelligible to every one. Whatever it is, the cabinet will be glad of it."

The discussion rallied several hesitating minds, but disturbed others who were already influenced by stupid or misleading reports in some of the newspapers. The majority of the chamber approved of the conduct of the cabinet, but it was seriously reduced in number, 213 having voted for the paragraph, against 205. The cabinet resolved to resign.

It was an impressive scene, not easily forgot by those present, the excitement suddenly pervading the Chamber of Deputies on the comparative check of the ministry and the news of their proposed resignation. Two hundred and seventeen conservative deputies, in solemn assembly, resolved to make a formal request to their parliamentary chiefs not to abandon the helm of government at such a moment. Touched and strengthened by this sympathy and confidence, the ministers again accepted the burden. The deserters returned to the flag; and the government soon found a new occasion of showing their independence of action with regard to foreign powers. Amongst the more ignorant classes, the conservative deputies who had supported the cabinet through that formidable crisis received and kept the name of "Pritchardists," as an insulting memorial of a silly and groundless public irritation.

The confidence and sympathy as well as the spirit of justice and moderation of the French and English governments could alone produce a peaceful result from a puerile quarrel, aggravated and increased by the difficulties inherent to parliamentary *régime*. The good intentions of the English minister were at almost the same moment put to another test. The Duc de Bordeaux had left the peaceful abode where he had grown up in exile with his grandfather and uncle, his early education being piously directed by the dauphin. He undertook several voyages, first in Germany, and without any protest on the part of the French government, no political character being attached to the courtesy naturally paid by the sovereigns to an exiled prince. When the duke seemed about to direct his steps towards England, the attitude of the legitimists in France became aggressive. They declared their intention of making a brilliant gathering round the prince. Queen Victoria showed her desire to remain a stranger to any manifestation, and not to receive the illustrious traveller; and the French government expressed a similar opinion. The Duc de Bordeaux came to London in November, 1843, and lived there several weeks, receiving many people at Belgrave Square, and noisily hailed as king by several thoughtless persons; but the Queen did not receive him, and her government referred in severe terms to facts which they could not prevent. The prince left London, but the agitation caused in France by the provoking conduct of the legitimists soon came to a head. During the discussion on the address at the opening of the session of 1844, the commission used the phrase "the public conscience branded by criminal manifestations." The expression was harsh and awkward, and went too far. The stiff and somewhat embarrassed defence and protest of the legitimists produced no great result; but the left took advantage of the attack, and some violent scenes took place in the chamber, Guizot being the principal object of attack. Without approving entirely of the address drawn up by the commission, the government supported it loyally and bravely. The paragraph was voted by a large majority; and the deputies who had visited the Duc de Bordeaux in Belgrave Square got the name of "the branded," as the conservative deputies that of the "Pritchardists." Thus were embittered the internal animosities, which were soon to aggravate the political situation, and deliver France up to revolution and absolute power. "You are trying to govern against the head and the tail," said

Royer-Collard formerly to Guizot; "it is too difficult an undertaking, and you will not succeed."

However faithful and reasonable the English minister proved himself more than once in our regard and in the European complications and agitations, he frequently showed a personal impatience and suspicion when acted upon by the national prejudices. The English had always shown interest in our Algerian settlements, and the extension of our power in the north of Africa. Since Marshal Bugeaud succeeded to Marshal Vallée as governor of Algeria (December, 1840), such fears were redoubled. Bold and determined, passionately engrossed in the work he had undertaken and the means of accomplishing it, Bugeaud ardently strove to realize his ideas as to our African settlements, the complete conquest of the Arabs, and the system of military colonization. His convictions and ideas being generally well-founded, if sometimes exaggerated, he expressed them with the frankness of a soldier of honor and the courage of a good citizen. As Governor of Algeria, however, he had faults which naturally flowed from those qualities. His zeal and spirit of initiative frequently urged him to speak and act too quickly. His speeches to the chamber and his pamphlets sometimes offended and embarrassed Marshal Soult in Paris. His success in Algeria was undoubted, and he proceeded to carry his success further. In the spring of 1844, Abd-el-Kader was pursued and beaten over the whole interior of Algeria, most of the tribes, now decimated and discouraged, having abandoned him, or only supporting him secretly and with hesitation. The surprise and capture of Smalah, on the 16th May, 1843, by the Duc d'Aumale, was a serious blow to his prestige even among the Arabs. Our repeated expeditions into the least accessible parts of the regency, from the defiles of Jurjura to the frontiers of the great desert, and the permanent occupation of Biskra and several other important points, spread abroad everywhere the conviction of our superior strength, and our resolution to establish our empire on a firm basis. It might be said that the conquest was complete; but Abd-el-Kader was one of those who never give up hope or the struggle. He took a position on the west of the province of Oran, on the doubtful frontier of Morocco, and thence pursued or recommenced the war incessantly. Sometimes, with his roving bands he made sudden raids upon the regency; sometimes he inflamed the natural

fanaticism of the Moorish population, and brought them with him against us, being always sure of a refuge with them. He had great influence over the Emperor Abd-el-Rhamman himself, at one time getting him to share in his Mohammedan antipathies, at another terrifying him with accounts of us or of his own projects. He stirred up between that prince and us a dispute as to the possession of certain territories between the course of the Tafna and the frontier of Morocco. On the 30th May, 1844, a numerous body of Moorish horse invaded our soil, and came ostentatiously to attack General Lamoricière, in his camp at Lalla Maghrania, two leagues from the frontier. The explanations demanded by Marshal Bugeaud from the chiefs being unsatisfactory, and the fanatical enthusiasm of the Mohammedans becoming more and more excited, the government ordered that compensation should be insisted upon by arms; and the Prince de Joinville was at the same time placed in command of a squadron on the coast of Morocco. This caused in London much excitement, and a political anxiety partly due to commercial interests. England had much communication with Algiers, and the port of Tangiers supplied Gibraltar with most of its resources. Men were alarmed at the thought of a French conquest. Guizot lost no time in reassuring Lord Aberdeen, who in his turn used all endeavors to act diplomatically upon the Emperor of Morocco. His action remaining unsuccessful, Bugeaud entered the Moorish territory with 10,000 men, and on the 19th August, at Isly, gained an easy victory over 25,000 enemies assembled against him. The marshal took possession of their camp, artillery, colors, and all their baggage. At sea, on the 15th, Prince Joinville bombarded, at the northern extremity of Morocco, Mogador, Abd-el-Rhamman's favorite town, took possession of the small island guarding the entrance to the harbor, and stationed there a garrison of 500 men. Thus in five days the war was finished, before the eyes of an English squadron, who were following at a distance the movements of ours. The news of our two victories increased the English dissatisfaction: the government took this suspicious distrust into consideration when imposing upon the emperor their conditions of peace, which he had much difficulty in agreeing to. Abd-el-Kader was to be expelled from the territory of Morocco, and henceforward deprived of the assistance which had been granted him. An exact limit was to be assigned to the ter-

ritories of Algeria and Morocco; "beyond, nothing is known exactly," said the old Turkish generals shortly before, "it is the country of guns."

Guns lost their dominion when, on the 18th March, 1845, the treaty between France and the Emperor of Morocco was signed. Abd-el-Kader, nevertheless, still continued to infest our frontiers, and frequently made sudden attempts to surprise our soldiers, assisted by a wide-spread conspiracy of the Arabian chiefs. One of the insurrections in the Dahra tribes induced a struggle with a tribe till then unsubdued; and on the Mohammedans taking refuge in a cave when pursued by Colonel Pelissier, he summoned them several times to come forth, promising them their liberty if they delivered up their arms and horses. The Arabs refusing, the colonel had bundles of wood heaped up at the entrance of the cavern, and threatened to set fire to them. The Arabs fired upon our soldiers from within the cavern; the flames rose, and most of the obstinate wretches perished, choked by the smoke. In this deplorable alternative of the necessities of war, which put in the balance humanity towards the enemy and the safety of the soldiers whom he was commanding, Colonel Pelissier (after, Marshal Duc de Malakoff) acted as Ludlow did in Ireland against the peasants in revolt, as Napoleon did at Austerlitz against the Russian battalions when crowded on the ice, which he broke under their feet by cannon-shot. This act of Pelissier was fiercely attacked by the journals of the opposition. Guizot alone defended him. Marshal Bugeaud was greatly offended, thinking that his attempts at military colonization were not sufficiently encouraged; and without being authorized, addressed a circular to the chiefs of the Algerian corps, ordering the application of his views. The government's embarrassment in Algeria was increased by their authority being thus perpetually harassed. Bugeaud had already several times announced his intention to retire, but the renewal of hostilities with the Arabs, and the distinction of the campaign in the plains of the Mitidja against the insurrection excited by Abd-el-Kader, delayed the accomplishment of this resolution. Marshal Soult, now old and weak, withdrew from the practical direction of affairs, soon to rest altogether with the title of Marshal-General of France, which had been borne only by Turenne, Villars, and Saxe. General Molines St. Yon, who succeeded him as war minister, drew up a scheme for military colonization which confirmed Bugeaud's

views, though the latter considered it weak and colorless. The chambers objected to the proposal, and the ministry, in accordance with the decision of a special committee, rejected it. Marshal Bugeaud immediately resigned.

The king had long thought of placing one of his sons at the head of the government of Algeria. The Duc d'Aumale served there with distinction, and Bugeaud wrote, "I wish to be replaced here by a prince, not in the interests of the constitutional monarchy, but those of the matter in hand. He will be granted what would be refused to me. The Duc d'Aumale is, and will daily more and more be, a man of ability. I shall leave him, I trust, the office in good working order; but there will still be much to do for a long time. It is a labor of giants and of ages." On the 11th September, 1847, the Duc d'Aumale was appointed Governor of Algeria, as the most natural successor to Marshal Bugeaud, and best fitted to exercise upon the army there, as well as the native races, a happy and powerful influence. Only a few months, however, were to elapse before the tempest of new revolutions tore him away from a life and duty which were dear to him. Before that sad day the young prince had at last forced Abd-el-Kader to his last entrenchments, compelling from the hero of that religious and national resistance a submission which he was no longer able to refuse. In spite of several further attempts at insurrection, the conquest of Algeria was finally completed in February, 1848.

It was no doubt to our success in Africa and the prudent firmness of our attitude that we must attribute the development of our influence with the Mohammedans. From 1845 to 1847 the representatives of the great Mussulman powers flocked to Paris—the Morocco ambassador, Sidi-ben-Achache; Ibrahim Pacha, eldest son of Mehemet Ali; the Bey of Tunis; an envoy from the Shah of Persia. Turkey had at last agreed to give the various races of Lebanon the natural chiefs whom they demanded, especially the Druses and Maronites. In spite of the opposition of the Pachas and their slow compliance, the European diplomatic demands obtained a certain amount of satisfaction. From 1845 to 1848 the state of the Syrian Christians was sensibly improved, and gave them hopes of a happier future. The same protection over the Christian populations extended throughout the Ottoman Empire. By a convention of 21st March, 1844, the lives of Christian converts who had been seized with remorse and abjured Islam were

assured. France's influence had now regained in the east much of her ancient empire.

She exercised the same influence, enhanced by recollections of earnest and practical sympathy, in the small Christian kingdom lately founded on the limits of the east. Greece knew how genuine and disinterested were the good wishes of France in her behalf. "France has but one thing to ask from Greece in return for all she has done for her," wrote Guizot to Piscatory, on sending him as minister to Athens; "that she may learn to develop the infinite resources contained in her bosom; that by a skilful, prudent, and active administration she may gradually, without any shock, without encountering dangerous risks, rise to the degree of prosperity and power necessary to occupy in the world the place to which she is destined by the natural process of politics. We shall then be amply satisfied, and never think of claiming from King Otho any other proof of gratitude."

Greece asked from the king whom she had chosen for herself resolutions which his conscientious hesitation could not give; and differences among the foreign powers at Athens fomented the popular discontent. "The question of king cannot be laid down," said Piscatory; "he is already there, and must remain. Yes, some reform is necessary to give the country assurance, but more than that amounts to a revolution; and it is not the business of governments to protect them."

The revolution, however, did break out (15th September, 1843), and compelled King Otho to accept a liberal constitution. After some party struggles and disturbance, Coletti assumed the reins of government in his country. One of the foremost and most able of the patriots who conspired against the Turkish rule, chief of the Palicares in the armed struggle, and ardently devoted to the national cause, Coletti had learned much during the seven years he was Grecian minister in Paris, but he remained Greek to the bottom of his soul. He was at the same time full of respect and love for France, sometimes suspicious of England, and distrustful with regard to Russia and Austria, who had looked with an evil eye upon the new revolution of Greece.

The harmony which had recently reigned between the diplomatic instructions of France and England was now quickly disturbed. The ministry of Peel and Aberdeen was replaced by that of Lord Palmerston, and Sir Edward Lyons resumed that course with which he had been so closely identified. The

interior troubles of Greece, which Colettis had firmly repressed, were again fomented by foreign influences. The financial difficulties of the small and poor state were increased by England's demands for the payment of interest due on the loan formerly guaranteed by her together with France and Italy. Colettis met all these difficulties with unconquerable courage; and it was to his wisdom and devotion that the Greeks and their friends trusted, when he fell ill, and died on the 10th September, 1847, still humming with his trembling lips the old national songs which had delighted his youth. His loss was a dreadful shock to his country, and was felt long after, through disorders that were perpetually reappearing. "Colettis is gone to join the battalion of Plutarch's heroes," was the sad remark of those who had known and loved him.

It is the honor as well as the special difficulty of free governments that they live in the full light of day, and are constantly subjected to the complications which public discussion too often brings upon the solution of questions still undecided. Probably no government was ever more habitually struggling with this difficulty than that of Louis Philippe. Born of a revolution, it was, both in Europe and France, perpetually undergoing the consequences of its origin. It was long suspected, when no longer disputed; and at the very moment when a temporary lull of interior excitement and passion allowed it a glimpse of order in peace, it found itself dragged into European complications which momentarily threatened its repose and supplied new material for parliamentary attacks. From 1840 to 1848 the discussions in the chambers bore constantly upon foreign affairs. The ministry had undergone various internal changes. Humann's death was largely due to the difficulties and disgust which he had involuntarily excited by ordering a new census. He was replaced, first by Lacave-Laplagne, and then by Dumon, who had long been one of Guizot's intimate friends. The departments of war, the navy, and public works had been under various heads; but the chiefs of the cabinet remaining the same, the opposition continued to attack the same names. They were constantly losing strength in this protracted attack, and the elections of 1846 returned to the chambers a larger conservative majority than ever. Still the effect of a continued persistence began already to be felt in that majority itself. In the midst of the debates referring to foreign affairs, as well as during questions of business, only the proposals relating to electoral reform constantly reap-

peared, occasioning a silent agitation which was beginning to stagger many minds. In their intimate and continual communication with the members of both chambers, the cabinet were soon convinced of this fact. The fundamental policy of the conservative party since the revolution of 1830, had as its object the establishment of a free government under the preponderating influence of the middle classes, an influence acknowledged and accepted in the general interest of the country, and submitted to every test and all the influences of general liberty. It was this very conception of the governmental *régime* in France which the opposition attacked by demanding electoral reform, the results or tendency of which they had not even themselves estimated.

It is the frequently burdensome, but always glorious cost of public liberty, that all its conditions are incessantly discussed. The French Government were not astonished at this, but they found it necessary to calm, even among their opponents, the dissatisfaction caused by the natural development of liberty. In accordance with men's natural tendency to refuse to their adversaries rights which they claim for themselves, those who loudly professed the most advanced liberal opinions were doubtful about allowing liberty of teaching to the University, and showed great anxiety at the free development of religious bodies. The charter secured to new France all the liberty advisable; and she had taken her share in freeing education. "With reference to public instruction," said Guizot (31st January, 1846), "all the rights do not belong to the State; some of them are, I do not say superior, but anterior to her own, and exist with them. Such are the rights of the family. Children belong to the family before belonging to the State. The State has the right to distribute instruction, assign it to its proper institutions, and overlook it everywhere, but has not the right to impose it arbitrarily and exclusively upon families without their consent, and perhaps against their conviction. The *régime* of the Imperial University did not admit this primitive and inviolable right of families. Moreover it did not admit, at least to a sufficient degree, another order of rights, the rights of religious belief. Napoleon well understood the greatness and power of religion; he also equally well understood its dignity and liberty. He often misunderstood the right belonging to men who are the depositaries of religious belief, to maintain them, and transmit them from generation to generation by education and teaching. That is not a privi-

lege of the Catholic religion; that right is applicable to all creeds, to all religious bodies, Catholic or Protestant, Christian or non-Christian. It is the right of parents to rear their children in their faith, by ministers of their faith. In organizing the University, Napoleon took no account of the right of families, nor the right of religious beliefs. The principle of liberty of education, the only real security of those rights, was foreign to the University *régime*. To the charter and the government of 1830 must be referred the honor of having brought this principle to light, and attempted its practical realization. It is not only an engagement and duty, but the interest of the constitutional monarchy, to keep this promise strictly. How remote originally from the principles of liberty, the great creations of the Empire—those at least which are really conformable to the genius of our social system—may admit those principles, and thence derive new power. Liberty may enter into that mighty apparatus created for the restoration and protection of power. What is more strongly imagined in the interest of power than our administrative *régime*, by prefects, their Councils, and the Council of State? Yet into that *régime* we introduce the principles and instruments of liberty. The Councils-General elected, the Councils-Municipal elected, the mayors necessarily chosen from the elected Municipal Councils; those institutions, of great reality and vitality, which will from day to day be developed and play a greater part in our society, have all come to adapt themselves to the administrative *régime* which we have from the empire. The same thing may take place with the great institution of the University, and the government will thereby gain advantage and liberty. In order that the present power may become stronger and more durable, liberty must come to its aid. In a public and responsible government, it is a too great burden which monopolizes them, whatever be the shoulders supporting it. There is no strength or responsibility sufficient for it; the government must be discharged of part of the burden, and society must display its liberty in the service of its affairs, and be itself responsible for the good or bad use to which it is put,"

Few people dared to protest seriously against the general laying down of the principles of liberty; but in practice and in the daily application of the principles, the chambers and great mass of the people were opposed to liberty of education. Twice, in 1841 and 1844, Villemain proposed without success some schemes which, without fully deciding the question, pro

duced notable progress in the principle of liberty. Salvandy made fresh attempts, which also remained fruitless. Indignation and anxiety took possession of the partisans of liberty of education. As it extended and became warmer, the struggle changed in character, and became violent and aggressive. The University found itself unjustly attacked, and several bishops imprudently threw themselves into the struggle. In the eyes of the public the question of the liberty of instruction became a case of war between the University and the Church, that is to say, the State and the Church. Then moderate and sensible men who were indifferent believed themselves threatened in their personal liberty by the increasing influence attributed to the Jesuits. Founded in the sixteenth century for the defence of absolute power in the spiritual order, and perhaps the temporal too, the Society of Jesus, in spite of the immense services rendered by her to the propagation of Christianity and the development of instruction, had remained constantly suspected by the partisans of liberty, who looked upon her as still faithful to the first idea with which she started. The legislation as to religious bodies bound down the Jesuits to rules which they did not observe. The number of their schools was constantly increasing, and their influence being boldly displayed, the public alarm demanded that the laws should be enforced against them. The government conceived the idea of a procedure which was more efficacious and more moderate. They asked Pope Gregory XVI., the natural and supreme head of the order, to dissolve in France the Society of Jesus. Rossi was appointed to carry out this negotiation at Rome.

An Italian, of extremely liberal views, who had taken refuge first at Geneva and then at Paris on account of his opinions, Rossi was at the same time daring with self-control, patient and persevering, endowed with a keen subtlety, and an influence over men which was acquired gradually and quietly. After long and complicated negotiations, Rossi was at last successful. The court of Rome really laid down for the Jesuits the conduct demanded from them by the French government and people; though the court of Rome and the French government apparently allowed the Jesuits the honor of a spontaneous and voluntary withdrawal. On the 6th July, 1845, the *Moniteur* contained this official notice: "The government has received news from Rome. The negotiation with which M. Rossi was entrusted has attained its object. The body of Jesuits in France will cease to exist in France, and is going to disperse of its own

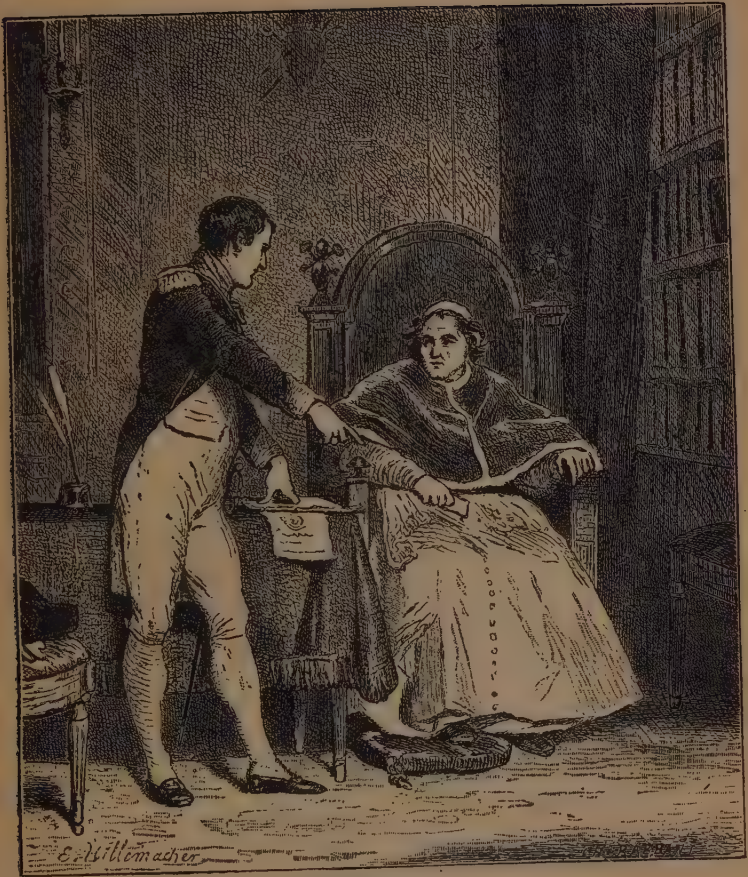
accord. Its houses will be closed, and its novitiates dissolved." At Rome, Rossi laid special stress on the Holy See adhering to its engagements. "I shall yield nothing," he wrote to Guizot, "to party-spirit or a foolish hostility. No attack upon the liberty of individuals; no obligation to leave France or sell property; and no harassing interference in purely religious functions; but the dispersal of the body, the closing of the houses where they lived together, and the dissolution of the novitiates; that has been promised, and that is indispensable." Rossi had just been officially appointed ambassador at Rome, when Pope Gregory XVI., already very old, died, on the 1st June, 1846. Three days afterwards, Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, who was piously devoted to his diocese, and personally unknown to the majority of the members of the Sacred College, was elected Pope, and proclaimed under the name of Pius IX.

During a period and in a country still entirely filled with noble hopes, it was a beautiful and consoling sight to see the new pontiff commence, after his high elevation, by a complete and touching amnesty; and to see the Roman people, so recently agitated by secretly hostile passions, eagerly rush before the Pope, who promised them reforms ardently desired. Thiers as well as the French government and their Roman ambassador strove to encourage Pius IX. in those popular measures. During his first conversations with Rossi, the Pope referred to everything, "both temporal and spiritual affairs—the chance of his presiding over an Italian league, and his relations to the foreign powers; to his Swiss guard, and a civic guard; finance and commerce, administrative abuses and judicial reform. His mind evidently dealt with every subject, and considered every question, with glimpses at every possible reform, sometimes with a simple confidence, sometimes with a half-official anxiety; keenly enjoying his popularity, and, in spite of his first generous impulses, with some hope of adhering to the aspirations without passing to the practical applications of the theories. 'That is not the ideal of government,' said Rossi, somewhat uneasy on seeing the promised reforms go off into smoke; 'it is government in an ideal state.'"

Fear and anxiety were soon added to the natural sluggishness and hesitation of an old government which men wished to draw from its long-continued paths and routine. Cardinal Gizzi, appointed secretary of state, soon exhausted himself in

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

his efforts to act without displeasing anybody. A latent struggle was engendered between old and young Italy, and the inertia of the government chafed men's minds. The French ambassador urged the Pope to give his people some proofs of his liberal intentions. The efforts of Pius were sincere in spite of their weakness. The ill-managed rule of the Austrians weighed heavily on all the Italian States, and in all minds there was now rising the thought of freedom from the foreign yoke by the glorious effort of national unity. The Pope shared in this thought and desire common to all the Italians, his accession and early reforms having impressed new energy upon them. In Tuscany the grand duke entered upon a path of administrative, financial, and judicial improvements. Piedmont was about to receive a constitution. Even at Naples the popular agitation became intense, and the king had already granted some commercial reforms. The whole of Italy was now ready for action, and soon Pius IX. was induced to join thoroughly in the national effort against foreigners. The Pope was still advancing as leader of the generous effort for social and political reform. He had just formed a civic guard, armed with French guns. The budget was published; the municipal organization of the city of Rome was improved; liberty of the press extended; while railways were decreed, schools and asylums founded. The Pope convoked at Rome an Assembly of the Notables for the 15th November. He wished to find support from those liberal and moderate men in the laity who wished like himself for reform without revolution. Both he and they were destined to succumb under the blows which the rival and extreme parties aimed at each other. The projects of reactionary plots and threats of popular insurrections were already crossing each other in all directions, causing anxiety and annoyance to the Pope and the friends faithful to his policy. Rossi had already formed a friendly intimacy with Pius IX., which was soon after to engage him definitely in his service, at the cost of his life, and to his own lasting renown. The thought of the independence of the Italian States, delivered from the presence of foreigners, and united in an Italian confederation, together with a thoroughgoing reform of their internal condition, constituted the basis of the Pope's fond hopes, which his future minister had a clearer conception of, and the French government steadily supported. "Peace and liberty, progress without war or revolution"—that grand motto of the monarchy of 1830—had constantly directed its policy abroad



NAPOLÉON AND THE POPE.



NAPOLEON AND THE YOUNG COSSACK

as well as at home. At Rome, as well as in France, revolution was destined to obtain the mastery. The cause, however, was still good and great. In 1847, and the first months of 1848, there were still hopes. The Pope had honestly commenced the reforms, and then accepted the idea of having a lay minister. "Your holiness has awoke Italy," said Rossi, "it is a glory, but on condition that the impossible is not attempted." The attitude of the French government protected the action of the Holy See. The Austrians had evacuated Ferrara, having occupied it without good reason. Appearances seemed to promise well, but excited minds still retained their antagonism. "In Italy," said Mazzini, "there exists no moderate party."

There was good reason for believing there was no moderate party in Switzerland. The political struggles envenomed by religious ones, divided the cantons, and threatened to break the federal treaty. In presence of the radical movement, which was easily becoming more defined in Berne, Geneva, and the Vaudois country, the cantons which were really Catholic believed that their religious liberty and independent action were threatened, and formed a special alliance (*Sonderbund*) binding them to defend each other's independence and rights of sovereignty. The Helvetic Diet urged by their demands, ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits, who had been invited by the canton of Lucerne to superintend the schools. Several armed fights had already taken place at various places, and a civil war was in preparation. The French government were somewhat anxious about this disturbance in a neighboring country, whose federal treaty was under the protection of the great powers by the very fact of its neutrality. In the interests of liberty, thus threatened, as well as peace, France believed it her duty to stir up on the part of Europe a diplomatic intervention, which might dispense with a material and violent intervention. For that purpose a memorandum from the five great powers was addressed to the Diet; but it had been with great difficulty forced from Lord Palmerston against his inclination, and he secretly informed the Swiss radicals of it. The latter precipitated their operations; the troops of the Diet marched against the free corps of the *Sonderbund*, who were speedily dispersed. Friburg capitulated without great resistance. The struggle was more severe at Lucerne, but it also yielded. The Valais alone still resisted, and the defeated *Sonderbund* had now no hope except in foreign intervention. King Louis Philippe and his cabinet had no natural inclination for

that, although resolved not to allow Austria to make use alone of that last resource. "Let us beware of interfering in Switzerland as well as in Spain," said the king; "let us prevent others from interfering. A great service is already done. Let each people perform its own business, and bear its burden by the use of its rights."

There was then a fermentation throughout all Europe, and everywhere from the bosom of a long peace there burst forth that violent uneasiness which generally presages the terrible blows of fate. An old and dangerous element had reappeared in the situation of Europe: England and France were now divided and hostile. To the difficulties which had in various points broken out between the two powers, to the struggle of influences which had succeeded the "cordial understanding," there was now added a wounding of national pride. Lord Palmerston measured himself in Spain with the French government in an important question, and was beaten. The annoyance of England was great, and anger succeeded the annoyance.

Revolutionary changes, in a country of perpetual agitation, had brought Queen Christina to be regent of Spain. Having the intention of marrying her daughter, Queen Isabella, she and her friends of the moderate party strongly desired a union with the royal family of France. The king loudly and resolutely repelled that idea. "Our policy is simple," wrote Guizot to Flahault, the ambassador at Vienna. "At London, and probably elsewhere, they would not wish to see one of our princes reign in Madrid. We understand the exclusion, and accept it in the interests of the general peace and the European balance of power; but in the same interests we return it, and allow of no prince on the throne of Madrid who is not a member of the house of Bourbon. It has many husbands to offer—princes of Naples, Lucca, the sons of Don Carlos, the sons of Don Francisco. We propose none of them; we forbid none of them. He who suits Spain will suit us—but in the circle of the house of Bourbon. It is for us a French interest of the first order; and in my opinion it is evidently also a Spanish interest and a European interest." (27th March, 1842.)

This clearly expressed policy of the French government had been loyally accepted by Lord Aberdeen, then foreign minister. It was secretly attacked by Sir Henry Bulwer, English ambassador at Madrid, who was intriguing in favor of the young queen's union with Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg. This

manœuvre, openly condemned by Lord Aberdeen, caused complications in our official negotiations. After long hesitation with regard to a Neapolitan candidate—Count Trapani, brother of the king—the French government modified their intention. The influence of France was declared more definitely. It appeared that the future spouses of the Queen of Spain and the Infanta Louisa Fernanda must be the Duc de Cadiz, son of Prince Don Francisco, and the Duc de Montpensier, youngest son of King Louis Philippe. “For heaven’s sake, don’t let us miss this prince!” exclaimed Queen Christina, as soon as she saw the possibility of so desirable a union for her second daughter. The fall of Peel’s cabinet changed the relative position of France and England in Spain. Lord Palmerston now was in favor of the Prince of Coburg as a candidate. “I lay infinite stress upon agreement in our plans and action,” wrote Guizot to Jarnac, then our representative in London. “I have already proved that sufficiently, and shall do much to make it good. But in fact, France perhaps ought to have an isolated policy in Spain; and if the initiation of an isolated policy was taken in London, I surely ought to adopt in Paris the policy also.”

The interior policy of Spain, as well as her foreign alliances, were at stake. The moderates, who were in power, were threatened by the revolutionary “progressists,” their constant enemies. The support of France was certain and necessary. After tergiversation and hesitation had uselessly prolonged the diplomatic intrigues, Queen Christina, and her minister Isturitz, at last decided definitely for the French alliance, and the marriage of the Duc of Cadiz with Queen Isabella, and that of the Duc of Montpensier with the Infanta, were officially announced. On the 10th and 11th October, 1846, the two unions were solemnly celebrated in the palace, and in the church of Our Lady of Atocha, at Madrid. Unions of difficult completion, and which were to be variously crossed by many shocks and griefs, but which were not to exercise, either on Spain or on European politics, the influence attributed to them by the triumph of France and the dissatisfaction of England. The son of Queen Isabella, reared in exile, reigns on the throne of Spain; beside him, raised by spontaneous affection to that elevation, is his cousin the daughter of the Duc of Montpensier and the Infanta. God sports with human anticipations and anxieties, just as He often, in His impenetrable designs, destroys the fairest hopes and the purest happiness.

CHAPTER XXI.

REFORM AND REVOLUTION (1847—1848).

I HAVE gone over the history and policy of King Louis Philippe's government from 1830 to 1847, and after taking pleasure in showing its steadfast tendency towards the well-being and progressive development of the country under its influence, I now come with profound repugnance and sorrow to those painful days by the faults and misfortunes of which France was launched into dangerous enterprises, such that men of the greatest foresight cannot discern their end. Our country has paid, and will probably long pay, very dearly for the fatal error which overthrew the throne of the king who had for eighteen years governed it with a wisdom, prudence, and moderation acknowledged even by his enemies when they are attacking him.

"The cabinet of the 29th October, and their political friends, had a clearly defined idea and purpose. They aspired to bring to a close the French era of revolutions by establishing the free government which France had in 1789 promised herself as the consequence and political guarantee of the social revolution which she was completing." This policy, formerly the object of their youthful hopes, had become theirs, whether in power or in the opposition. "It was in fact both liberal and anti-revolutionary. Anti-revolutionary both in home and foreign affairs, since it wished to maintain the peace of Europe abroad, and the constitutional monarchy at home. Liberal, since it fully accepted and respected the essential conditions of free government; the decisive intervention of the country in its affairs, with a constant and well-sustained discussion, in public as well as in the chambers, of the ideas and acts of the government. In fact, this two-fold object was attained from 1830 to 1848. Abroad, peace was maintained without any loss to the influence or reputation of France in Europe. At home, from 1830 to 1848, political liberty was great and powerful; from 1840 to 1848 in particular, it was displayed without any new legal limit being imposed. It was this policy that the

opposition—all the oppositions, monarchical and dynastic as well as republican—blindly or knowingly attacked, and tried to change. It was to change it that they demanded electoral and parliamentary reforms. In principle, the government had no absolute or permanent objections whatever to such reforms; the extension of the right of suffrage, and the incompatibility of certain functions with the office of deputy, might and must be the natural and legitimate consequences of the upward movement of society and political liberty. They did not think the reforms necessary or well-timed, and were therefore justified in delaying them as much as possible, provided they should one day allow to be accomplished by others what they thought themselves still strong enough to refuse.”* “We have too much and too long maintained a good policy,” said Guizot afterwards.

A frequent and formidable sign that men’s minds are secretly agitated, is the anxiety by which they are seized with reference to intrigues and vices which they suppose around them. It would be a serious error to see always a symptom of moral improvement in the clamors against electoral or parliamentary corruption. Immediately after the ministerial success in the general elections of 1846, this precursory indication of storms appeared on the horizon. Guizot raised the question to its proper point of view. “Leave to countries which are not free,” said he, “leave to absolute governments, that explanation of great results by small, feeble, or dishonorable human acts. In free countries, when great results are produced it is from great causes that they spring. A great fact has been shown in the elections just completed; the country has given its adhesion, its earnest and free adhesion, to the policy presented before it. Do not attribute this fact to several pretended electoral manœuvres. You have no right to come to explain, or qualify by wretched suppositions, a grand idea of the country thus grandly and freely manifested.” The rumors of electoral corruptions were soon followed by rumors of parliamentary corruptions; but the majority of the chamber declared themselves “content” with the ministerial explanations. The “contents” figured in the opposition attacks by the side of the “Pritchardists.”

Several improper abuses of long standing existed in certain branches of the administration; some posts in the Treasury

* Guizot’s *Mémoires*, etc.

had been the object of pecuniary transactions between those who held the posts and were resigning, and the candidates who presented themselves to replace them. A bill, proposed on the 20th January, 1848, by Hébert, who had become keeper of the seals, formerly forbade any such transaction, under assigned penalties. Several months previously (June, 1847), M. Teste, formerly minister of public works, and then president of the Cour de Cassation, was seriously compromised in the scandalous trial of General Cubières and Pellapra. Convicted of having received a large sum of money in connection with a mining concession, he was brought before the Peers, and being led from question to question and from discussion to discussion, soon made a confession of his crime. He, as well as his accomplices, underwent the just penalty.

"It was, on the part of the cabinet, one of those acts the merit of which is only perceived afterwards, and in which the government bears the weight of the evil at the moment when it is trying most sincerely and courageously to repress it. There were several deplorable incidents—the shocking murder of the Duchess of Praslin, some scandalous trials and violent deaths following hard one upon another, and aggravating the momentary depression and the excited state of the popular imagination. The air seemed infected with moral disorder and unlooked-for misfortunes, coming to join in party attacks and the false accusations which the cabinet were subjected to. It was one of those unhealthy hurricanes often met in the lives of governments."* It was certainly culpable on the part of the opposition to try to take advantage of this disturbed state of men's minds to gain the end they were pursuing. Seven times was parliamentary reform, and three times was electoral reform, refused by the chambers, from 20th February, 1841, to 8th April, 1847; the question being then displaced, it changed its ground. The opposition made an appeal to popular passion; and parliamentary discussions were succeeded by the banquets.

"From the close of the session of 1847 to the opening of that of 1848, they kept France in a state of constant fever—an artificial and deceptive fever in this sense, that it was not the natural and spontaneous result of the actual wishes and wants of the country; but true and serious in this sense, that the political parties who took the initiative in it found amongst some of the middle classes and the lower orders a prompt and

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

keen adhesion to their proposals. The first banquet took place in Paris at the Chateau-Rouge Hotel on the 9th July, 1847. Garnier-Pagès has himself told how the royalist opposition and the republican opposition concluded their alliance for that purpose. On leaving the house of Odilon Barrot, the radical members of the meeting walked together for some time. On reaching that part of the Boulevard opposite the Foreign Office, at the moment they were about to separate, Pagnerre said, "Well, really, I did not expect for our proposals so speedy and complete success. Do those gentlemen see what that may lead to? For my part, I confess I do not see it clearly; but it is not for us radicals to be alarmed about it." "You see that, tree," replied Garnier-Pagès; "engrave on its bark a mark in memory of this day, for what we have just decided upon, is a revolution."* Garnier-Pagès did not foresee that the republic of 1848, as well as the monarchy of 1830, should in its turn speedily perish in that revolution, so long big with so many storms.

For six months banquets were renewed in most of the departments—at Colmar, Strasburg, St. Quentin, Lille, Avesnes, Cosne, Châlons, Mâcon, Lyons, Montpellier, Rouen, etc. In many parts, there was a great display of feelings and intentions most hostile to royalty and the dynasty. On several occasions—at Lille, for example—the keenest members of the parliamentary opposition, Odilon Barrot and his friends, withdrew, soon after taking their places at table, because the others absolutely refused to dissemble their hostility to the crown and the king. At other banquets, notably at Dijon, the ideas and passions of 1793 unblushingly reappeared. They defended Robespierre and the reign of terror. The "red republic" openly flaunted its colors and hopes. The attack upon monarchy and the dynasty ranged itself, it is true, behind the parliamentary opposition, but like Galatea running away—

Et se cupit ante videri.

It had succeeded well enough in making itself seen. The government could no longer shut their eyes. They had tolerated the banquets so long as they could believe, or seem to believe, that the parliamentary opposition directed, or at least ruled, the movement. When it became evident that the anarchical impulse was more and more gaining upon the parliamentary opposition, and that the latter was becoming the instrument

* Guizot's *Mémoires*, etc.

instead of remaining the master, then only they forbade the banquets. It was their duty.

It was also their right, in the opinion of the most competent legal authorities, as well as according to the recent practice of other free governments, in presence of a situation full of certain danger. This right, however, was disputed by the opposition. The government, pushing the principle of legality to its farthest limit, arranged with several leading men of the opposition for the purpose of enabling the question of right to be brought speedily and methodically before competent tribunals. Just before the opening of the new session, in order to close the campaign, a new and formal banquet was being prepared in Paris, to which all the deputies and peers who had taken part in any of the preceding banquets were to be invited. This manifestation was to take place in the twelfth arrondissement of Paris. It was therefore agreed between the opposition delegates and those of the ministerial majority that the deputies invited should go to the place appointed for the meeting and take their places, so as to avoid any disturbance in the streets or the hall, and that on the police-commissary declaring that there was an order against it, the guests should protest and withdraw, to lay the question before the tribunals. The agreement thus concluded was communicated by Duchâtel to the council, who approved of it.

Meanwhile the chamber met, the session was opened, and from the very first the government could perceive a wavering in the majority. Even amongst those who blamed and feared the agitation out of doors, several believed in the urgent necessity of a concession, to remove all pretext for clamors and intrigues. On the ministers being informed of it, Guizot said, "Withdraw the question from the hands of those who now hold it, and let it be brought back to the chamber. Let the majority take a step in the direction of the concessions indicated; however small it be, I am certain it will be understood, and that you will have a new cabinet, which will do what you think necessary." It was in the same spirit that the ministry, during the discussion on the address, rejected an amendment tending to impose upon them immediate engagements with reference to reform.

"The maintenance of the unity of the conservative party," said Guizot, "the maintenance of conservative policy and power, will be the fixed idea and rule of conduct in the cabinet. They will make sincere efforts to maintain or restore

the unity of the conservative party upon that question, in order that it may be the conservative party itself in its entirety that undertakes and gives to the country its solution. If such an operation in the midst of the conservative party is possible, it will take place. If that is not possible—if by the question of reforms the conservative party cannot succeed in making a common arrangement and maintaining the power of the conservative policy, the cabinet will leave to others the sad task of presiding over the disorganization of the conservative party and the ruin of its policy.”

The question was not destined to be taken up again by the chambers, having escaped from the weak hands that aspired to direct it. The courtesy of the conservative reformers had no result except disquieting the government, a sort of precursory sign of the tempest. Even the parliamentary opposition found themselves baffled in their prudent efforts. A manifesto published in the *National* newspaper organized a noisy demonstration in the streets, though forbidden in the banquet-hall, the national guards being called to arms by the insurrection, and their services arranged beforehand. The convention was clearly violated, and the legal appeal to the tribunals therefore abandoned: the revolution itself declared it would decide the question. In such a situation, sorrowfully admitted by those who had negotiated the evening before, the government officially forbade the banquet. The evening papers announced that the deputies of the opposition had given up the intention of being present, and therefore the proposed manifestation was deprived of all importance. The revolutionary leaders in their turn declared that the banquet would not take place.

Disappointment increasing their irritation, the parliamentary opposition, in a momentary resistance, employed the remainder of their strength. On the 22nd February fifty-two deputies of the left laid before the chamber a bill of impeachment against the ministry, on account of their home and foreign policy during the whole course of their administration. “What would you have them do?” said to Guizot an old member of the opposition who had no share whatever in this act. “They have just rendered the banquet abortive by declaring they would not attend it, and felt compelled to do something to compensate for, and to some extent redeem, that refusal.”

Weakness has a constraining power difficult to understand, which is not foreseen even by those who give way to it; and

of this the history of the revolution of 1848 offers an eloquent and melancholy example.

The king, as well as his ministers, still hoped that the crisis had passed, and that the disorder avoided on the occasion of the banquet should not reappear under any pretext. The display of military forces which had been agreed upon and prepared was ordered to be suspended; instructions to arrest the republican leaders were issued slowly, and in but few instances. Yet a secret agitation was indicated in several parts of the capital; there were numerous crowds; on the morning of the 23rd several corps-de-garde were attacked. As the fermentation increased, the streets were crowded with idle workmen; people collected in knots from curiosity, or stood at their doors. The storm was in the air, evident both to those who dreaded it and those who were preparing to make use of it.

Meanwhile the appeal of the revolutionary leaders to the national guard had been listened to. Many of the Parisian shopkeepers took part in the "reform movement," without well understanding it, and marched under the orders of their dangerous allies. Several detachments of the 7th, 3rd, 2nd and 10th legions appeared in the streets, some in the Faubourg St. Antoine, others marching to the Palais Royal, or the office of the *National* in the Rue Le Peletier, and others in the students' quarter shouting "Long live reform!" in every street. When General Jacqueminot, the Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, ordered a general muster of the legions, a large number of the guards, respectable and law-abiding men, did not answer to the summons. They had no desire for a revolution or reform forced from the legal powers by insurrection, but they shrunk from entering upon a struggle with soldiers wearing their own uniform, and influenced apparently by reasonable motives. They remained in their homes dejected and anxious.

The king was as dejected as the Parisian citizens, and still more anxious. For several months he had frequently fallen into very low spirits, which was attributed to his grief at the death of his only sister, Madame Adelaide of Orleans, whose life had been always intimately associated with his, and who had just expired (December, 1847). His most intimate friends urged him to charm away the crisis by changing his ministry. He still resisted, but every hour less vigorously. The cabinet was not even informed of his perplexities. "Concessions forced by violence from all the legal powers are not a means

of safety," said Duchâtel; "one defeat would quickly bring a second. In the revolution there was not much between the 20th June and the 10th August, and to-day things advance more quickly than in those times. Events, like travellers, now go by steam."

The truth, however, was now becoming manifest, both in the king's mind as to the tendency of his ideas, and in the eyes of his ministers as to the determination now being formed in the Palace. By the very statement of the question it was resolved upon. Guizot and Duchâtel thus expressed it to the king: "It is for your Majesty to decide. The cabinet is ready either to defend to the last the king and conservative policy which we profess, or to accept without a murmur the king's determination to call other men to power. At present, more than ever, in order to continue the struggle successfully, the cabinet has need of the king's decided support. As soon as the public should learn, as they inevitably must, that the king hesitates, the cabinet would lose all moral influence, and be unable to accomplish their task." The king seemed still in perplexity, and said he should prefer to abdicate. "You cannot say that, my dear," replied the queen, who was present at the interview with the Dukes of Nemours and Montpensier; "you belong to France, and not to yourself." "That is true," said the king, as Louis XVI. had formerly said to Malesherbes; "I am more unfortunate than the ministers, I cannot resign."

The ministers then in King Louis Philippe's cabinet had not resigned. The king, having made his decision, said, "It is with the keenest regret that I separate myself from you, but necessity and the safety of the monarchy demand this sacrifice. My will gives way; much time will be needed to regain the ground I am about to lose." There were tears in many eyes. The king sent for Molé, and Guizot himself announced to the Chamber of Deputies the change of ministry.

There was much astonishment and sorrow in the parliamentary majority, always strongly attached to the leaders they had so long followed in spite of occasional vagaries and good-natured weakness. The imminence of a great danger engrossed their minds, together with the consciousness of a great defeat. The anxiety of the chambers was re-echoed in the Tuileries; and for the last time the ministers assembled there, anxious at that last moment of their power to maintain order, now everywhere threatened. Count Molé was laboriously occupied in the formation of a cabinet. "To think that this resolu-

tion was formed in a quarter of an hour!" exclaimed the king when engaged with Jayr in some administrative details.

The excitement was great in the palace, but still greater in the streets, being skilfully kept up by several insurrectionist leaders, and spontaneously arising among the reckless portion of the populace, who are easily influenced by revolutionary clamors. Increased by those assembling from curiosity or idleness, the crowds in the squares and boulevards assumed alarming proportions. All at once, opposite the Foreign Office, there was heard, about nine o'clock in the evening, one of those fatal explosions, whether accidental or premeditated, which history often records as the origin of great popular risings.

The soldiers, who till then had remained motionless and patient, thought they were attacked, and fired in their turn. Several persons fell, some dead, others wounded, and some were knocked down and trodden under foot. The greatest disorder, caused both by alarm and indignation, broke out in the whole neighborhood. Then was the moment of action for the keen and determined insurgents. A cart which happened to be there was immediately loaded with the corpses and drawn through the streets, from one newspaper office to another, in the most populous quarters, with shouts of "Vengeance! To arms! Down with Guizot! The head of Guizot!" By daybreak Paris was covered with barricades.

Molé having failed in his efforts to form a cabinet, the king sent for Thiers. For the last time he claimed the devotion of his old ministers. "I must have immediately a military chief—an experienced chief," he said. "I have sent for Bugeaud, but I wish M. Thiers to find him appointed. Will you grant me this further service?" Duchâtel, and General Trézel, on the previous evening still minister of war, signed without hesitation Marshal Bugeaud's appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard and the Army. It was three o'clock in the morning. "It is somewhat late to set to work," said the marshal; "but I have never been beaten, and shall not make a beginning to-morrow. Let me act, and fire the cannon; there will be some bloodshed, but to-morrow evening the strength will be on the side of law, and the factious will have had their account settled."

The day had not yet dawned when the marshal was reviewing his forces. He found them demoralized, having for sixty hours remained motionless before the mob, with their feet in the mud, and their knapsacks on their backs, allowing the riot

ers to attack the municipal guards, burn the sentry-boxes, cut down the trees, break the street-lamps, and harangue the soldiers. They were moreover badly supplied with provisions and ammunition. The energetic language of their new commander, and the precise orders which he gave for the march of the columns, inspired the soldiers with fresh life and courage. The movements indicated had already begun to be executed, and the troops were taking position; but the crowds again filled the streets, and at several points the soldiers were prevented from marching. One of the generals at the head of a column sent to tell Bugeaud that he was face to face with an enormous body of men, badly armed, who made no attack upon him, but only shouted "Long live reform! Long live the army! Down with Guizot!" "Order them to disperse," replied the marshal; "if they do not obey, use force, and act with resolution."

There was no fighting on either side. The staff were besieged by the entreaties of a crowd of respectable men, who in terror and consternation conjured Bugeaud to withdraw the troops because they excited the anger of the populace, and leave to the national guard the duty of appeasing the insurrection. The danger of such counsel was obvious, and the marshal paid no attention to it, till Thiers and Odilon Barrot, who had just accepted office, came to the staff with the same advice, and it therefore became an order. The marshal at first refused the ministers as he had done the citizens, and then the same order was sent by the king. "I must have a government," the marshal had recently said; and, as he was now without the government, who thus relaxed the resistance agreed upon, he in his turn gave way. His instructions for retreat were thus given to his officers: "By order of the king and ministers, you will fall back upon the Tuileries. Make your retreat with an imposing attitude, and if you are attacked, turn round, take the offensive, and act according to my instructions given this morning."

Meanwhile the formation of the ministry was posted up everywhere. A mixed crowd carried Odilon Barrot in triumph to the home office, which Guizot and Duchâtel had just left. Those round him shouted "Long live the father of the people!" but most of the notices posted up were torn. At the moment when the new ministers were about to leave Bugeaud's staff on horseback in order to pass through the city, Horace Vernet, the artist, arrived out of breath. "Don't let M. Thiers

go," said he to the marshal. "I have just passed through the mob, and they are so furious against him that I am certain they would cut him in pieces!" Odilon Barrot presented himself alone to the crowd, but was powerless to calm the fury he had assisted in unchaining. "Thiers is no longer possible, and I am scarcely so, said he on his return to the staff. The king on one occasion showed himself in the court of the Tuileries, when reviewing several battalions of the national guards. There were some shouts of "Long live the king!" but the most numerous were "Long live reform! Down with Guizot!" "You have the reform; and M. Guizot is no longer a minister!" said the king; and on the shouts being again repeated, he returned to the palace.

The palace also was thronged with a confused crowd, animated by various feelings, and agitated by evident fears or secret hopes. Some urged the king to abdicate in favor of the Comte de Paris; others vigorously opposed such a relinquishment of power in presence of the insurrection. The great mind of Queen Marie-Amélie was displayed in all the simplicity of its heroism. "Mount on horseback, sire," said she, "and I shall give you my blessing." She had recently urged the king to change his cabinet; a very kind message, entrusted for Guizot to one of his most intimate friends, at the same time proved her regret.

The king sat at his writing-table, agitated and perplexed. He had begun to write his abdication, when Marshal Bugeaud entered, having just learned what was taking place in the Tuileries, and excited by the sound of some shooting which had already begun. "It is too late, sire," said he; "your abdication would complete the demoralization of the troops. Your Majesty can hear the shooting. There is nothing left but to fight." The queen seconded this advice, and Piscatory and several others were of the same opinion. The king rose without finishing his writing, and then other voices were raised to insist upon the king's promise. He sat down again, wrote and signed his abdication. By this time the troops had received orders to fall back, and Marshal Gerard took the place of Bugeaud as commandant-general. The columns were marched towards the barracks, and there was no detachment around the Palais-Bourbon, where the same disorder reigned, and the same efforts were made in vain. The Duchess of Orleans presented herself before the Chamber of Deputies as soon as the abdication of the king was known. The Duc de Nemours

accompanied her, leading the Comte de Paris by the hand; and the Duc de Chartres, who was weak and ill, was wrapped up in a mantle and leaned on Ary Scheffer's arm. Before joining the princess at the gate of the chamber, the Duc de Nemours had, with his brother the Duc de Montpensier, seen the king their father take his melancholy departure, to escape the insurrection, against which he could not make up his mind to use force.

The Duchess of Orleans already knew that depriving the king of the crown was not giving it to her son. Her natural courage, however, and her maternal affection, induced her to make every effort to secure the throne for the prince of nine years whom the nation had already entrusted to her keeping. She had seen the Tuileries invaded before leaving that hall where her husband's portrait by Ingres seemed to preside over her son's destinies. "It is here one ought to die," she said, when Dupin and Grammont came to conduct her to the chamber. Odilon Barrot had gone to bring her, and succeeded in finding her in the Palais-Bourbon. The crowd showed sympathy for her, and made room respectfully, though she and her small retinue had difficulty in getting within the palace, every passage being crowded. The duchess stood near the tribune holding her two boys close to her. After Dupin announced the king's abdication, Barrot, after presenting the legal instrument, asked the chamber to proclaim at once the young king and the regency of Madame the Duchess of Orleans. Shouts of protest were heard on several benches. "It is too late!" exclaimed Lamartine, as he went to the tribune, eager to urge this difficulty, reject the regency, and demand a provisional government, so that the bloodshed might be stopped. Some others were already mentioning the word "republic." The crowd were gradually pouring into the chamber from the corridors, and Sauzet, the president, requested strangers to withdraw, and made a special appeal to the duchess herself. "Sir, this is a royal sitting!" she replied; and when her friends urged her, "If I leave this chamber, my son will no more return to it." A few minutes before her arrival, Thiers had entered the chamber in the greatest agitation: "The tide is rising, rising, rising!" he said to those who crowded round him, and then disappeared. Several voices were heard together in confusion; amongst the speakers were Larochejacquelein, Ledru-Rollin, Marie, and Berryer. The duchess had been conducted to a gallery, on account of the

threats of the insurgent battalions, who burst open the doors after General Gourgaud had in vain tried to stop them. Armand Marrast, one of the editors of the *National*, after looking at the invaders, said "These are the sham public; I shall call the real!" A few minutes afterwards shots were heard in the court of the palace: the posts in the hands of the national guards opened before the triumphant mob, who, after sacking the Tuileries, hurried up against the expiring remnants of the monarchy. The Duchess of Orleans had already twice offered to speak, but her voice was drowned in the tumult. The new comers, stained with blood, and blackened with gunpowder, with dishevelled hair and bare arms, climbed on the benches, stairs, and galleries; and in every part were shouts of "Down with the regency! Long live the republic! Turn out the 'contents'!" Sauzet put on his hat, but a workman knocked it off, and then the president disappeared.

Several of the deputies rushed to the gallery, where the duchess was still exposed to the looks and threats of the insurgents. "There is nothing more to be done here, madam," they urged; "we must go to the president's house, to form a new chamber." She took the arm of Jules de Lasteyrie; and on her sons being separated from her in the narrow passages, she showed the greatest anxiety, crying "My boys! my boys!" At one time the Comte de Paris was seized by a workman in a blouse; but one of the national guards took him out of his hands, and the child was passed from one to another till he rejoined his mother. No one knew what had become of the Duc de Chartres; but he was brought to the Invalides, where the princess went for refuge; and in the evening, after nightfall, the mother and sons withdrew from Paris, and soon after from France. "To-morrow, or ten years hence," said the Duchess of Orleans as she left the Invalides, "a word, a sign will bring me back." Afterwards, in exile, she frequently said, "When the thought crosses my mind that I may never again see France, I feel my heart breaking."

Wanderers and fugitives across their kingdom, after kneeling for the last time beside the tomb of their children at Dreux, and asking the hospitality of some friends who were still faithful, and without a single attempt to recover the crown they had lost, King Louis Philippe and Queen Marie-Amélie at last reached the sea-coast, and set sail towards England, that safe and well-known refuge of unfortunate princes. Thunderstruck like them, and at their wits' end, the most

faithful of their servants and partisans waited for some sign authorizing them to protest against the unparalleled surprise to which France had been subjected. The fugitive king made no protest. His sons quietly followed him into exile. Those who were serving France abroad learned at the same time the news of their fall and the rise of a new power, and thought it their duty to bow to the national will, resolving that not a single drop of French blood should be shed in their cause. They had often unhesitatingly exposed all their own.

In bringing to a close this sketch of the history of France as it was, the cradle still obscure of new France, we leave our native land on the threshold of an unknown future, charged both with storms and with hopes. We followed it throughout the terrible acts and the pacific interludes of a long drama; we saw it delivered up to the enthusiasm of inexperience, a victim to most dangerous misconceptions, and humbling itself, throughout the intoxication and crime of the reign of terror, even to the corruption and inertia of the directory. We saw order again revive, with glory, under the powerful hand of Napoleon, as first consul, and then emperor. We saw glory in alliance with the disasters of madness; the hopes of the first restoration tarnished by the mutual distrust of the crown and the people; Napoleon's selfishness, together with the credulity of the army and nation, bring again upon us the bitter chastisement of foreign vengeance. The revolutionary tragedy, demagogic or despotic, seemed at last to be nearly complete. The struggles for liberty were again limited to the parliamentary arena, and repose and hope were again reappearing. An old man's illusions might occasion this glimpse of calm, having witnessed new political disturbances, which were speedily followed by a grand attempt at government. We have seen the rise of noble efforts and fair hopes, the wisest and most steadfast minds flatter themselves that at last they had reached the haven. God did not give His permission: in His impenetrable wisdom, our country, bandied about from revolution to revolution for so many years, was not yet deemed deserving of repose. It is at the painful moment of deception and downfall that we to-day close the book of history. Under the blow of an extorted abdication and cowardly trickery, the edifice which was at last to shelter future generations disappeared, and those who had raised it withdrew for a long time into retirement. France resumed the course of her disturbed and uncertain destinies. After some new experience of republican

powerlessness, she weakly attempted a second trial of imperial government, and received a terrible fall headlong through the want of foresight of the absolute power. Immediately after her most painful reverses, in one of the great intervals of national action, she shuddered at the renewed horrors of the demagogic fever. Wounded, sick, humbled, borne on a raft in the midst of the tempest, she often asked herself what hardships were yet awaiting her. The course remains obscure, and the nearest object remains uncertain and veiled.

France has not lost, and will not lose, courage. She is laboring; she is hoping; and, while endeavoring to find her proper path, she reckons upon the day when revolutions will be at an end, and when liberty with order will forever crown the long and painful efforts of her most faithful servants of every name and every period!

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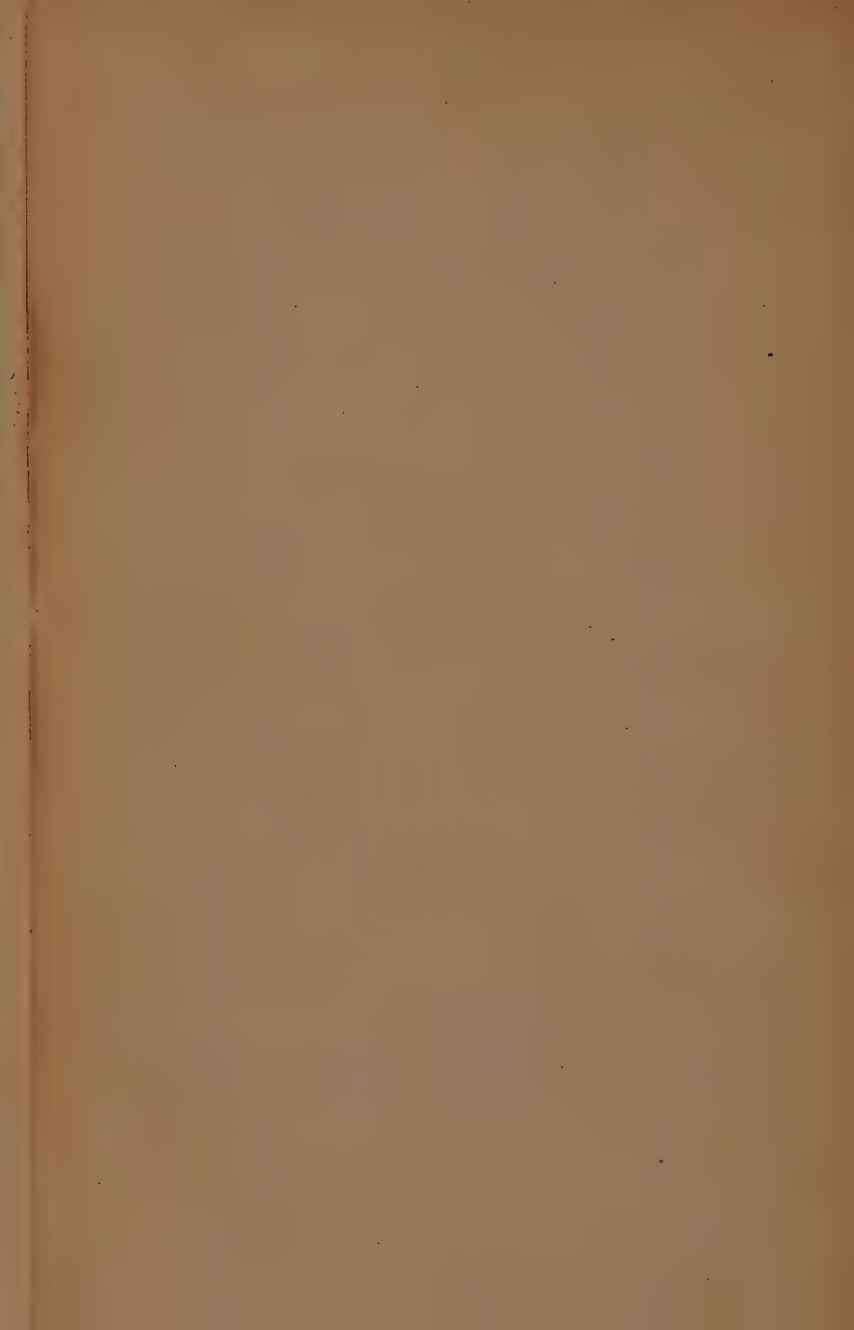
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